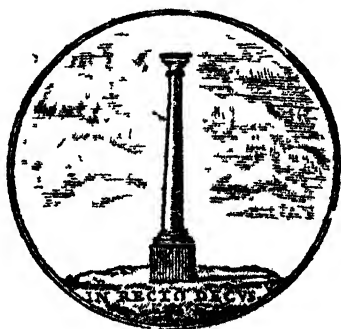

THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.
VOL. I.

THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. I.



LONDON:

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M.DCC.LIX.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

READER.

THE *Arabs* rendered themselves so famous, both by their extensive conquests and their cultivation of antient literature, after the introduction of *Islamism* amongst them, that their glory, for several centuries, eclipsed that of all other nations. Nay, the vast empire they erected seems to subsist, even at this day, in those of the *Othmán Turks*, *Persians*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*; who derived from them both their religion and polity, both their sacred and civil institutions. No wonder then that a complete history of this wonderful people, from the birth of their false prophet and legislator *Mohammed*, to the reduction of *Baghdâd* by the *Tartars*, extracted chiefly from the oriental authors, should have been so long desired in these western parts of the world. Nothing, therefore, of that kind having yet appeared in any of the *European* tongues; we flatter ourselves, that the laborious and difficult work now offered in three volumes to the public, which comprehends a clear and succinct detail of the most remarkable events that happened in the *Arab* empire during the aforesaid period, and has been deduced principally from the eastern

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writers, will meet with a favourable reception from all our candid readers. For the more effectual attainment of which desirable end, it has been judged requisite to mention here the most celebrated authors who have supplied us with materials for this history, and the assistance we have received in the compilation of it.

For the life of *Mohammed*, which may not improperly be considered as the first part of the modern history of the *Arabs*, we have had recourse to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, as abridged by *Al Makin*, *Gregory Abu'l Faraj*, the *Korán*, *Al Shabrestáni*, and above all the famous *Ismael Abu'l feda*, both in his life of that impostor and his general history; the former of which has been published by Mr. *Gagnier*, with a *Latin* version, at *Oxford*, in 1723. We have likewise been furnished with innumerable extracts by *Al Kodai*, *Sbarif Al Edrisi*, *Al Beidawi*, *Al Zamaekshari*, *Ebn Al Athir*, *Ebn Heshám*, *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, *Abunazar*, *Al Beibaki*, *Al Jarra*, *Al Háfedh*, *Makhezum*, *Ebn Kbalecán*, *Rustem Al Maulavi*, *Al Bokhári*, *Jallalo'ddín*, *Ahmed Ebn Yabya*, *Al Firauxabádi*, *Ebn Shobnah*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'al Báki*, *Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbás*, *Ebn Al Jûzi*, *Abu Horeira*, *Al Termedi*, *Ebn Al Khassai*, *Ebn Ishak*, *Abu-Zeid Seid*, *Al Jawhari*, *Al Wakedi*, *Al Ghazáli*, and many more oriental writers, whose names it would be too tedious barely to enumerate here. Besides which, we have inserted in this part of our work every thing material to be met with, either in the later *Greek* historians or other *Christian* authors, particularly M. *D'Herbelot*, relative to the *Moslem* prophet. We doubt not, therefore, but our readers will find the life of *Mohammed*, contained in this volume, the
most

most complete and perfect piece of its kind that in any *European* language has ever yet appeared.

With regard to our history of the *Khalifs*, or successors of *Mohammed*, from the death of that impostor to the abolition of the *Khalifat*, this has been likewise compiled almost intirely from the most celebrated eastern writers. Our readers will not only meet with here the substance of what has been handed down to us, relative to the *Moslem* history, by *Eutychius*, *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Kemâlo'ddîn Al Armûni*, *Al Makîn*, *Gregory Abu'l Faraj*, *Ijmael Abu'lfeda*, *Ebn Shohnah*, *Mirkbond*, *Kbondemir*, *Al Emîr Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatîf Al Kazwîni*, *Abmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'alhaafar Al Kazwîni*, *Abu Mohammed Abd'alazîz Ebn Shedad Tamîm Al Sanbâji*, *Al Kâdi Shabâbo'ddîn Ebn Abîldam Al Hamawi*, *Takîo'ddîn Ahmed Al Makrîzi*, *Al Emîr Abu'l Mahassèn Yusef Ebn Tangri Wirdi*, *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dakmak*, and other oriental historians, more generally known, during the abovementioned period, but also with extracts from some eastern authors scarce ever heard of in these parts of *Europe* before. As *Erpenius's Latin* version and printed copies of *Al Makîn* end with the 512th year of the *Moslem* æra, and *Abu'l Faraj's* historical epitome is too short and jejune, with respect to the *Arab* affairs, after that year; in order to supply both those defects, we have, by the assistance of the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Hunt*, Professor of *Hebrew* and *Arabic* in the University of *Oxford*, been enabled to insert, from a manuscript in his possession, a translation of *Ebn Shohnah's* annals, from the 512th to the 656th year of the *Hejra*, in this work. To render more valuable this ad-

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dition, which has never yet been printed, Dr. *Hunt* has collated his manuscript with two others of the same author, preserved in the Bodleian library, *Oxon.* in those passages that seem to have been the most vitiated and depraved; for which, both we and the public are extremely obliged to him. For the illustration of *Ebn Shohmah*, who sometimes writes in too concise, obscure, and elliptical a manner, we have also improved our modern history of the *Arabs* with not a few extracts from the inedited part of the *Târikk Al Moslemîn* of *Al Makîn*. As to the materials afforded us by the famous *Ismael Abu'l-fedu*, one of the best of the *Arab* writers, tho' some of these are immediately deduced from a manuscript of his chronicle or general history itself, our grateful acknowledgements for them are principally due to F. *Assemani* and M. *Reiske**, whose shining abilities and exalted merit are sufficiently known to the whole learned world. But it would be superfluous to expatiate largely at present on this head, as what is here remarked will be obvious to every one that shall peruse the sheets of which our three first volumes are composed.

However, it may not be improper to observe, that we have inserted in the body of our history the *Cambridge Chronicon Siculum*; which contains no inconsiderable number of particulars, relative to the *Arab* affairs in *Sicily*, not elsewhere to be found. Who was the real compiler of this piece, or what degree of credit is due to it, we shall not

* JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. in *Italic. Hist. Scriptor. &c.* tom. III. cap. ii. p. 45—213. Romæ, 1752. JO. JAC. REISKE, in *Abulfed. Annal. Moslemic. &c.* pass. Lipsiæ, 1754.

now take upon us to determine ; but that he was not *Abu Mohammed Abd'alaziz Ebn Shedad Tamim Al Sanhaji*, who composed the *Moslem* ^b annals of *Sicily* and *Kairwân*, as *Carusus* seems to suppose, we think there is the highest reason to believe. For the words of this annalist, which have been preserved both by *Abulfeda* and *Al Kâdi Shabâbo'ddin Ebn Abi'dam Al Hamawi*, as translated by *Marcus Dobelius* and *M. Reiske*, and those of the *Cambridge Chronicon Siculum*, describing the same event, by ^c no means correspond. From whence it may be very naturally inferred, that these two pieces were the productions of different pens. But this point is clearly evinced, in a place to which the discussion of it more properly belongs.

We must ^b g leave farther to inform our candid readers, that this modern history of the *Arabs* is interspersed with critical, philological, and explanatory notes, placed at the bottom of the page, tending to illustrate those parts of the text to which they refer. The extensive utility of which notes must appear to all that read them, as they are not only relative to the genius, government, religion, language, learning, customs, accomplishments, manners, &c. of the *Arabs* and neighbouring nations, but likewise to almost every other branch of oriental literature. We have also transfused into this part of our work the

^b JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ad Chron. Sicul. Cantabrigiens. Præfat. p. 3.

^c Chronic. Sicul. Cantabrigiens. apud Joan. Bapt. Carus. in Hist. Saracenico-Sicul. var. Monument. &c. p. 14. Panormi, 1720. ut et ipse JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ibid. AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABI'DAM AL HAMAWI et ABU MOHAMMED ABD'ALAZIZ EBN SHEDAD TAMIM AL SANHAJI, apud Joan. Bapt. Carus. ubi sup. p. 19. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 336.

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substance of some curious MS. notes upon *Abul Faraj*, which not seldom emend Dr. Pocock's *Latin* version of that author, now in the possession of the Reverend *John Swinton*, M. A. of *Christ-Church, Oxon.* F. R. S. as well as several MS. extracts from *Mojiro'ddin Al Hanbali*, the author of the *Persic* chronicle, denominated *Nokbbat Al Tawârîkh*, or *the marrow of chronicles*, and other oriental writers little known in these parts of the world. The ingenious explanations of all those earlier *Arabic* coins found near *Stegen*, on the coast of the *Baltick*, not far from *Dantzick*, in 1722, published by M. *Kebr* d at *Leipsick*, in 1724, are likewise inserted in this history; to which we have added those of several others, and shewn that on some occasions these coins support the authority of the eastern historians, in much the same manner as the *Greek* and *Roman* medals do that of the *Greek* and *Roman* writers. Upon the whole, therefore, we think we may venture to assert, that the performance now submitted to the judgment of the public is vastly preferable to every thing of its kind that has in any of the *European* tongues yet appeared; and that it may even at least be deemed in all respects such a history of the *Khalîfs*, or successors of *Mohammed*, as Mr. *Ockley's* is only a specimen of, the publication of which in his days that eminent orientalist ^e seems so greatly to have desired.

^d Monarch. Asiatico-Saracen. Stat. &c. ex num. argent. prisce. Arab. script. Kufic. &c. illustrat. a M. Geor. Jacob. Kehr, Slesvinga-Franco orientali. Lipsiæ, 1724.

^e See OCKLEY's preface to the first vol. of his hist. of the Saracens, p. 17.

From the foregoing observations our readers will naturally infer, that the modern history of the *Arabs* we present them with is no translation from the *French*, no collection from collections; but extracted from almost an infinity of original oriental authors, of the best repute, who are constantly quoted at the bottom of the page. Nay, so far have we been from following any modern versions of those authors, when the originals themselves could be procured, that we have not depended upon either *Erpenius's* *Latin* version of *Al Makin*, which indeed must be owned faulty enough, or the celebrated Dr. *Pocock's* of *Abu'l Faraj*; but have adhered to the *Arabic* text of those two historians with a religious exactness, and even emended it in several places. We have also now and then corrected the *Latin* translation of the *Cambridge Chronicle Siculum*, published by *Carusius*, though revised by the famous ^f *F. Affemani*, and even restored the true reading in several passages of the *Arabic* original itself. How widely different from M. l'Abbé *De Marigny's* execution of his plan is such an immediate deduction of facts from the best oriental authors ^g? This ingenious, though too superficial and inaccurate, (A) compiler seems to have

^f JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ad Chron. Sic. Cantabrigienf. Præfat. p. 3. Panormi, 1720.

^g Histoire des ARABES, sous le Gouvernement des CALIFES, par M. l'Abbé DE MARIGNY. A Paris, 1751.

(A) To omit many other instances of our author's inaccuracy, it may be sufficient to observe here, that he has copied several of M. *D'Herbelot's* mistakes, and that his orthography of the *Arab* proper names is frequently wrong (1).

(1) For a full proof of this, our readers may have recourse to the book itself.

formed

formed his history of the *Arabs*, under the government of the *Khalifs*, chiefly of passages extracted from M. *D'Herbelot*, and a few other western moderns (B) of still a later date. This piece, therefore, cannot well be viewed in any other light than that of the performance of a secondary writer, whose productions scarce merit the attention of the most sensible part of the public. But as we shall hereafter touch upon this subject, and the variety of materials collected for the first part of our large and extensive work, we shall easily be permitted to supersede any farther account of them here *.

* See the conclusion of Vol. III.

(B) We cannot forbear taking notice here of the mean and illiberal partiality of M. l'Abbé *De Marigny*, so common to the *French* writers; which can proceed from no other source, notwithstanding their pretended *politesse*, than an utter dislike, if not a fixed and rivetted aversion, to the *English* nation. He makes honourable mention of both M. *D'Herbelot* and M. *Re-naudot*, his country-men, from whom, it must be owned, he has extracted a very considerable part of his work; but is not pleased to inform his readers, that he has been likewise obliged to the learned Mr. *Ockley*, who has supplied him with materials for perhaps the greatest part of the first and second volumes of the performance now before us (2).

(2) See M. l'Abbé *De Marigny*'s preface to his history of the *Arabs*, under the government of the *Khalifs*.

Modern History:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The LIFE of MOHAMMED.

NO person celebrated in history has, perhaps, been *Different* considered in more different lights than *Mohammed*, *characters* the legislator of the *Arabs*, and the founder of the *given of* *Moslem* power. Some Christian writers have re- *Moham-* presented him as an odious impostor, contemptible for his defects both of body and mind, and a man of the most dis- *different* solute morals. Others, on the contrary, have not scrupled *writers.* to pronounce him one of the most eminent legislators that ever appeared in the world, adorned with the finest intellectual endowments, rendered more amiable still by the practice of every social virtue, and equally famous for his vast capacity, and the excellency of his institutions. Nay, some of these, on whom the principles both of natural and revealed religion seem to have sat easy enough, more than insinuate,

that, as he transfused into the *Korân* all the essentials, without any of the corruptions, of *Christianity*, his religious system seems at least as worthy of God as that of the Gospel, if he was not the last great prophet sent to perfect even the dispensation of *Jesus* himself*.

The tenets of the Korân much inferior to the sublime truths of the Gospel. BUT as, on the one hand, it ought not to be denied, that *Mohammed* had very considerable talents, and an intermixture of good and bad qualities, like many other men; so, on the other, it must be allowed, that, by pretending to revelations, and conferences with GOD HIMSELF, all which were absolutely false, he indubitably proved himself an impostor, and consequently a most wicked wretch. As for the tenets of the *Korân*, notwithstanding the fine picture given us of it by some late writers, who seem to have been most unreasonably prejudiced in its favour, a man must be lost to common sense, as well as piety and religion, before he can put them on a level with the sublime doctrines of the Gospel. In fine, whatever truths may be found in the *Korân*, that it contains many absurdities, will be acknowledged by every sober and intelligent person. Nor did either the excellency of its precepts, or the abilities of its author, contribute so much to the introduction of it into so large a part of the world, as the disposition of the *Arabs*, when *Mohammed* first laid claim to a divine mission, the general luxury and effeminacy of the *Greeks*, the declining condition of the *Persians*, the corrupt and distracted state of *Christianity* at that juncture, besides other concurring causes, an ample and circumstantial account of which will be given in the sequel of this history^b.

Mohammed descended from Ishmael. MOHAMMED, according to the eastern writers, descended in a direct line from *Ishmael*, the son of *Abraham*, and consequently from the patriarch *Abraham* himself. *Kedâr*, or, as the *Arabs* call him, *Kidâr*, after his father *Ishmael*'s death, seems to have communicated his name to the greater part of *Arabia Petraea*, as may be inferred from Scripture. *Kidâr* was succeeded in his possessions and authority by his son *Hamal*, as *Hamal* was by *Nabet*, or *Nabt*, and *Nabet* by *Salâmân*. After *Salâmân* came *Al Homeisa*, and then *Al Yafû*, whose son *Odad* begat *Odd*, the father of *Adnân*. This series of descents, which contains nine generations, we take to carry with it a greater air of probability than that suggested by *Mohammed*'s wife *Omm Salma*, who pretended, that her husband counted

* PRID. life of Mahom. pass. SALE's prelim. discours. pass. BOULAINVILLIERS's life of Mahom. pass. ^b PRID. SALE, BOULAINVIL. ubi supra. See also D'HERBEL. biblioth. orient. p. 598—603. SALE's explanatory notes on the *Korân*, and the *Korân* itself.

only three persons in a lineal succession between *Ishmael* and *Adnân*; viz. *Berâ* or *Nabet*, *Zeid* or *Al Homeisa*, and *Odad*. However, that it cannot be considered as strictly agreeable to truth, appears from the remote age of *Abraham*, compared with the small number of generations comprehended by the interval between *Adnân* and *Mohammed*. Nor do the *Arab* writers agree among themselves in this particular, as has been elsewhere observed. But they are so defective in point of chronology, and knew so little of any remarkable events coeval with the patriarch *Abraham*, that such a disagreement to persons even moderately versed in oriental literature will not be matter of great wonder or surprize ^c.

THE second series of descents in *Ishmael's* family, or rather *Ten gene-* that of *Mohammed*, commenced at *Adnân*, and ended in the *rations be-* person of *Febr*, surnamed *Koreish*. It consisted of ten gene- *tween Ad-* rations, as appears from *Mohammed's* progenitors, in continual *nan and* succession between *Adnân* and *Febr*. *Moad*, or *Maad*, the *Fehr*. son of *Adnân*, has been represented by the *Arabs* as a celebrated warrior, and a declared enemy to the *Jews*. *Zohari* mentions a tradition received from *Ali Ebn Moghâira*, according to which, *Moses* was cotemporary with *Moad*, and had the birth of *Mohammed* revealed to him. 'Tis likewise pretended by the *Arabs*, that *Bokht-Nasr*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, king of *Babylon*, lived at the same time; which must be allowed a fresh proof of their great accuracy and skill in chronology. *Moad* begat *Nazâr*, another famous soldier, whose standard is said to be still preserved in the temple of *Mecca*; which, from those very times, has always been esteemed the principal sanctuary of *Arabia*. He surpassed most of his countrymen in beauty and vivacity, and had his face adorned with the prophetic light. *Nazâr* became father to *Modar* (A), or *Modr*, whose son (B) *Al Yûs* begot *Modrecah* (C), the father

^c ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. ii. p. 6—8. Oxon. 1723. AL. BEIHAK. apud Abulfed. ubi supra. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 45—51. SALE's general tab. of the naturalized Arabs. See also JER. c. xlix. v. 28. ISAI. c. lx. v. 7. EZEK. c. xxvii. v. 21. PSAL. cxx. v. 5. JER. c. ii. v. 10, &c. See likewise Univ. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 374. not. (O).

(A) This prince is said to have been a very comely person, and to have excelled all the other *Arabs* in sweetness of voice. He had three brothers, *Ayyad*, *Rabîa*, and *Anmâr*; and, tho' younger than *Ayyad*, was made by his father *Nazâr* pre-

fect or guardian of the *Caaba*. *Ayyad*, from whom a numerous posterity sprang, left *Hejâz*, and, with his family, settled in *Irâk*. *Rabîa* became the father of several tribes, a minute and particular account of which we find in *Abulfeda's* General Hi-

father of *Khozaimab* (D), from whom sprung *Kenánab* (E), the father of *Al Nadr* (F), whose son *Malec* was the immediate

story. The famous Arabian poet *Motalammes*, who descended from *Dobiyab*, one of the sons of *Rabia*, was sent by the king of *Hira*, upon whom he had been very satirical in some of his poems, long before the time of *Mohammed*, to one of his governors, with a letter, wherein that officer had orders to put the bearer to death. But the poet, suspecting the contents, broke open the letter, and thereby discovered the whole affair. Hence the proverb so current amongst the *Arabs*, THE LETTER OF MOTALAMMES.— This clearly proves the *Arabs*, at least in the opinion of some of their best and most authentic writers, to have had letters in use among them many years before the birth of *Mohammed*. *Anmâr*, the youngest of *Nazâr's* sons, seated himf lf in *Yaman*, where his family greatly increased; but the members of it soon incorporated themselves with the original inhabitants of that country (1).

(B) *Al Yâs*, whose name signifies *despair*, he being born when his father *Modar* was arrived at a very advanced age, and consequently *despaired* of ever having a son, was also called *Habîb*, that is to say, *well-beloved*. He adhered to the religion and pious traditions of his ancestors; and, on all occasions, expressed a singular concern for the honour and dignity of the temple at *Mecca*. For which reasons his countrymen highly esteemed him, looking upon him to be as great a sage

as *Lohmân*, an account of whom has been already given in the history of the *Arabs*. Being the prince of his people, and lord of his tribe, no affair of importance was ever decided without his concurrence and participation. His brother *Kais*, surnamed *Aylân*, was the father of many tribes; the principal of which were the following: 1. The *Hawâzenites*, to whom belonged the sons of *Saad Ebn Bacr Ebn Hawâzen*, who brought up *Mahammed*. 2. The *Banu Kelâb*, from whom descended the lords of *Hâleb*, or *Aleppo*; the first of whom was *Saleb Ebn Merdas*. 3. The tribe of *Okail*, from whence sprung the royal family of *Mosul*. 4. The *Banu Amer*, the *Banu Sâsaab*, and the *Banu Khafâjab*, who have, for many ages, been masters of the province of *Irâk*. 5. To these may be added the *Banu Helâl*, the *Banu Thakîf*, whom some take to have been a part of the *Ayyadites*, and others the remains of the ancient *Thamudites*, inhabiting *Al Tâyes*, the *Banu Nomair*, the *Banu Bâbelab*, the *Banu Mâzen*, the *Banu Gatsân*, the *Banu Abas* (of which tribe the celebrated hero *Antarâ* was a member), and others enumerated by *Abulfeda*, in the valuable history above-mentioned.

The *Banu Dhobiyân*, who were a branch of the *Banu Gatsân*, maintained a forty years war against the *Banu Abas*. This went, among the *Arabs*, under the appellation of the war of *Dahes and Cabra*, which were the names of two horses that

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(1) *Abulfeda. Al Meidan, &c.*

diate progenitor of *Febr*. From *Febr*, who went among the *Arabs* by the surname of *Koreish*, the whole tribe of *Koreish* deduced

ran against two others, called *Al Khatar* and *Al Fana*. The difficulty of determining on which side the advantage lay occasioned that bloody contest, which lasted forty years, and afterwards passed into a proverb; it being said of every long and tedious process, *This is the war of Dahes and Cabra* (2).

(C) *Modrecab* had a brother, named *Tabekhab*, from whom descended the *Banu Tamim*, the *Banu Rabbâb*, the *Banu Dabab*, and the *Banu Mozeinab*. *Modrecab* and *Tabekhab* had the surname of *Khendaf*; which they assumed from that of their mother, whose name is said to have been *Lili*. She was the daughter of *Holwân*, the son of *Amrân*, the son of *Al Hâf*, the son of *Kodhaab*. All the aforesaid tribes were sometimes called *Banu Khendaf* (3).

(D) *Khozaimah*'s brother *Hôdbail* was the father of the *Hôdbailites*; to which tribe belonged the poet *Abu Dhowaib*, *Galeb*, *Saad*, *Kais*, and *Abd'allab Ebn Mas'ud*, *Mohammed*'s partner, or companion (4).

(E) *Kenânab* derived his name from the word *Ken*, which signifies a *cover*, *umbrage*, *protection*, &c. he having been the protector and asylum of his people. He had two brothers, *Al Harun* and *Asad*. From *Al Harun* sprung the tribes of *Adal* and *Al Daisb*, which were called *Al Kârab*, because they were joined together, and considered

as one people. From *Asad* issued the *Câbelites*, the *Dudânites*, and others, who all bore the name of *Asadites*. *Kenânab* had several sons besides *Al Nadr*, viz. *Malcân*, *Abd Manâh*, *Amru*, *Amer*, and *Malec*. From *Malecân* came the *Banu Malecân*; from *Abd Manâh* the *Banu Ghifâr*, the *Banu Baer*, the *Al Doylites*, the *Banu Leith*, the *Banu'l Hareth*, the *Banu Madlaj*, and the *Banu Damrah*; from *Amru* the *Amruites*; from *Amer* the *Amerites*; and from *Malec* the *Banu Ferâs*. From *Kenânab* also came the *Ababites*, whom some have confounded with the *Abassines*, or *Ethiopians* (5).

(F) *Al Nadr* received his name from his beauty, and the brightness of his face. We find him called *Koreish* by *Al Jannâbi*; but, according to *Abulfeda*, that was the surname of *Febr*. Nor is *Al Jannâbi* intirely consistent with himself in this particular. With regard to the origin of the word *Koreish*, it denotes a sea-monster, which devours the other monsters produced in the watry element, and is remarkable for its strength and bravery. As therefore *Febr* resembled that animal in hardness and valour, he was honoured with the name of *Koreish*. Others deduce it from the verb *kârâsha*, which signifies to *assemble*, *collect*, or *draw together*; the descendents of *Febr* having been assembled by *Kofsa*, when he formed the design of

(2) *Abulfed. bist. gen. Poc. not. in spec. bist Arab. p. 47, 48.* (3) *Poc. not. in spec. bist. Arab. p. 48. Gagn. la vie de Mahomet, tom. prem. p. 42.*
(4) *Poc. not. in spec. bist. Arab. p. 49. Gagn. la vie de Mahom. p. 43* (5) *Poc. & Gagn. ubi supra.*

deduced their name. In the time of *Adnân*, the *Arabs* fixed the rule to be observed for the conservation of their genealogies, in order to preserve the distinction of their tribes and families. 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that they should seldom trace their genealogies higher than *Adnân*, whom they acknowledge as the father of their tribes; the descents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted ^d.

Fehr the root of the politest tribe of the Arabs. FEHR seems to have distinguished himself by some glorious actions, since the *Arabs* suppose him to have been denominated *Korish* from his undaunted bravery and resolution. Be that as it will, he may be considered as the root of the politest and most celebrated tribe of the *Arabs*. He had three sons, *Gâleb*, *Mohâreb*, and *Al Hâreth*. From *Mohâreb* the *Banu Mohâreb*, denominated likewise *Sheibân*, deduced their origin; from *Al Hâreth*, the *Banu Al Kholoj*; and from *Gâleb*, in a direct line, the impostor *Mohammed*. A modern author takes *Gâleb* to have been a considerable proficient in the spagiric art; but this does not by any means appear. *Gâleb* was the father of (G) *Lowâ*, and he (H) of *Caab*, whose (I) son *Morrah* had, for his im-

mediate

^d ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed, c. 11. p. 6—8. POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 45—51. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 25—46.

making himself master of the *Caaba*. But the former etymon seems to be the best approved of by the most celebrated *Arab* historians (6).

(G) *Lowâ* had eight sons besides *Caab*, according to the author of the *Masalec*; viz. *Saad*, *Khozaimah*, *Al Hâreth*, *Amer*, *Asâmah*, *Josham*, *Awf*, and *Amru*. From four of these descended as many tribes; but *Al Hâreth* died without issue. *Amru*, the son of *Abd Wadd*, who was slain by *Ali* in the war of the ditch, was of the tribe of *Amer*. From *Lowâ* likewise, or rather his son *Caab*, sprung the *Banu Jemah*, and the *Banu Sabm*, whose progenitor was *Hoseis*, the son of *Caab*, and the *Banu Ada*, so denominated from *Ada*,

another of *Caab*'s sons. To the former tribe belonged *O-meyya*, the son of *Khalf*, an enemy to *Mohammed*; and to the latter *Omar*, one of *Mohammed*'s successors; as also *Said*, the son of *Zaid*, one of the ten martyrs (7).

(H) His brother's name was *Tayem*, surnamed *Al Adram*; that is to say, without a beard. The posterity of *Tayem*, amongst the *Arabs*, went under the denomination of *Adramites* (8).

(I) *Abu Becr*, father-in law to *Mahommed*, and his successor in the *Khalifat*, was a *Tayemite*, and consequently descended from *Tayem*, one of the sons of *Morrah*; as was also *Talba*, one of the ten martyrs. *Khâled*, the son of *Al Walid*, and *Abu Jabl*,

(6) *Al Jannabi*, *Por.* & *Gagn.* ubi supra.

Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 50. ut et ipse *Pocock*. *ibid.*

de Mahom. tom. i. p. 47. *A* Amsterdam, 1732.

(7) *Aut. lib. M'salec*, apud

(8) *Gagn.* la vie

mediate descendant, *Kelâb*, the father of *Kofa*. From *Kelâb's* son *Zabrah* issued the *Banu Zabrah*, of which tribe *Saad*, the son of *Abu Wakkâs*, was a member; as was also *Amena*, the mother of *Mohammed*. *Caab*, according to the *Arabs*, changed *Arubah*, the ancient name of the sixth day of the week, which we call *Friday*, into *Jama'a*. The former of those words signifies the day of pleasure, jollity, or public diversions; the latter, the day of the assembly, or congregation. From whence it appears, that, in the opinion of the *Arabs*, he first set *Friday* apart for divine service. *Kelâb's* true name was *Hakim*, and *Kofa's* *Zeid*. The latter of these rendered himself famous to all posterity by an exploit, of which we shall beg leave to give our readers here a short and succinct relation^e.

THE guardianship of the *Caaba* was first possessed by the *Kofa* family of *Ishmael*, but afterwards translated to the house of *Jorham*. Here it continued for several ages; after the expiration of which, it was wrested out of the hands of the *Jorhamites* by the tribe of *Khozâa*. This post gave its possessors no small influence and authority, as the temple of *Mecca* was held in excessive veneration by all the *Arabs* in general, if we only except the tribes of *Tay* and *Kathâam*, and some of the posterity of *Al Hâreth Ebn Caab*, who used not to go in pilgrimage thereto. *Kofa*, therefore, in order to aggrandize the *Koreish*, and gain reputation to his family, meditated the acquisition of this important charge; imagining that so honourable a station would make him to be revered through the whole peninsula of the *Arabs*. The execution of this design he facilitated, by marrying the daughter of *Halil*, who then governed *Mecca*, and kept the keys of the *Caaba*. Having had by her three sons, *Abd'al Dâr*, *Abd Menâf*, and *Abd'al Uzza*, and his affairs being in a very flourishing situation, whilst those of *Halil* went greatly to decay, he found it no difficult matter to engage the *Koreish*, to support him in the enterprize he had formed. Having, therefore, privately assembled a body of troops, he posted them about *Mozdalifa*, between mount *Arafat* and *Mina*, on the day when the ceremony of throwing the stones in the valley of *Mina* was performed. At the head of these he rushed out of his ambuscade,

^e ABULFED, ubi supra. POC. & GAGN. ubi supra. BOULLAINVIL. la vie de Mahom. liv. sec.

the son of *Heshâm*, whose proper name was *Amru Ebn Heshâm*, were two of the *Banu Makhzum*, who deduced their origin from *Yokdbab*, another of the sons of *Morrah* (9).

(9) POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 50.

whilst the pilgrims were employed in that exercise, and fell upon the *Khozâites* with such fury, that he put a great number of them to the sword, and forced the rest to cry out for quarter. After this blow, *Halil* and *Kosa* referring their differences to arbitration, *Yû'amer Ebn Awf*, who was chosen umpire by both parties, adjudged the sovereignty of *Mecca*, and the custody of the *Caaba*, to *Kosa*; who immediately assumed the title of king, and took an oath of allegiance from his new subjects. He then divided the town into four parts, and gave houses in the centre of it to those who had the most distinguished themselves in the late expedition ^f.

SOME authors relate this affair in a different manner. They pretend, that *Kosa* circumvented *Abu Gabshân*, then the guardian of the *Caaba*, whilst in a drunken fit, and bought of him the keys of that sacred place for a bottle of wine. But the tribe of *Khozâa*, according to the same writers, resenting the affront offered them, in the person of *Abu Gabshân*, by *Kosa*, at that time prince of the *Koreish*, formed a design of repossessing themselves of the *Caaba*. *Kosa*, receiving advice of this, privately drew together a considerable party of the *Koreishites*, with which he surprised the *Khozâites*, made himself master of *Mecca*, and secured that important conquest in such a manner, that it remained in his family till the time of *Mohammed* ^g.

WE must not omit observing here, that, according to some of the Arab historians, the *Ishmaelites* expelled the *Jorhamites* from the city of *Mecca*, and the *Caaba*, but were at last themselves chased from thence by the *Khozâites*, supported by the descendents of *Bacr*, the son of *Abd Manah*, the son of *Kenânah*. It ought also to be remarked, that the *Khozâites* were of the house of *Joktan*, and settled originally in *Yaman*, but were forced to abandon their native country by the inundation of *Al Aram*. After the terrible destruction occasioned by that inundation, the people of this tribe retired to the valley of *Marri*, near *Mecca*, where they soon arrived at a very considerable degree of power. In fine, they possessed themselves of that city, and the temple there, from whence they were dislodged by the *Koreish*, under the conduct of *Kosa*, in the manner already related ^h.

^f AL JANNAB. ABULFED. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 42. 50. 342, & alibi. MOHAMMED, in Al Kor. sur. cvi. ABR. ECHELLENS. hist. Arab. p. i. c. 3. Fortalit. fidei, lib. iv. confid. 1. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 4. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 2, 3. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 51—54. ^g Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 42. 342. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 2, 3. ^h AL BEIDAWI. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 2. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 4.

ABD MENAF, the second son of *Kofa*, was declared prince Abd Me- of the *Koreish* in his father's life-time, and his subjects then took an oath of allegiance to him. The prophetic light, which, as the *Moslems* pretend, manifested itself in his face, gave him the right of primogeniture. His proper name was *Al Maghaira*, or *Moghirah*, and one of his surnames *Al Kamar*, or *the moon*, which he received on account of his transcendent beauty. He is said to have been a religious prince, and a great encourager of piety and devotion. *Abd. Menáf* died at *Mecca*, and was buried on a little hill called *Al Hajun*; which, in after-ages, became a common place of interment. *Abd'al Dâr* was the father of the *Banu Shibab*, who were porters of the temple of *Mecca*. From *Abd'al Dâr* likewise descended *Al Nodar*, the son of *Al Hâreth*, one of *Mohammed's* most implacable enemies, who was put to death by his order, after the battle of *Bedr*. From *Abd'al Uzza*, *Kofa's* youngest son, sprung *Al Zobair*, the son of *Al Awâm*, one of the ten martyrs; as also *Khadijah*, the first wife of *Mohammed*, and *Waraka Ebn Nawfal*. The name *Abd'al Uzza* signifies the servant or worshipper of *Al Uzza*, an idol of the *Meccans*, mentioned in the *Korân*; it having been a common practice among the pagan *Arabs* to assume such names as these, in order to shew how profound a veneration they entertained for their false deities¹.

NOTHING, therefore, can be more palpably absurd, than the notion the *Mohammedans* entertain of the religious sentiments of *Kofa*, and his son *Abd Menáf*. They suppose them both to have been distinguished by the prophetic light, and consequently to have been of the true religion, or at least always to have maintained the unity of the divine nature. Whereas the very names *Abd Menáf*, *Abd'al Uzza*, amount to a clear and incontestable proof that they were immersed in a most gross and shocking idolatry².

'Tis true, the *Mohammedans* distinguish between the prophetic light and the gift of prophecy; making the latter a much more noble and sublime donation than the former. They consider the prophetic light as an internal impulse, disposing men to a compliance with the dictates of reason, and reclaiming them to a more perfect use of it; whereas they take the gift of prophecy to consist in an extraordinary mission to declare to men some ancient, neglected, or forgotten, revealed truths. However, as they intimate, that the aforesaid light was communicated to *Adam* after his repentance,

¹ ABULFED. ubi supra. POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 50, 51. GAGN. ubi supra. p. 54. ² ABULFED. POC. PRID. & GAGN. ubi sup.

and has since been imparted to none but the prophets, or such wise and good men as have rendered themselves praise-worthy for their piety, they ought not to suppose that any gross idolaters were ever favoured with it. Besides, such a supposition seems to run directly counter to what has been advanced by *Mohammed* in the *Korân*. But this is not the only absurdity to be met with in the *Moslem* historians¹:

Hâshem. *HÂSHEM* succeeded his father *Abd Menâf* in the principality of the *Koreish*, and consequently in the government of *Mecca*, and custody of the *Caaba*. His proper name was *Amru*, with the surname of *Al Ola*, or the *Sublime*, on account of his high dignity, annexed to it. *Hâshem*, his other surname, denoted *one that broke bread*; and was given him on account of his great liberality during a famine at *Mecca*, when he supplied all the inhabitants of that city with bread. Having amassed large sums of money, he took a journey into *Syria*, according to some of the *Arab* writers, where he purchased a vast quantity of meal, and made cakes of it, which he broke with his own hands, and divided amongst the people of *Mecca*, upon his arrival there. He likewise killed a prodigious number of camels, with which he fed the *Meccans*, and thereby effectually relieved them in the time of their great distress. Nay, as the soil about *Mecca* was so very barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deserts, and consequently no corn or grain, which the *Meccans* were obliged to fetch from other places, *Hâshem* took care to remedy this defect. He appointed two caravans to set out yearly for that purpose, the one in summer, and the other in winter; by means of which he amply supplied them with all sorts of provisions. These caravans of purveyors are mentioned in the *Korân*. The provisions brought by them were distributed twice a year, viz. in the month of *Râjeb*, and at the arrival of the pilgrims. In fine, *Hâshem*, by his prudent conduct, raised the glory of his people to the highest pitch; insomuch that all the neighbouring heads of tribes, and great men, made their court to him. Nay, according to some *Mohamedan* writers, the emperor *Heraclius* sought for an alliance with him. However, this will not be admitted by the learned; since the first year of the *Hejra* coincides with the twelfth of that emperor's reign. But the *Moslem* historians are such wretched chronologers, that we ought not to be surprised at meeting in their works with blunders of this kind; tho' they clearly demonstrate their great ignorance, falsehood, and par-

¹ AL SHAHRESTAN. lib. de generat. & nutritur. Mahomet. Poc. ubi supra, p. 53, & p. 68. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 6. BOUJAINVIL. ubi supra. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. sur. iii.

tiality. *Hâshem* died at *Gâza* in *Syria*, or *Shâm*, about twenty, or twenty-five, years before the war of the *elephant* ^m.

HASHEM had three brothers, whose descendants made a very considerable figure amongst the *Arabs*. *Abd Shems*, the first of them, begot *Ommiyah*, from whom descended the *Ommiyahan* khalîfs. Amongst these may be ranked *Othmân Ebn Affân*, *Moawiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân*, *Yezid Ebn Moawiyah*, *Moawiyah Ebn Yezid*, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, &c. as will hereafter more fully appear. From *Al Motâlleb* sprung the *Motâllebites*; amongst whom the *Imâm Mohammed Ebn Edris Ebn Al Abbâs Ebn Othmân Ebn Shâfêi*, commonly called *Al Shâfêi*, was of principal note. *Nawfal* has always been considered by the *Arabs* as the progenitor of the *Nawfalites*; to which tribe belonged *Waraka Ebn Nawfal*, who left idols, and acknowledged but one God, before the mission of *Mohammed*. The memory of *Hâshem* is held in such high veneration by the *Moslems*, that, from him, the kindred of *Mohammed*, amongst them, are called *Hâshemites*; and he who presides over *Mecca* and *Medina*, who must always be of the race of *Mohammed*, has the *Arabic* title of *Al Imâm Al Hâshem*, that is, *the prince, or chief, of the Hâshemites*, even to this day ⁿ.

ABD'AL MOTALLEB, the son of *Hâshem*, had the name *Abd'al of Sbaiba Al Hamid*, that is, *venerable old age*; because he Motalleb. came grey-headed into the world. The *Meccans* surnamed him *Abd'al Motâlleb*, or *the servant of Al Motâlleb*; because, having lost his father in his infancy, he was brought up by his uncle *Al Motâlleb*. In the beginning of the month of *Ramadân*, he entertained the poor upon the flat roof of his house, and afterwards supplied the very fowls of the air, and wild beasts of the field, with provisions of various kinds, which he ordered his servants to leave upon the summits of the neighbouring mountains. The *Arabs* represent him as extremely affable, and easy of access. From what has been just observed, he likewise appears to have been a person of a most generous and excellent disposition ^o.

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^m Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 51. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. 2. sub init. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. sur. cvi. GAGN. ubi supra, p. 55—59. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. JALLAL. AL BEIDAWI. ABR. ECHELLENS. hist. Arab. par. i. c. 3. AL SHAHRESTAN. lib. de generat. & nutritur. Mahomet. GABR. SIONIT. in append. ad SHARIF AL EDRISI, c. 7. PRID. life of Mahomet, p. 3. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 4. ⁿ EBN AL ATHIR, AL BEIDAWI, ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed, p. 16. Poc. ubi sup. p. 157. GAGN. & GABR. SIONIT. ubi supra. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 43. ^o EBN AL ATHIR, ABULFED. AL ZAMAKHSHAR.

WE are told by the *Mohammedans*, that GOD discovered to *Abd'al Motâlleb*, in a supernatural manner, the well *Zemzem*, about five hundred years after it had been filled up by *Amru*, the son of *Al Hârath*, prince of the *Jorhamites*, a little before he abandoned the territory of *Mecca*, and fled with his people into *Yaman*. During the aforesaid interval, the spot this famous well had formerly occupied was intirely unknown. The *Koreish* at first gave *Abd'al Motâlleb*, and his son *Al Hârath*, some obstruction in the execution of their design; but, at last, *Abd'al Motâlleb*, having got twelve sons to support him, carried his point with a high hand, and, in obedience to the divine command, opened the well *Zemzem*. The *Mohammedans* are persuaded, that *Zemzem* is the very spring which gushed out for the relief of *Ishmael*, when *Hagar*, his mother, wandered with him in the desert; and some pretend, that it was so named from her calling to him, when she spied it, in the *Egyptian* tongue, *zem, zem*, that is, *stay, stay*; tho' it seems rather to have had the name from the murmuring of its waters. Others deduce it from the verb *zem*, which signifies *to issue out of the earth*. The water of this well, which is on the east side of the *Caaba*, and covered with a small building, and cupola, is reckoned holy, and highly revered; being not only drank with particular devotion by the pilgrims, but also sent in bottles, as a great rarity, to most parts of the *Mohammedan* dominions. *Abd'allah*, surnamed *Al Hâfeeth*, from his great memory, particularly as to the traditions of *Mohammed*, gave out that he acquired that faculty by drinking large draughts of *Zemzem* water. The citizens of *Mecca* had, for a long time, no other water than that with which they were supplied by this well; but the great concourse of pilgrims, and caravans, in after-ages, rendering a more copious supply of water necessary, an aqueduct, that had been begun from a spring at a considerable distance some time before, was, after several years labour, finished by the *Kbâlis* *Al Moktader* P.

ABD'ALLAH, *Mohammed's* father, was a younger son of *Abd'al Motâlleb*, and the most beautiful person of the tribe of *Koreish*. However, he cannot be supposed to have been his father's youngest son, as *M. de Boulainvilliers* asserts; since *Hamza* and *Al Abbâs* were both younger than *Abd'allah*.

Abd'al-lah.

SHAR. AL JANNAB. ABR. ECCELLERS. POC. PRID. GAGN. ubi supra. P. Aut. lib. SAIRAT MOGHOLTAI, EBN HESHAM, GAB. SIONIT. & J. HESL. de nonnull. urb. orient. p. 19. D'HÉREBEL. bibl. orient. p. 5. GAGN. ubi supra, p. 60, 61, 62. SHARIF AL EDRIÏ, apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 124. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 99. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 3, 4.

Abd'al

Abd'al Motâlleb is said to have had twelve sons besides *Abd'allah*, whose names have been given us in the following order by *Abulfeda*: *Hamza*, *Al Abbâs*, *Abu Tâleb*, *Abu Lahab*, *Al Ghidâk*, *Al Hâreth*, *Jehel*, *Al Mokawwam*, *Derâr*, *Al Zobeir*, *Kethâm*, and *Abd'al Caaba*. From *Al Abbâs* descended the *Abbâsîdæ*; of which family were several *Khalîfs*. *Abu Tâleb* was the father of the famous *Ali*, the fourth *Khalîf*, and successor of *Mohammed*. As for *Abd'allah*, the ladies of his own tribe fell so desperately in love with him, that some of them are said to have made the same attempt upon him that *Potiphar's* wife did upon *Joseph*, according to the sacred historian. He married *Amena*, the daughter of *Wâheb*, the son of *Abd'al Menâf*, in the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year of his age, if we will believe *Abulfeda*; tho' *Ahmed Ebn Yusef* makes him to have been near ten years younger, when this event happened. Be that as it will, the *Moslems* represent *Amena* as the most beautiful, prudent, and virtuous lady of her tribe, and consequently the most worthy of so extraordinary a person as *Abd'allah* ¹.

ABD'ALLAH dying young, and in his father's life-time, left his widow, and infant son, in very mean circumstances; his whole substance consisting but of five camels and one *Ethiopian* she-slave. *Abd'al Motâlleb* was therefore obliged to take care of his grandchild *Mohammed*; which he not only did during his life, but, at his death, enjoined his eldest son *Abu Tâleb*, who was brother to *Abd'allah* by the same mother, to provide for him for the future. Soon after which, *Abd'al Motâlleb* expired; being, according to *Ebn Amid*, an hundred and ten years old at his death. That he was prince, or chief, of the *Koreish*, during the war of the elephant, we learn from *Abulfeda*; and, from *Al Juzi*, that *Abd'allah*, being sent by his father to reconnoitre the enemy, brought the first advice of their supernatural defeat. Our readers will not expect a relation of *Abraha's* expedition against *Mæcca* here, since we have already given a full and ample account of it in the history of the ancient *Arabs*, preceding the birth of *Mohammed* ¹.

¹ AL ZAMAKHSHARI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNABI, ABULFED. in genealog. *Koreishitar*. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi sup. AL KODAI, 'Poc. not.' in spec. hist. Arab. p. 51. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. de vit. Moham. c. ix. p. 21. & la vie de Mahomet, p. 62—68. ABULFED. de vit. Moham. p. 2. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi supra. EBN AMID. AL JUZI, GAGN. la vie de Mahom. p. 67, 68. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. sur. 105. SALE's prélim. disc. p. 38. Univ. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 424, 425, 426, 427.

FROM what has been said, it appears, that *Mohammed* was not of such mean extraction as some authors pretend; since his family had, for several descents, presided over the *Koreish*, the most noble tribe amongst all the *Arabians*. However, 'tis not to be wondered at, that *Mohammed*, in the beginning of his life, should have been in a very poor and despicable condition: for his father dying before he was two years old, and whilst his grandfather *Abd'al Motâlleb* was still living, all the power and wealth of his family seem to have been distributed amongst his uncles. Of these, *Abu Tâleb*, who, after his father's death, bore the chief sway in *Mecca*, made by far the most considerable figure. He arrived at a good old age, and was extremely kind to his nephew *Mohammed*; instructing him in the business of a merchant, which he followed. To this end, he took the young prophet, to use the stile of the *Moslems*, with him into *Syria*, when he was but thirteen, and afterwards recommended him to *Khadjah*, a noble and rich widow, for her factor; in whose service he behaved himself so well, that, by making him her husband, she soon raised him to an equality with the richest in *Mecca*.

The Arab historians little versed in chronology. FROM the preceding account it plainly appears, that the first series of descents in the genealogical line of *Mohammed* by no means corresponds with the course of nature. It contains only nine generations, a number apparently too small for the interval between *Abraham* and *Adnân*. For, unless we allow this, it must be maintained, that the whole space between *Abraham* and *Mohammed*, including near two thousand six hundred years, contained only thirty generations; which no rational person, moderately versed in history and chronology, will ever be disposed to admit. Those authors, therefore, who enumerate between *Ishmael* and *Adnân* forty generations, approach much nearer the truth than either *Al Beibaki*, *Al Farra*, or the tradition derived from *Omm Salma*. But even that number is too small, as it will not make the whole genealogical series between *Abraham* and *Mohammed* to consist of above sixty descents; whereas that vast interval must at least have comprehended sixty-seven or sixty-eight generations, even tho' we should make the greatest allowance that can in reason be desired for the superior extent of human life during the ages preceding *David*. We cannot therefore but dissent from *Abulfeda*, tho' a writer in good repute amongst the learned, when he gives the preference to *Al Farra's* sentiments in the point

* ABULFED. ABUNAZAR, ABU'L-FARAJ. hist. compendios. dynast. p. 161, 162. ELMACIN. lib. i. c. 1. HOTTINGER. hist. oriental. lib. ii. c. 1. GUADAGNOLI. tract. ii. c. 10. PRIË. life of Mahom. p. 4. Gagn. la vie de Mahom. liv. prem.

before us; since that author places only eight generations between *Ishmael* and *Adnân*; whereas other *Arab* chronologers enumerate about forty descents between them. Besides, *Abulfeda* makes the creation of the world to have preceded the *Hejra* 6216 years, and has placed the age of *Ishmael* at as great a distance from that of *Mohammed* as the patrons either of the *Hebrew*, *Samaritan*, or *Septuagint* chronology; and consequently ought to have assigned as large a number of generations to the interval between those ages as any Christian historian. However, as accuracy in chronological matters is not to be expected from the best of the *Moslem* historians, we are not surprised to find *Abulfeda* so deviating from the course of nature, and consequently from truth, in the particular here touched upon. But we cannot so easily excuse Mr. *Gagnier* and Mr. *Sale*, who have both implicitly followed *Abulfeda* on this occasion, and consequently decided in favour of *Al Farra*; tho', to all persons moderately versed in the first principles only of history and chronology, nothing can appear more absurd than such a decision.

As for the count of *Boulainvilliers*, we consider him only Count de as a secondary writer in the eastern, or rather *Arabian*, world; Boulain- and therefore do not greatly wonder that he should transcribevilliers a the errors of the *Arab* historians, without making proper re-writer of marks or observations upon them: nay, that he should not be no great able to distinguish such errors, when they occur, from facts *repute*. which have the most obvious and indelible characters of truth impressed upon them. That nobleman was little acquainted with the spirit and genius of the eastern writers; nay, he was an utter stranger to the *Arabic* tongue, as appears not only from his own confession, but likewise from his numerous corruptions of *Arabic* proper names; which betrays a total ignorance of even the first rudiments of that noble language. His chronological knowledge scarce comes up to even that of the *Arabs*, as must be allowed apparent from his making *Malec*, who preceded *Mohammed* but thirteen generations, coeval with *Jehoshaphat*, king of *Judah*. Nor is his sincerity, or veracity, at all superior to his abilities. He frequently runs counter to the whole stream of *Arab* antiquity, contradicting all the most celebrated *Arab* historians: nay, sometimes he does not scruple to advance points which are intirely unsupported by any noted *Arab* writer. Thus, to omit others that might be produced,

* AL BEIHAKI, AL JARRA, & OMM SALMA apud Ism. Abulfed. de vit. Moham. c. ii. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. & c. xxiii. p. 47—50. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. introduct. par. ii. SALE's genealog. tab. in prelim. disc. p. 8. See also dissertat. on the chronology of the septuagint, Lond. 1741.

he asserts, that *Malec* revived in his family the prophetic light; whereas, according to the *Arabs*, all *Malec's* predecessors, even up to *Adnan*, were adorned with that light. He also affirms *Galeb*, the son of *Febr*, to have been a most celebrated chemist; and that his chemical works have been translated into the *vulgar tongue*; by which he must mean either *Latin* or *French*; intimating hereby, that chemistry was understood by the *Arabs* near four hundred years before the birth of *Mohammed*; whereas *Feber* (K), who lived above an hundred years after that event, was the first *Arab* famed for his knowledge in the spagiric art, and the earliest *Arab* chemist, whose works are now extant. As the word *Feber*, in the *Arabic* language, signifies a great man, and a king, the author last mentioned is commonly supposed to have been a prince; and, as he wrote in *Arabic*, a prince of *Arabia*. This undoubtedly gave occasion to the count *de Boulainvilliers* to assert, that *Galeb*, in his chemical works, was dignified with the title of king; which clearly proves him to have confounded *Galeb*, the son of *Febr*, with *Feber* the great reformer and improver of chemistry. Such an egregious blunder as this cannot fail of prejudicing all our learned readers against his performance, and convincing us that he was unequal to the task he undertook, when he ventured to write the life of *Mohammed*. But of this we shall hereafter meet with many flagrant proofs. In fine, the count *de Boulainvilliers's* piece now before us ought

(K) *Feber*, or *Febr*, according to *Leo Africanus*, was originally a *Greek*, and a *Christian*; but afterwards embraced *Mohammedism*, went over into *Asia*, and there learned the *Arabic* tongue. He adds, that his book was wrote in *Greek*, and translated thence into *Arabic*; and that he was not known by the name *Feber* till after this version.

Goltius, professor of the oriental languages in the University of *Leyden*, presented *Feber's* piece in MS. to the public library there. This he translated into *Latin*, and published first at *Leyden*, in *folio*, and afterwards in *quarto*, under the title of *Lapis Philosophorum*. It contains many useful and curious things about

the nature of metals, their purification, fusion, malleability, &c. with excellent accounts of salts, and *aqua fortis*. Abundance of his experiments, according to the famous Dr. *Boerhaave*, are verified by present practice; and several of them have passed for modern discoveries. Except for what relates to the philosopher's stone, says the same learned author, the exactness of his operations is really surprising. He seems to have lived, continues this writer, in the eighth century. For a farther account of him, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to Dr. *Boerhaave*, in the piece here mentioned (10).

(10) *Boerhaave's history of chemistry*, p. 14, 15. Lond. 1727. See also *Leo Africanus*, lib. iii. c. 106.

not to be considered as a history of *Mohammed*, but as an impious romance, interspersed with arbitrary assertions, void of all foundation and authority; or, if we please, as a panegyric upon that impostor, abounding with blasphemous reflections, that strike at the very fundamental principles of the Christian religion ^u.

IN vain, therefore, does his translator endeavour to palliate the ignorance, chimerical notions, and irreligious sentiments, so conspicuous in this piece, by stiling them *comprehensive learning, profound reading, dignity of thoughts, refined sentiments, and excellent documents*. With the same success does he attempt to vindicate the count's sincerity, by asserting, that this writer only levelled his reflections at the corruptions of the church of *Rome*. For that many of his observations are clearly subversive of some fundamental articles of our holy faith, and were therefore probably intended by him to overturn the foundations of Christianity, cannot, as we apprehend, be well denied. Besides, as he professed himself a member of the church of *Rome*, when he wrote his *LIFE OF MOHAMMED*, it did not so well become him, considered as a man of uprightness and sincerity, to expose the corruptions of that church. But it is a common and stale artifice, amongst the propagators of infidelity, to pretend to have only in view the errors of the church of *Rome*, which must be owned to be a corrupt and idolatrous communion, when they are either sapping the foundations of revealed religion, or making a direct and formal attack upon it. So that, in our opinion, the translator of the count *de Boulainvillier's* *LIFE OF MOHAMMED* discovers himself to have been a person of the same capacity, of the same extensive reading, of the same profound erudition, of the same sincerity and veracity, and, lastly, of the very same religion, with the original author. But it is time now to put an end to this digression, and return to the history of *Mohammed* ^w.

MOHAMMED, the legislator of the *Arabs*, and founder of *Mohammed* the *Moslem* power, honoured by his followers with the glorious title of *THE APOSTLE OF GOD*, was born at *Mecca*, in the year in the year of *CHRIST* 578, soon after the commencement of the æra of *THE ELEPHANT*, as has been already observed. 578. The principal epochs of the ancient world preceded this famous event, according to *Abulfeda*, the following numbers of years ^x.

THE

^u M. le Comte de BOULAINVILLIERS vie de Moham. liv. sec. & alibi pass. ABULFED. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL JANNAB. aliiq. scriptor. Arab. GAGN. ubi sup. in introduct. par. ii. H. BOERH. hist. of chem. p. 143. Lond. 1727. ^w BOULAINV. pass. See also his translator's ded. and pref. ^x 10M. ABUL-

THE creation of the world,	—	—	—	6163.
THE universal deluge,	—	—	—	3921.
THE confufion of languages,	—	—	—	3251.
THE birth of <i>Abraham</i> ,	—	—	—	2840.
THE building of the <i>Caaba</i> ,	—	—	—	2740.
THE death of <i>Moses</i> ,	—	—	—	2295.
THE building of the temple at <i>Jerusalem</i> ,	—	—	—	1749.
THE commencement of the æra of <i>Nabonassar</i> ,	—	—	—	1316.
THE destruction of the temple at <i>Jerusalem</i> ,	—	—	—	1297.
THE conquest of the <i>Persian</i> empire by <i>Alexander</i> the Great,	—	—	—	881.
THE victory at <i>Actium</i> ,	—	—	—	599.
THE commencement of the <i>Christian</i> Æra,	—	—	—	578.
THE destruction of the temple of <i>Jerusalem</i> by <i>Titus</i> ,	—	—	—	505.
THE first year of the emperor <i>Hadrian</i> ,	—	—	—	454.
THE insurrection of <i>Ardesbir</i> , the son of <i>Bâbek</i> ,	—	—	—	369.
THE beginning of the reign of <i>Diocletian</i> ,	—	—	—	286.

THE pretended prophet first saw the light on *Monday* the twelfth day of the month called by the *Arabs* the former *Rabî*, precisely at the sixth hour of the day; or, according to our manner of computing, about noon. This answered to the same hour of the twenty-second day of the *Syriac* month *Nisan*, corresponding with our *April*; the sun being then in the tenth degree of *Aries*, as has been particularly remarked by some of the *Moslem* historians.

*Prodigies
at Mo-
ham-
med's
birth.*

THE *Mohammedan* writers pretend, that the moment their prophet was taken out of his mother's womb, there rushed out with him a luminous appearance, that enlightened, in an extraordinary manner, all the cities, towns, villages, castles, and public places, of *Syria*. They add, that, at the same instant, he fell upon his knees, and, lifting up his face towards heaven, in a devout manner, pronounced, with an audible and distinct voice, the words *Allah Acbar*, &c. that is to say, *God is great; there is only one God, and I am his prophet*. They likewise affirm, that he was born circumcised (L), and with

FED. de vit. Mohammed. c. xxxiii. p. 46—50. Edit. Gagn. Oxon. 1723. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 162. Oxon. 1663. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. 1. p. 2. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 5, 6. Vide etiam lib. Perf. MU'GJIZAT PHARSI apud Cl. Hyd. in præfat. ad hist. relig. vet. Perf. fol. penult. init. & GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 2.

(L) This prodigy seems to have been feigned by the *Mohammedans*, in imitation of the *Talmudists*; according to whom, there were only the following fourteen persons born circumcised, from the creation of the world: *Adam, Seth, Noah, Shem, Melchi-*

with his umbilical vessels cut, to the great astonishment of all who were present at his birth ².

SOME of these writers have also handed down to us a long detail of the prodigies that attended his birth, as they were related by his mother *Amna*. Our curious readers will not be displeased to meet with a few of the most remarkable of them here; as they will serve to give them a tolerable idea of the *Arab* genius, and clearly demonstrate how easily and grossly the *Mohammedans* may be imposed upon ^a.

FIRST, All the demons, or evil spirits, that had posted themselves in the constellations, and signs of the Zodiac, to pry into the actions, and overhear the discourses, of the inhabitants of heaven, as also to tempt them, were dislodged from thence: nor could they ever after animate idols; or deliver oracles upon earth; their influence therè, in that respect, being totally destroyed ^b.

SECONDLY, The sacred fire of the *Persians*, which had remained burning, without intermission, above a thousand years, ever since the time of *Zoroaster*, or *Zerdusht*, immediately after the delivery of *Amna*, was totally extinguished ^c.

THIRDLY, The waters of the lake of *Sawa*, belonging to the *Banu Hamdân*, were so intirely dried up, that a city was built on the bottom of it, which has preserved the name of *Sawia* even to this day ^d.

FOURTHLY, Part of the king of *Persia*'s palace was overthrown by an earthquake; fourteen of its towers having been demolished by the violence of the shock. This so terrified *Khosrû*, that he immediately sent for the *Mubadân* (M), of *Persia*.

Magian

² AL HAFEDH apud Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 5. ut et ipse ABULFED. ibid. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. i. p. 77, 78.

^a BEN HESHAM, AL HAFEDH, MAKHZUM, & ABULFED, ubi supra.

^b AL KOR. MOHAMMED. s. xv. v. 16. AL BRIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, &c. Vid. etiam GAGN. ubi supra.

^c AL HAFEDH, ABULFED. MAKHZUM, & al. Vide etiam LUDOVIC. MARRACC. prodr. par. i. p. 40.

^d Ibidem ibid. & GAGN. ubi supra.

Melchisedek, Jacob, Joseph, Job, Moses, Balaam, Samuel, David, Jeremiab, and Zerubbabel. Not the least mention is made of circumcission in the *Korân*; but a long account of this rite, as used by the *Arabs*, may be met with in Dr. *Pecock*, and others (11).

(M) The most ancient order

(11) *Jelammednu*, fol. iv. col. 4. R. *Gedalia in Sba'sbelet Hakabbala*, ex R. *Natban. Pirke Aboth, &c. Vajikra Rabba*, sect. iv. Pec. not. in spec. bibl. Arab. p. 319. *Hadr. Rehad. de relig. Mohammed.* p. 75, & 268. Gagn. in not. ad Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 3.

Magian pontiff, to learn of him what such a disaster might portend. The *Mubūdān*, or *Mūbedbān*, instead of satisfying the king directly, told his majesty, that he had lately seen in a dream a fierce and strong camel vanquished by a beautiful *Arabian* horse; and that, after this, the *Tigris* seemed to him to overflow its banks, and lay all the neighbouring country under water: which, said he, imports, that we shall receive some bad news from the side of *Arabia*. Upon this, *Khoṣrū* dispatched an express to *Al Nooman*, the son of *Al Mondar*, an *Arab* prince, who held his residence at *Hira*, a city seated on the frontiers of *Syria* and *Persia*, one of his vassals, commanding him to come to court, and bring an *Arabian* interpreter of dreams and prodigies with him. *Al Nooman*, in obedience to this order, soon after presented to the king *Abd'al Massih*, the *Ghassanite*, to whom *Khoṣrū* imparted a particular account of the preceding prodigies, and desired an interpretation of them. To which *Abd'al Massih* replied, that he should easily satisfy his majesty, if he might have leave to consult his uncle *Satih*, a celebrated diviner, who resided in the eastern part of *Syria*. Which having obtained, he received for answer from the sage, that the fall of the fourteen towers, with the drying up of the lake of *Sawa*, the *Mūbedbān*'s dream, and the extinction of the sacred fire of the *Persians*, denoted the failure of the royal family of the *Sassanidæ*, and the subjugation of the *Persians*, after the reigns of fourteen kings and queens; which accordingly happened. We are farther told, that *Satih* (N), being extremely affected with *Abd'al Massih*'s relation of the foregoing prodigies, ordered himself to be carried to *Mecca*, where *Mohammed* was lately born. Here he met with *Abu Tâleh*, *Mohammed*'s uncle, and *Abd'allah*, his father, to whom he foretold the future advancement of the child; and, amongst

of ecclesiastics amongst the *Persians* was called, in their language, *Mūgh*, or the order of the *Magi*. The next superior order was termed *Mūbad*, an abbreviation of *Mūghbad*, the prefect, or prelate, of the *Magi*. The arch-prelate, or supreme pontiff, of the *Magi*, was known by the name of *Mūbad Mūbadān*, and sometimes simply *Mūbadān*. For a farther account of this ecclesiastical officer, we

must beg leave to refer our readers to Dr. *Hyde*, and the authors cited by him (12).

(N) This *Satih*, if *Al Jannabi* may be credited, reigned in the city of *Najrān*. According to *Al Bokhārī*, his true name was *Rabia Ebn Mazem*. For a farther account of him, we must refer our readers to the aforesaid *Arab* authors, who have been pretty prolix on that head (13).

(12) *imūl Al Kōrāṣi*, *Rustem Al Māulawi*, *Halīmi Persicus*, aliique apud V. C. Tho. Hyde, in *hist. relig. vet. Persar.* p. 364--366, ut & ipse Hyde ib.
(13) *Al Jannab. in vit. Mohammed. Al Bokhār.* Vide etiam *Gagn.* not. ad *Abul-jed.* ubi supra, p. 4, 5.

other things, said, "His name is known both in the LAW
"and the GOSPEL; his name in heaven is *Ahmed*, on earth
" *Mohammed*, and, in paradise, *Abu'l Kâsem* * (O)."

WE need not inform our intelligent readers here, that these extravagant fictions have been coined by the *Mohammedans*, in order to represent the birth of their pretended prophet as similar to that of our Saviour CHRIST; or, in other words, to draw a sort of parallel between those two events: for, as we are assured by the sacred writers, that our Lord was GOD manifested, to destroy the works of the devil; that he should save his people, or all mankind, from their sins; that the glory of the Lord shone round about some shepherds abiding in the neighbouring fields, at his birth, when an angel of the LORD came upon them; that Simeon, an holy devout person, and Anna, a prophetess, predicted most illustrious things of him; that, some time after his birth, wise men, or rather Magi, came from the East, to worship him, and, in acknowledgment of his greatness, to make presents to him; that they were directed to Bethlehem, the place of his residence, by a star, or luminous appearance, &c.; so the *Moslem* writers affirm, that, at Mohammed's birth, a supernatural light spread itself all over Syria; that all demons were then expelled the celestial orbs; that other unaccountable prodigies happened; that Satih, a celebrated wise man, or diviner, being struck with them, went to Mecca, to see so wonderful an infant, and there foretold his future greatness, &c. From whence it clearly appears, that the *Mohammedan* writers imitated, or rather aped, the sacred penmen, in the point before us; tho'

* AL HAFEDH, ABULFED. MAKHZUM, MARRACC. ubi supra.
AL JANNABI, RUSTEM AL MAULAVI, AL BOKHARI. HYD.
hist. rel. vet. Persar. p. 364.

(O) Mohammed received the prænomén of *Abul Kâsem* from *Kâsem*, the name of the eldest son he had by *Khadijah*, as was customary amongst the *Arabs*. According to *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, Mohammed was the first who had the name of *Ahmed*, or *Mohammed*, imposed upon him; but this is contradicted by *Ebn Khalecân*, who, in his life of the celebrated poet *Farazdak*, re-

lates, that three *Arabs*, before Mohammed, went by that name. However, if any regard be due to the *Korân*, as not many Christians perhaps will believe, the pretended prophet of the *Moslems* was the first *Arab* called Mohammed. The word *Ahmed* signifies praised, glorious, &c. and Mohammed, most praised, most glorious, &c. in the superlative degree (14).

(14) *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, *Ebn Khalecân*, & *Al Kor. Moham.* f. lxi. v. 6. Vide etiam Gagn. not. ad *Abulfed. de vit. Moham.* p. 7. & *Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab.* p. 167. -- 169.

the relations of the latter are as different from those of the former, as reality is from fiction, religion from superstition, sacred and divine truth from diabolical error and delusion ^f.

Abd'al Motalleb calls his grandson Mohammed.

ABD'AL MOTALLEB, *Mohammed's* grandfather, the seventh day after his birth, made a great entertainment, to which he invited the principal of the *Koreish*; who, after the repast, desired him to give the infant, he had invited them to see, a name. *Abd'al Motalleb* immediately replied, *I name this child Mohammed*. The *Koreish* grandees, astonished at this, asked him again, whether he would not choose to call his grandson by a name that had belonged to some one of his family. He answered, *May the Most High glorify in heaven him whom he has created on earth!* in which he seemed to allude to the name *Mohammed*, signifying *praised, glorified, &c.* 'Tis worthy of observation, that this account of the imposition of *Mohammed's* name is nothing more than an imitation of what *St. Luke* has related on a similar occasion; which is an additional proof, that the history of *Mohammed*, as given us by the *Arabs*, abounds with fictitious circumstances; and that the veracity of the *Moslem* historians, in this point at least, is not much to be depended upon ^g.

Mohammed lost his father very young.

MOHAMMED lost his father *Abd'allah*, when he was about two months old, according to *Abulfeda*; tho' others believe, that his father died before he was born. *Abd'allah* departed this life at *Yathreb*; being his father's favourite, both on account of the beauty of his person, and the excellency of his disposition. We must not omit observing here, that *Yathreb* was the ancient and proper name of *Medina*, or of the territory whereon it stands. Some suppose the town was so named from its founder, *Yathreb*, the son of *Kâbiya*, the son of *Mablayel*, the son of *Aram*, the son of *Shem*, the son of *Noah*; tho' others tell us it was built by the *Amalekites*. Be that, however, as it will, *Yathreb* was never called *Medina*, or *Medinat'el-Nabi*, i. e. *the city of the prophet*, till either *Mohammed's* retreat thither, or his interment there, in a magnificent building, covered with a cupola, and adjoining to the east side of the great temple, which is built in the midst of the city. *Abd'allah* was twenty-five years old, a little before the war of the *elephant* commenced, according to *Abulfeda*; but

^f 1 JOH. c. iii. v. 8. MAT. c. i. v. 21. LUK. c. ii. v. 8, 9, &c. MAT. c. ii. v. 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. AL BEIDAWAI, JALLALO'DDIN, AL HAFEDH, ABULFED. EBN HESHAM, AL JANNAB. &c. ubi supra. Vide etiam LUDOVICUM MARRACCIIUM, ubi sup. ^g AL HAFEDH, ABU BECR AHMED AL BAIHEK. AL SHAF. apud Ism. Abulfed. ubi supra, ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. LUK. c. i. v. 60—64.

he is supposed to have been near ten years younger at that time by *Al Fannabi* ^h.

THE first nurse that suckled *Mohammed*, after his mother, *Moham-* was *Thawiba*, his uncle *Abu Lahab*'s maid. She at the same med's time suckled her own son *Mafruh*, *Hamza*, another of the nurses, prophet's uncles, and *Abu Salama*, the son of *Abd'al Asad*, &c. the *Makhrumbite*. He was also nursed by *Halima*, at his mother *Amena*'s request, the daughter of *Abu Dowaih*, the son of *Al Hareth*, of the *Banu Saad*, who took him into the desert inhabited by her tribe, and, after some time, brought him again to *Mecca*. We are told by *Abulfeda*, that *Halima*, whilst *Mohammed* was under her care, and her husband *Al Hareth*, the son of *Abd'al Uzza*, one day found the young prophet strangely disordered; and were greatly surprised, when he informed them, that he had been thrown down upon the ground by two men, who had opened his belly. This induced *Halima* to think, that he had been either attacked by some hypocondriac disorder, or been frightened by some diabolical illusion; and therefore she immediately brought him home to his mother *Amena*. None of the *Moslem* writers have given us any clear and distinct account of the malady *Mohammed* was afflicted with; tho', from several hints to be met with in them, as well as in the *Koran*, it seems probable, that this was the epilepsy, or falling-sickness. Nor can this well be doubted, tho' it has been flatly denied by the learned *Mr. Ockley*, who was too much prejudiced in favour of the *Arabian* impostor. *Mr. Sale* takes the expression of *opening the belly*, or rather the *breast*, to import no more, than that the mind of *Mohammed* was opened and enlarged, in order to receive the truth, and wisdom, as well as prophecy; or that it was freed from uneasiness and ignorance. The passage of the *Koran* he had in view is thought by some of the interpreters of that book to intimate the *opening of Mohammed's heart*, in his infancy, or when he took his journey to heaven, by the angel *Gabriel*; who, having wrung out the *black drop*, or seed of original sin, washed and cleansed the same, and filled it with wisdom and faith. *Halima* brought up with *Mahommed*, *Abd'allah*, *Anisa*, and *Hadhama*, or *Al Shima*; and, being afterwards reduced to great poverty, had forty sheep given her, at *Mohammed's* request, by his wife *Khadijah*. *Halima* and her husband *Al Hareth* were some of the first

^h ISM. ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 1, 2. AHMED EBN YUSEF & SHARIF AL EDRISI apud Pocock. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 122—128. ut et ipse Pocock. ibid. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 97. ABULFED. descript. Arab. p. 40. Vide etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. i. p. 65, 66.

that embraced *Islamism*, or the *Mohammedan* religion. We are told, that the preceding disorder happened to the young prophet immediately after his first return to *Mecca*, in the third year of his age, by *Ahmed Ebn Yusef* and *Al Jannabi*¹.

Amena
dies;

MOHAMMED lived three years with his mother *Amena*, after he had been obliged to leave *Halima*, and her husband *Al Hareth*, by the foregoing indisposition; at the end of which, she departed this life, her son being then about six years of age, at a town called *Al Abwa*, situated between *Mecca* and *Medina*. This town stood to the north of *Al Johfa*, from whence it was distant about eight parasangs. *Amena* had been visiting her uncles of the *Banu Ada*, and died on the road, in her return home. After this sad event, his grandfather *Abd'al Motaleb* took the young prophet under his protection; and, in many respects, preferred him to his own sons; to whom he frequently said, *We must take particular care of this young infant*^k.

as does
Abd'al
Motaleb.

Two years after the death of *Amena*, *Abd'al Motaleb* likewise departed this life; but, before he expired, he joined his eldest son *Abu Taleb*, who was brother to *Abd'allah*, *Mohammed's* father, by the same mother, to provide for his grandchild *Mohammed*, for the future; which he very affectionately did, and instructed him in the business of a merchant. This happened towards the beginning of the reign of *Khosrú Hormúz* (P), the son of *Khosrú Anushirwán*, king

¹ ABULFED. ubi supra, c. iii. & iv. p. 8—11. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xciv. v. 1. AL BEIDAWI, AHMED EBN YAHYA, Sale's translation of the Korán, p. 494. ZONAR. HOTTING. hist. Orient. lib. i. c. 11. p. 10. LUDOVICUS MARRACCIVS, in refut. Alc. p. 762. col. 2. Pat. 1698. Vide etiam GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 9. PETAV. ration. temp. par. i. p. 507. & SIM. OCKLEIUM, apud Gagn. ubi supra. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNABI, &c. ^k ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 10. & in geogr. p. 13. AL JANNABI, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. hist. dynast. p. 161, 162.

(P) The *Arab* writers call this prince *Kesra*, but the *Persians* write and pronounce his name *Khosrú*. He was surnamed, according to *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, *Al-Malec Al-Adel*, or the just king. The same author relates, that *Abd'allah*, the father of *Mohammed*, was born in the twenty-fourth, and *Mohammed* himself in the forty-second year of his reign. It ought to be remarked here, that *Kesra*, or *Khosrú*, was the common name of the *Persian* kings, especially of the house of the *Sassanides*, as *Cæsar* was that of the *Roman* emperors (15).

(15) *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, in hist. sect. 54. *Abulfed. ubi supra*, p. 2. & alibi. Vide etiam Gagn. not. ad *Abulfed. ubi supra*, p. 2, 3.

of *Persia*; in which year, according to some of the eastern writers, *Abu Becr* was born ¹.

ABU TALEB, in order to perfect his nephew in the employment he had chosen for him, took him with him into Syria, whither he found himself obliged to go on affairs of commerce, when he was but about twelve or thirteen years of age. He no sooner arrived at *Bosra* (Q), an ancient city of Syria *Damascena*, than he visited a monastery, where he found a Nestorian monk, named *Felix*, the son of *Jonas*, the son of *Abd'al Salibi*, and surnamed *Boheira*; who advanced towards them, treated them with great marks of distinction, and gave them a grand entertainment ^m. We are told by *Abu'l Hasan Ali Al Masudi*, that this monk was called by the Christians *Sergius*, and belonged to the monastery of *Abd'al Kais*. From whence we may justly infer, as hath been observed by Dr. *Prideaux*, that he was the *Sergius of Vincentius Bellovacensis*, so frequently mentioned by other Latin writers. The word *boheira* seems to be equivalent to the Latin *marinus*, of or belonging to the sea, marine, &c.; tho' Dr. *Prideaux* assigns it another interpretation. Of this extraordinary person we shall have occasion farther to speak in the sequel of this history ⁿ.

¹ ABULFED. ubi sup. AL MONTEK. apud Al Jannab. AL TABAR. apud Elmacin. &c. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi supra. ^m ABULFED. ubi supra. AL JANNABI, AL KODAI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, ABU'L-FARAJ. hist. dynast. ABU'L-HASAN ALI AL MASUD. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet. Vide etiam Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 170. & GENTII not. ad Mussadih. Sad. p. 536. ⁿ AHMED EBN YUSEF, ABU'L HASAN ALI AL MASUD. ABU'L HASAN AL BECR comment. in Al Kor. VINCENT. BELLOVACENS. in specul. historic. Georg. monach. in dialog. cum Abu Salama, princip. Arab. PETR. PASCHAE. in hist. Mahumetic. c. viii. PRID. life of Mahomet, p. 41.

(Q) This city, which is supposed by *Reland* to have been denominated by the Hebrews בעשתרה, *beestera*, or *bostrai*, from עשתרה, *the house of Estera*, or *Astaroth*, is made by *Abulfeda* the metropolis of *Hawran*. He assigns it, from *Al Biruni*, the longitude of 60°

8', and the latitude of 33° 35'. It stands about four stations to the S. of *Damascus*, and near it was the monastery of *Boheira*, the monk. *Ahmed Ebn Yusuf* informs us, that *Mohammed*, soon after his first arrival at *Bosra*, visited this monastery (16).

(16) *Hadr. Reland. Palest. illustrat. tom. ii. p. 265. Trajecti Batavorum, 1714. Al Birun. apud Abulfed. in geogr. ut & ipse Abulfed. ibid. Ahmed Ebn Yusuf, in descript. urbium, &c.*

He is entertained by Boheira.

UPON Mohammed's first approach to *Boheira*, the monk observed a sort of luminous or transparent cloud round his head, that preserved him from the solar rays; as also that the dry trees, on which he sat, were every-where covered instantly with green leaves, that served him for a shade: certain signs these that the prophetic dignity resided in him. He likewise discovered the seal of prophecy impressed between his shoulders, whilst he kissed the hinder part of his garment. Turning then to *Abu Tâleb*, *Depart*, said he, *with this child, and take great care, that he does not fall into the hands of the Jews; for your nephew will one day become a very extraordinary person.* *Abu Tâleb* hereupon immediately returned to *Mecca*, and gave an account to the *Koreish* of the discoveries that had been made. In the mean time, *Mohammed*, as he advanced towards the years of puberty, grew extremely popular. He was remarkable for his amiable qualities, and shining accomplishments, both of body and mind. He was the most handsome and the best made man of all the *Arabs* of his time; and not only so, but he likewise surpassed them all in sagacity and good sense. He was judicious in his answers, just in his expressions, sincere both in his words and actions, and studiously avoided every thing that had but the least appearance of indecency and dishonesty; insomuch that he went amongst his countrymen by the name of *Al-Amin*, or *the Faithful*. In fine, he was blessed with all the moral and intellectual endowments that can adorn a great and good man. This is the fine portrait given us of *Mohammed*, at the age of fourteen years, by some of the *Moslem* historians.

The Christian writers give Mohammed a bad character.

BUT the *Christian* writers, on the contrary, who are the most to be depended upon, have set both the character of this impostor, and his doctrines, in a very different light. They have represented him as an inventor and publisher of the most flagitious falsehoods, as a propagator of the most wicked imposture, and as the founder of a religion that is utterly destructive of all true holiness and purity of mind. And whether this representation be just or not, let even the memoirs of *Mohammed's* life, transmitted down to us by the best *Moslem* historians, the tenets of the *Korân* itself, and the principles professed by the *Mohammedans*, in consequence of those tenets, from the time of their pretended prophet to this very day, decide.

As

° ABULFED. ubi supra. AL JANNABI, AL KODAI, AHMED EBN YUSEF. ABU'L-FARAJ. hist. dynast. ABU'L-HASAN ALI AL MASUD. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet. Vide etiam Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 170. & GENTII not. ad Mussadin. Sac. p. 536. P ZONAR. HOTTING. hist. Orient. &c. Vide etiam

As therefore the truth or falsity of what has been advanced *He is un-* by the *Christian* writers, in relation to *Mohammed's* character, *justly win-* as well as that of his doctrines, may be so easily and certainly *dicated by* discovered, Mr. *Sale* seems to determine with too much pre- *Mr. Sale.* cipitation, when he more than insinuates the preceding representation to have been owing to the partiality of the *Christians*, who, on account of the great successes of the *Mohamedans* against them, must necessarily have been inspired with a horror of their religion. For this looks more like an apology for *Mohammed* and the *Korân*, if not a palliation of the cruelties exercised by that impostor's followers upon the professors of *Christianity*, than a true and just account either of the disposition of the one, or the spirit of the other.

BUT to return to our history—*Mohammed* made his first *Moham-* campaign, when he was fourteen, according to *Abulfeda*, or med's first twenty, as the other eastern historians will have it (which is *campaign,* indeed the most probable opinion) years of age, under his &c. uncle *Abu Tâleb*, who commanded the *Koreish* against the tribes of *Kenân* and *Hawazan*. What gave occasion to this war, we are no-where told; but as it was carried on with great violence and fury through the course of the four sacred months *Al Moharram*, *Rajeb*, *Dhu'lkaada*, and *Dhu'lhajja*, without any regard thereto, it was termed the *impious war*. It may not be improper to remind our readers here, tho' we have taken notice of it before, that, during these months, it was held unlawful, amongst the *Arabs*, to wage war; they then taking off the heads from their spears, and ceasing from incursions, and other hostilities. Whoever was in fear of his enemy, lived then in full security; so that if a man met the murderer of his father, or his brother, he durst not attack him, or even offer him any manner of violence. The tribes of *Tay* and *Khatbâam*, and some of the descendents of *Al Hâreth Ebn Caab*, who distinguished no time or place as sacred, were the only *Arabs* that slighted this institution. We must not omit observing, that the *Koreish*, under the conduct of *Abu Tâleb* and young *Mohammed*, in this war, were victorious; which could not fail of rendering the people of their tribe still more devoted to them.

LUDOVICUM MARRACCIUM, in prodr. & refut. Al-Koran. Pata-vii, 1698. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, pass. SALE's pref. and prelim. disc. p. 40. ¹ SALE, ubi sup. & alibi. ² ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 11. AL FIRAUZABADI, AL KODAI, AL JAWHAR. AL SHAHRESTAN. AL KAZWIN. AL MOGHOLTAI. Vide etiam GELII not. ad Alfragan. p. 4, 5. & POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 174, &c.

He discovers great sagacity.

'Tis pretended by *Al Juzi*, that *Mohammed*, about this time, tho' so young, gave a signal proof of his profound sagacity, on a very particular occasion. The *Koreish*, according to this author, having found that the *Caaba*, or the square stone-building of the temple of *Mecca*, was too small, and too low, formed a design of demolishing it, and erecting a larger and higher edifice in its room. But when the new building was raised to its intended height, continues the same writer, where the *black stone* was to be placed, the tribes could not agree amongst themselves about the person who was to have the honour of placing it. However, they came at last to a resolution to refer the decision of this dispute to the person who should next approach the holy place, called by the *Arabs* *Al Harâm*; which happened to be young *Mohammed*. At his direction, the stone was raised on a piece of tapestry, by one man of every tribe, to its intended height, and then taken from them, and fixed in its proper place by the prophet himself. The *Caaba* was then covered with tapestry of various colours, and rebuilt by the *Koreish* on the old foundation. It was afterwards repaired by *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, the *Khalif* of *Mecca*, and at length again rebuilt by *Yusef*, surnamed *Al Hejâj*, with some alterations, and covered with tapestry of silk, in the form wherein it now remains, in the seventy-fourth year of the *Hejra*. But of the *Caaba*, and every thing belonging to it, we shall give a full and ample description hereafter*.

Mohammed marries Khadijah.

WE hear little farther of *Mohammed*, till he was twenty-five years of age, when he married *Khadijah*, a noble and rich widow, to whom his uncle *Abu Tâleb* first recommended him for her factor; after he had sufficiently instructed him in mercantile affairs. *Khadijah* was the daughter of *Khowailed*, the son of *Asad*, the son of *Abd'al Uzza*, the son of *Kosa*, the son of *Kelâb*, of the tribe of *Koreish*. *Mohammed* undertook a second journey into *Syria*, after he had entered into her service, attended by her servant *Maisara*; and acquitted himself so much to her satisfaction, that, soon after his return to *Mecca*, she thought fit to make him her husband. *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* were therefore undoubtedly mistaken, when they asserted *Mohammed* to have served *Khadijah* in so mean and low a capacity as that of keeper of her camels, at the time that she thought proper to bestow both her person and fortune upon him. This event was owing, if *Abulfeda* may be credited, to the high opinion she entertained of *Moham-*

* *AL JUZI* in lib. de ritib. peregrinat. Meccan. c. lxxviii. *ABULFEDA* ubi sup. c. vi. p. 13, 14. & in hist. gen. *AL JAN-NABI*. Vid. etiam *GAGN.* not. ad *Abulfeda*. ubi sup. & *SALE*'s prelm. discours. p. 116, 117.

med's integrity, which was greatly heightened by *Maïfara*, who scrupled not to affirm, that he had seen two angels shade her factor with their wings from the scorching beams of the sun. If this be true, *Mohammed* began to act the part of an impostor pretty early; and discovered himself to be a person of some capacity, even at that time, by finding means to influence *Maïfara* in his favour. Be that however as it will, the prophet's first wife *Khadijah* was forty years old, when she married him. The *Moslems* pretend, that she was the first convert to *Islamism*; and that *Mohammed* loved her so well, tho' she was so much older than himself, that he never had the least familiarity with any other woman, during her life. We learn from *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, that she had two husbands before *Mohammed*; the second of which was *Abu Hâlat*, a confederate of the *Banu Abd'al Dari*, and the other *Atik*, the *Makhzumite*. The commentators upon the *Korân* introduce a saying of their prophet, *that among men there had been many perfect, but no more than four of the other sex had attained perfection; to wit, Asia the wife of Pharaoh, Mary the daughter of Imrân, Khadijah the daughter of Khowailed, and Fâtema the daughter of Mohammed.* *Khadijah*, according to *Abulfeda*, lived with her husband *Mohammed* ten years after the commencement of his mission, and died (R) three years before the *Hajra*.

^t ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. v. p. 11—13. AHMED EBN YUSEF, in hist. sect. i. cap. 40. AL JANNABI, AL KODAI, &C. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi sup. Vid. etiam THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 277, 278. Parisiis, 1655. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 421, 422. Par. 1647. LUDOVICUM MARRACCIIUM, in vit. Moham. c. i. p. 15. EBN HAMDUN. apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 171. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid.

(R) The *Arab* writers differ in the accounts they have transmitted down to us of *Khadijah's* age, when she departed this life at *Mecca*. Some of them, according to *Marracci*, believe that she died in the forty-ninth, or fiftieth, year of her age; which is repugnant to the faith of history; for it appears from *Abulfeda*, and all the other best *Moslem* historians, that when

Khadijah was married to *Mohammed*, she was forty years of age; and that she lived with him twenty-four years. From whence it will follow, that, at her death, she was sixty-four years old. And this is expressly asserted by *Abu Horeira*; who, at the same time, informs us, that she was buried at a place called *Al-Mo'alla* (17).

(17) *Abulfed. Abu Horeira, &c. Vid. etiam Marracc. vit. Mohammed. c. i. p. 15. Gagn. ubi supra, p. 12, 13.*

Mohammed made two journeys into Syria.

It may not be improper here to observe, that the generality of the Arab historians, both *Christian* and *Mohammedan*, are clearly of opinion, that *Mohammed* made two journeys into Syria, in conformity to what has been above advanced; tho' this seems not to be acknowledged, but rather denied, by *Erpenius*. He was led into this error by the silence of *Elmacin*, who has not taken the least notice of either of those journeys. Amongst others, who have asserted the reality of them, may be ranked *Abmed Ebn Edris*, *Abu Nazar*, and *Al Becr*; who have been followed herein both by *Hottinger* and *Marracci*. The first time *Mohammed* and *Abu Tâleb* entered Syria, they were attended by *Abu Becr* and *Belâl*, to whom, or *Abu Tâleb*, *Boheira* delivered the above-mentioned predictions; advising all of them, at the same time, to retire as soon as possible, and, by all means, to avoid the *Jews*, whom he called *the people of the Book*. The second time he visited the merchants of *Besra*, or *Bosra*, he had also an interview with *Boheira*; and was, according to an author of credit, then instructed by him in the principles of the CHRISTIAN FAITH: So that, upon his return to *Mecca*, he could not forbear communicating to the *Koreish* the sentiments he had received; and, from this period, he seems to have meditated a reformation among the *Arabs*: which if we admit, it cannot seem so improbable, as Mr. *Sale* would insinuate, that this *Nestorian* monk, with whom *Mohammed* had some conference in his younger years, should assist him in the contrivance and composition of his *Korân*. Nor is it necessary, as that learned author supposes, that *Boheira* should quit his monastery, and go with the *Moslem* prophet into *Arabia*, in order to enable him the more effectually to accomplish such a design; as he might either have assisted him in the formation of his plan, as well as the execution of it, when they conferred together at *Besra*, or have afterwards, at various times, supplied him with materials for that purpose. For it can scarce be doubted, but that there was an easy canal of intelligence between *Arabia*, and particularly *Mecca*, as well as *Medina*, and *Syria Damascena*, where *Boheira* resided, by means of the caravans of merchants, which were continually passing and repassing between those countries. Nor is there any weight in the objection offered by Mr. *Sale* to the opinion generally received amongst *Christians* concerning the true authors of the *Korân*; to wit, that *Boheira's* acquaintance with *Mohammed* at *Besra*, was too early to favour the surmise of his assisting him in the *Korân*; which was composed long after. For the plan of the *Korân* might have been formed, and materials for the composition of it sent *Mohammed*, long before it was actually composed, as they undoubtedly

edly were; so that no inference, to the prejudice of what is here advanced, can be drawn from the contrary supposition. Besides, this is in effect owned by Mr. Sale himself, when he declares, that *Mohammed* might, from the discourse of the *Nestorian* monk, gain some knowledge of *Christianity*, and of the Scriptures, which might be of use to him in the composition of the *Korân*. But the truth is, that learned man entertained such favourable sentiments of the *Mohammedan* writers, and was so extremely prejudiced against those who professed the *Christian* religion, that he could scarce prevail upon himself to believe the latter ever in the right, or the former ever in the wrong^u.

KHADIJAH having raised her husband *Mohammed* to an equality with the richest in *Mecca*, he was enabled, by so advantageous a match, to live at his ease for the next fifteen years; tho' it is probable he still followed the occupation of a merchant. For his countrymen, the tribe of *Koreish*, were much addicted to commerce, as the descendents of *Ishmael*, whom they imitated herein, had been, in almost the earliest ages. They, like those ancient *Arabs*, from whom, indeed, they were descended, carried on a trade with the *Syrians*, *Persians*, and *Egyptians*, furnishing those nations with such commodities, which they carried on the backs of camels, as came to them from *India*, *Ethiopia*, and other southern parts. To this employment they were chiefly prompted by the sterility of the soil about *Mecca*, which scarce produced any fruits but what were common in the deserts, and the commodious port of *Jodda*, on the *Red Sea*, which, for such a branch of trade, had a most convenient situation. Nor are we to be surprised, that the city of *Mecca* should be obliged to have recourse to traffick; for the subsistence of its inhabitants, since it is seated in a stony and barren valley, surrounded on all sides with mountains. Having, therefore, no corn or grain of their own growth, the citizens were, from the remotest times, obliged to fetch it from other places, and particularly from *Syria* and *Egypt*. For tho' *Arabia*, especially that part of it called formerly *Arabia Felix*, and now *Yaman*, was once very celebrated amongst the ancients for the happiness of its climate, its fertility, and riches; yet the soil of *Hejâz*, in which province both *Mecca* and *Medina* stand, as well as that of

^u ABULFED. ubi sup. ABU'L HASAN ALI AL MASUD. AHMED EBN YUSEF, sect. i. c. 39. ABU NAZAR, AL BECR, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi sup. &c. Vide etiam HOTTINGER. hist. Orient. p. 207, & seq. LUDOVIC. MARRAC. prodrom. par. prim. p. 42, & seq. PRID. life of Mahomet, p. 35, &c. GAGN. ubi supra, p. 10, 11. SALE's translat. of the Korân, p. 223, 224, &c. in not.

Nejd, Tehâma, and Yamâma, is much more barren. Their territories are almost intirely covered with dry sands, or rise into rocks, as we learn from the oriental geographers, and the relations of modern travellers. Hence 'tis no wonder that the *Korish* should be forced to apply themselves to merchandize, for their support; and that even the wealthiest of them should scarce have any other estate than their stocks, which consisted chiefly in cattle, wherewith they carried on a most lucrative trade with several of the neighbouring nations. Whatever figure, therefore, *Mohammed* might make at *Meca*, this could by no means be diminished or eclipsed by his attention to such an employment *.

Mahomed BUT however our pretended prophet might have been employed, during the aforesaid interval, he probably never lost sight of his grand design; tho' no proper opportunity, till after the expiration of this term, did offer itself, of carrying it into execution. The disposition of the *Arabs* would not permit him sooner to effectuate the scheme he had formed of establishing a new religion; or, as he expressed it, of replanting the only true and ancient one, professed by *Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus*, and all the prophets. This he proposed to do, by destroying the gross idolatry, into which the generality of his countrymen had fallen, and weeding out the corruptions and superstitions which the latter *Jews* and *Christians* had, as he pretended, introduced into their religion, and reducing it to its original purity, which consisted chiefly, according to him, in the worship of the one only GOD. From whence it appears, that *Mohammed*, like his more absurd followers, the modern deists, and *Socinians*, under the pretence of asserting the unity of the Divine Nature, exploded the doctrine of the Trinity, and all the other mysteries of the Christian religion *.

and such IT can scarce be doubted, but that, by the course of trade, which he carried on in *Egypt, Palestine, and Syria*, he became acquainted with the tenets of the *Jews*, as well as those of the different sects, into which the *Christians* of the East were then miserably divided; the effects of which clearly discover themselves in the *Karân*. Observing also with what an implacable fury the *Jews*, and all these several sects of *Christians*, persecuted one another, he from thence concluded,

* ABULFED. & ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi sup. SHARIF AL EDRISI, & SIOMIT. in append. ad eund. POCOCK. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 127. GOLIUS not. ad Alfraganum, p. 98. & alibi. LA ROQUE voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 121. 123. 153. & alibi. SALE's prelin. discours. p. 2, 3, & alibi. Univers. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 356—367. Lond. 1748. * Al Kor. MOHAMMED. f. ii. SALE's prelin. disc. p. 38, 39.

that the most effectual way for him to aggrandize himself, would be, to introduce a new religion, formed upon such a plan, that the most abandoned part of the *Jews*, as well as *Christians*, of all denominations, and even pagans themselves, might be thereby tempted to become proselytes to it. And accordingly we find, that *Islamism* is intirely adapted to the taste of a sensualist; and that the belief of the unity of GOD, as also of the apostleship of *Mohammed*, the heterodox notions borrowed from various heretical sects, who yet styled themselves *Christians*, together with some injunctions pressing an observance of the moral duties therein specified, besides the retention of certain *Jewish* and *heathenish* rites, make up the whole of that religion *.

HENCE it pretty plainly appears, that *Mohammed's* grand *Ambition* enterprize, which was conducted with great craft and success, and *sensuality* ought to be considered not so much the effect of enthusiasm, as of a design to raise himself to the supreme government of his country, and to commence the legislator of the *Arabs*. For it is sufficiently apparent, from the substance of the *Korân* itself, and even from the very nature of *Mohammedism*, as well as the methods made use of by this impostor, and his followers, for the propagation of their religion, that ambition, and the desire of satisfying his sensuality, were the chief motives of his undertaking. Mr. *Sale* seems willing to think, "that his first views were perhaps not so interested;" and "that the unity of GOD was what he chiefly attended to, "all his other doctrines and institutions being rather accidental, and UNAVOIDABLE, than premeditated and designed." The last of which assertions must be considered either as groundless, or as an absolute condemnation of the measures the impostor pursued. For, if all his other doctrines and institutions were in themselves unavoidable, or necessary consequences of the first article of faith he proposed to his followers, then they must be inseparably connected with what this author calls his grand point, to wit, the unity of GOD, and necessarily flow from it". But as we cannot think so learned and judicious an author capable of advancing so wild and shocking a position as this; it seems more natural to suppose, that he intended to assert those doctrines and institutions to have been UNAVOIDABLE, with respect to the *Arabs*; or, in other words, that no other doctrines and institutions could be so well

* Al Kor. MOHAMMED. pass. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, p. 14, 15. Lond. 1718. SALE's prelim. disc. and notes on the Kor. pass. Vide etiam LUDOVIC. MARRACCII refut. Alcor. pass. Patavii, 1698. y Al Kor. MOHAMMED. & MARRACC. refut. ejusdem, pass. SALE's prelim. discours. p. 39.

He adapted his doctrines and institutions to the corrupt disposition of the Arabs. adapted to the sensual taste of the *Arabs*, at that time, as those here hinted at. Now, if this be admitted, it will evidently follow, that *Mohammed* had a greater regard to the genius and disposition of the *Arabs*, in the framing of his system of religion, than to truth; which is the very thing of which he is accused by the *Christian* writers. If he consulted only the taste of the *Arabs*, and rejected truth in his doctrines and institutions, it is plain he had not their eternal interest at heart, but was acted by a principle of ambition, and only wanted to make them subservient to the forwarding his ambitious views. And, indeed, this is sufficiently intimated by Mr. *Sale* himself, when he allows, "that it is scarce to be doubted, but that *Mohammed* had a violent desire of being reckoned an extraordinary person; which he could attain to by no means more effectually, than by pretending to be a messenger sent from God, to inform mankind of his will."—The count *de Boulainvilliers* also, a zealous advocate for *Mohammed*, scruples not to admit, that his religion was calculated to please, and sympathize with, the constitutional bent of the *Arabs*: nor does he discover the least disapprobation of that legislator's decisions, or ever so much as hint at their inexpediency, on this account. So that both Mr. *Sale* and count *Boulainvilliers*, in effect, vindicate, however inconsistent they may be with themselves, by so doing, the character of that impostor, handed down to us by the *Christian* writers; tho', at the same time, the former of those gentlemen represents this as set in the most infamous light².

Mr. Sale endeavours to palliate some of the worst of Mohammed's institutions. NAY, it is farther acknowledged by Mr. *Sale*, that "*Mohammed* was, as the *Arabs* are by complexion, a great lover of women; that we are assured of this by his own confession; and that he is even constantly upbraided with it by the controversial writers, who fail not to urge the number of women with whom he had to do, as a demonstrative argument of his sensuality; which they think sufficiently proves him to have been a wicked man, and consequently an impostor." After such an ample concession as this, is it not strange that this author should attempt to palliate his dissolute proceedings, if not directly to defend one of the most enormous of them. And yet this seems to be done by him, when he immediately subjoins—"But it must be considered, that polygamy, tho' it be forbidden by the *Christian* religion, was, in *Mohammed*'s time, frequently practised in *Arabia*, and other parts of the east, and was not accounted an immorality; nor was a man the worse esteemed on that account: for which reason, *Mohammed* permitted the plu-

² SALE, ubi supra, p. 40. Monf. le Comte de BOULAINVIL. vie de Mahom. pass.

“rality of wives, with certain limitations, among his own followers; who argue for the lawfulness of it from several reasons, and particularly from the examples of persons allowed on all hands to have been good men; some of whom have been honoured with the divine correspondence. The several laws relating to marriages and divorces, and the peculiar privileges granted to *Mohammed* in his *Korân*, were almost all taken by him from the *Jewish* decisions, as will appear hereafter; and therefore he might think those institutions the more just and reasonable, as he found them practised or approved by the professors of a religion, which was confessedly of divine original.” In answer to all which fine reflections, it will be sufficient to observe, that however polygamy might have been tolerated, or rather connived at, as is intimated by our blessed Saviour, by the *Jewish* law, it was absolutely prohibited by the more perfect decisions of the Gospel, which brought life and immortality to light; that however polygamy might have prevailed in *Arabia*, when *Mohammed* assumed the character of a prophet and reformer there, many of the *Arabs* looked upon a plurality of wives as utterly unlawful; and, lastly, that *Mohammed* himself could not have been ignorant, that the *Jewish* dispensation was abrogated by the *Christian*; since he had been instructed in the principles of the *Christian* faith by *Sergius*, or *Boheira*, the *Nestorian* monk, as has been above remarked, and as is allowed by even some of the *Moslem* writers themselves. Our readers, therefore, will not be surprised, that we should take the liberty to express our disapprobation of what is here advanced by Mr. *Sale* (S), notwithstanding his uncommon skill in the *Arabic* tongue, and most extensive reading; as it seems to countenance a notion inconsistent with the purity of that holy religion we profess, and think ourselves obliged on all occasions to defend ^a.

As *Islamism*, therefore, seems to have been calculated to *How* soothe and indulge mens vicious appetites in general, and the *Islamism*

^a SALE, ubi supra, p. 40, 41. MAT. c. xix. v. 4—9. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, p. 149. AL MOSTATRAF, AL JANNABI apud Pocock. not. in ipsc. hist. Arab. p. 63. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. & p. 137. ABU'L HASAN ALI MASUD. &c. pass. EBN KHALECAN, in vit. Abu'l Ol. poet. AEULFED. AL JANNABI, AL FIRAUZABADI, SAFIODDIN. AL SHAHRESTANI, &c.

(S) It may not be improper to remark here, that not a single passage is to be met with in that part of the Universal History written by Mr. *Sale*, which can give the least offence to any

of our *Christian* readers; tho' we must not take upon us to assert the same thing of his Preliminary Discourse, and some of his notes upon the *Korân*.

came to
make so
rapid a
progress in
so short a
time.

sensual depraved taste of the pagan *Arabs* in particular, 'tis no wonder that, in so short a time, it should have made such an amazing progress. Men are naturally prone to believe what they wish may be true, how absurd soever in itself this may be. And considering the weakness of the human intellect, especially in the generality of mankind, and how incapable they for the most part are of listening to the dictates of reason and truth, or of meditating upon their last and most permanent stage of being with any attention, it can by no means appear strange, that, by mere dint of delusion, they should so frequently bring themselves to such a belief. To which we may add, that we have a spiritual enemy, who is perpetually endeavouring to impose upon us; to confound our ideas; to divert us from our pursuit after truth, especially that which will be of the utmost importance to us; and, in fine, to prevent us, by all possible methods, from attaining that supreme felicity, for which we were originally designed ^b.

Some of
the *Arabs*
infected
with
Zendi-
cism.

BUT, notwithstanding the wickedness and absurdity of some of his tenets, several circumstances concurred to render *Mohammed* powerful, and to forward the propagation of his imposture. The *Koreish*, his countrymen, were infected with *Zendicism*; an error supposed to have very near affinity with that of the *Sadducees*, among the *Jews*, who denied the existence of angels and spirits. An error this, which, if pursued through all its consequences, must terminate in absolute infidelity, or atheism itself; so that *Mr. Sale* pays the deists no great compliment, when he takes them not to be very different from this sect. Since therefore these *Arabs* rejected an over-ruling Providence, the resurrection, and a future state, they had, in reality, no religion at all; and therefore, as the learned *Dr. Prideaux* rightly observes, were prepared to receive any impressions of *God*, and his worship, that *Mohammed* should think fit to communicate to them. *Mr. Sale*, however, contents himself with describing them, "as worshipping one *God*, being free from idolatry, and embracing ing none of the other religions of the country;" which certainly must be considered as too favourable a description of the impious opinions they entertained ^c.

Great dis-
sensations
and cor-
ruptions in

THE dissensions also in the western church, as well as the gross corruptions and superstitions that so deformed the eastern, greatly contributed to the establishment and extension of *Mohammedism*. At the time of *Mohammed's* appearance, the

^b *Al Kor. MOHAMMED*, pass.

^c *AL MOSTRAFAT*, POCKOCK. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 136. *AL KOR. MOHAM.* f. vi. & alibi. *HADR. RELAND.* de relig. Mohammed. p. 270. *MILIUS* de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 311. *SALE's* preliminary discours. p. 24.

contests amongst *Christians*, especially in the western church, the *Christian* so high, that, in consequence of them, several violences, and even frequent murders, were committed. The eastern church likewise, after the *Nicens* council, was engaged in perpetual controversies, and torn to pieces by the disputes of the *Arrians*, *Sabellians*, *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, &c. on which a most fatal corruption of doctrine and morals, in the princes and clergy, ensued; which was necessarily followed by an almost general depravity of the people. But we choose to draw a veil over so melancholy a subject; tho' a deist would expatiate upon it with great pleasure and delight^d.

If the distracted state of religion favoured the designs of *The Roman Mohammed* on one side, the weakness of the *Roman and Persian* monarchies might flatter him with no less hopes of succeeding in them, on the other. Had those once formidable empires, either of which in their vigour must have crushed *Mohammedism* in its birth, been not most strangely reduced, neither *Mohammed*, nor any of his followers, would have dared to have made an attempt upon the least province of either of them. But the *Arabs* having met with uncommon success in their enterprizes against those powers, they failed not to attribute it to their new religion, and the great interest the author of it had at the court of heaven. This inspired them with a resolution to propagate it by the most violent and unjustifiable means, even by fire and sword, as, indeed, by their pretended prophet they had been strictly enjoined to do; which happy method of conversion has been most religiously observed, and made use of, by all their followers and descendents, even to this day^e.

THE *Roman* empire declined apace after *Constantine*, whose successors, for the generality, bore but a very indifferent character. By *Mohammed's* time, the western half of it was over-run by the *Goths*; and the eastern so reduced by the *Huns* on the one side, and the *Persians* on the other, that it was not in a capacity of stemming the violence of a powerful invasion. The emperor *Maurice* paid tribute to the *Khagân*, or king of the *Huns*, who was a very potent prince; and, after *Phocas* usurped the throne, such lamentable havock was made among the soldiers, that, within the space of seven

^d PRIDEAUX's preface to his life of Mahomet, p. v—xi. Lond. 1718. SALE's prelim. discours. sect. ii. p. 33—35. Vide etiam SIMON, hist. crit. de la creance, &c. des nations du Levant. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. 21, 27, &c. EUSEB. hist. eccles. lib. viii. c. 1. SOZ. lib. i. c. 14, &c. HILAR. & SULPIC. SEVER. in hist. sacr. p. 112; &c. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 339, &c.
^e SALE, ubi supra, p. 35, 36. Al Kor. MOHAMMED. &c.

years, all the veterans were in a manner destroyed, and scarce any regular troops left for the defence of the empire. And tho' *Heraclius*, who was a prince of admirable courage and conduct, restored the discipline of the army, and had great success against the *Persians*; yet still the very vitals of the empire seemed to have received a mortal wound. So that no time could have been more favourable to the designs of *Mohammed*, than that wherein he found means to impose his new religion, or rather his infamous imposture, upon the *Arabs*. Nor can it well be doubted, but that he was raised up by GOD HIMSELF to be a scourge to the *Christian* church, for having been divided, and subdivided, into endless schisms and contentions, about the abstrusest niceties, that had been drawn into controversy, tho' of little moment to that which ought to be esteemed the chief end of religion, and destroyed, in a great measure, those *Christian* virtues which the Gospel was given to promote. In fine, the terrible destruction of the eastern churches, once so glorious and flourishing, by the sudden spreading of *Mohammedism*, was undoubtedly intended by providence as a punishment to the members of them, for not living up to the precepts of that most holy religion, which they had received †.

The Persians almost ruined by their intestine broils and dissensions. THE *Persians* had also been in a declining condition, for some time, before *Mohammed*, occasioned chiefly by their intestine broils and dissensions; a great part of which arose from the devilish doctrines of *Manes* and *Mazdak*. The opinions of the former are very well known; and those of the latter, who lived in the reign of *Khosrú Kobád*, have been already expatiated upon in our ancient history of the *Arabs* and the *Persians*. These sects had certainly proved the immediate ruin of the *Persian* empire, had not *Khosrú Anushirwân*, or *Nushirwân*, as he is called by *Mirkhond* and *Khondemir*, the *Persian* historians, as soon as he succeeded his father *Khosrú Kobád*, put *Mazdak* to death, with all his followers, and the *Manicheans* also, restoring the ancient *Magian* religion. However, *Anushirwân*, as the *Arabs* named him, tho' he was an excellent prince, and deservedly surnamed *The Just*, could not put the affairs of *Persia* in a flourishing situation. He joined the provinces of *Cablestân* and *Zablistân* to his hereditary dominions, and formed, by the conquests he had made, a most puissant empire, that extended from the city and territory of *Fergâna* to the borders of *Arabia* and *Égypt*, and from the maritime cities of *Syria* to the river *Indus*; notwithstanding which, the interior part of his government was

† PRID. & SALE, ubi sup. OCKLEY's history of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 19, &c.

not settled upon a lasting foundation. *Ebn Shonah* pretends, that *Anushirwân* obliged the *Greek* emperor himself to pay him homage, and to become a tributary unto him; but this must be a mistake. It has been before observed, that, in the reign of this prince, *Mohammed* was born &c.

AFTER the death of *Khosrû Anushirwân*, the last king of *Persia*, who deserved the crown, his son *Khosrû Hormûz*, or, as the *Persians* sometimes called him, *Hormozd* (from whence came the *Hormizdas* of the *Greeks*), ascended the throne. He behaved at first with great prudence and moderation, distributing justice to his subjects in the most impartial manner; which gained him both their love and esteem. But afterwards a most cruel disposition discovered itself in him, insomuch that, according to some historians, he caused to be put to death thirteen thousand of his grandees; which vastly alienated his subjects from him. This encouraged the *Kbagân* to invade his dominions with an army of 300,000 men: but his son, *Shabeh Shah*, having passed the *Gibon*, at the head of those troops, was attacked upon his march, and intirely defeated, by a body of 12,000 *Persians* only, under the command of *Baharâm Tchubîn*, the best general then in *Persia*. However, *Hormûz*, having lost the love of his subjects, by his excessive cruelty, had his eyes put out by his wife's brothers, and was obliged to resign the crown to his son *Khosrû Parvîz*, who, at the instigation of *Baharâm*, had rebelled against him, and was afterwards strangled. *Parvîz* was soon obliged to quit the throne to *Baharâm*; but, obtaining succours of the *Greek* emperor *Mauritius*, he recovered the crown; yet, towards the latter end of a long reign, he grew so tyrannical and hateful to his subjects, that they held private correspondence with the *Arabs*; insomuch that he was at length deposed, imprisoned, and slain by his son *Shirûyeh*. He is said to have made himself master of a great part of *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Nubia*, and some of the islands of the *Mediterranean*; nay, to have reduced *Chalcedon*, and penetrated almost to *Constantinople* itself. And yet he left his kingdom in a very declining condition ^h.

SHIRUYEH,

* Univ. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 432; 433. Lond. 1748. et vol. xi. p. 177. Vide etiam Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 70. SALE, ubi supra, p. 37. MEGDI in vit. Nushirwân. MIRKHOND, sect. 34. KHONDEMIR, SHAHRESTAN. de relig. Orient. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 568, &c. HYD. hist. relig. vet. Persar. &c. EBN SHONAH. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. p. 2, 3. Oxon. 1723. D'HERBEL. ubi supra, p. 680—683, et alibi. ^h MIRKHOND, sect. 25. KHONDEMIR, ubi supra. LEBTARIKH, D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. artic. *Hormouz*. SALE, ubi supra, p. 37. Univers. Hist.

SHIRUYEH, called by the *Greek* writers *Siroes*, succeeded his father *Khosrú Parvîz*, or *Apervîz*, as the *Persian* historians sometimes call him, whom he caused to be put to death. He had a very short and unhappy reign. The kingdom of *Persia* being afflicted with a famine and pestilence at once, and his subjects generally disaffected to him, he abandoned himself to melancholy. This brought upon him a fever, which, with the plague, soon put a period to his days. Nor did his successor *Ardshîr* long enjoy the high dignity to which he was advanced; *Sheberiar* having cut him off, and all the nobility who were strictly attached to him, almost immediately after his accession. This put that usurper in possession of the crown, which yet, according to *Mirkhond*, he did not wear above fifty days. *Turan Dókt*, one of the princesses of the blood, who next ascended the throne, disappointed the *Arabs* in a vigorous effort they made to conquer *Persia*; but is supposed to have died a martyr to that love which she had shewn for the people; and, on her decease, the public affairs fell into the greatest confusion. *Giban Shedah*, who came next, was deposed in a few days. *Azurmi Dokht*, the youngest daughter of *Khosrú Parvîz*, being seated on the throne, after a short reign, was assassinated by one of her subjects. Nor did her nephew and successor *Ferokhzad*, who was poisoned by one of his slaves, long survive her. *Jezdegerd*, or *Tezdegerd*, the last king, was overthrown in a great battle by the *Khalif Omar*, who annexed the most considerable part of the *Persian* territories to his own dominions. In fine, the domestic broils of the *Persians* effectually brought ruin upon them; for tho', as has been observed, they did, rather by the weakness of the *Greeks* than their own force, ravage *Syria*, and sack *Jerusalem* and *Damascus*, under *Khosrú Parvîz*, and, while the *Arabs* were divided and independent, had some power in the province of *Yaman*, where they set up the four last kings before *Mohammed*; yet, when attacked by the *Greeks* under *Heraclius*, they not only lost their new conquests, but part of their own dominions; and no sooner were the *Arabs* united by *Mohammedism*, than they beat them in every battle, and, in a few years, totally subdued them¹.

Hist. vol. xi. p. 185—193. Vide etiam MIRKHOND, sect. 36. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. *Khosrú Parvîz*, *Schîrin*, &c. & Univers. Hist. vol. xi. p. 194. ¹ LESTAKIKH, KHONDEMIR, MIRKHOND, sect. 37, 38, 40, 43, 45, &c. SCHIKARD. Tarikh. p. 165, 199, 170, &c. GREGO. ABUL FARAJ. hist. dynast. dyn. ix. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. *Schîrouieh*, *Ardshîr Ben Schîrouieh*, *Sheberiar*, *Touran Dókt*, &c. TEIXEIRA relaciones de los reyes de Persia, p. 195, &c. Univ. Hist. ubi supra, p. 196—206. SALLÉ, ubi supra, p. 37, 38.

As the *Greeks* and *Persians* were in a weak and declining situation, so the *Arabs* were strong and flourishing. Their country had been peopled at the expence of the *Grecian* empire, whence the violent proceedings of the domineering sects forced many to seek refuge in *Arabia*, where they, who could not enjoy tranquillity and their conscience at home, found a secure retreat. The *Arabs* were not only a populous nation, but unacquainted with the luxury and delicacies of the *Greeks* and *Persians*, and inured to hardships of all sorts. They lived in a most parsimonious manner, seldom eating any flesh, drinking no wine, and sitting on the ground. Nor would the barren region they inhabited, and particular manner of life to which they were confined, permit them to taste those gratifications and amusements so common in politer parts of the world. Their political government was also such as favoured the ambitious designs of *Mohammed*; for the division and independency of their tribes were so necessary to the first propagation of his religion, and the foundation of his power, that it would have been scarce possible for him to have effected either, had the *Arabs* been united in one society. But when they had embraced his religion, the consequent union of their tribes was no less necessary and conducive to their future conquests and grandeur. This is so obvious and apparent, that it cannot escape the notice of all our readers, who are capable of the least attention *.

SUCH was the posture of public affairs in the eastern world, which both as to its religious and political state, when *Mohammed* formed his design of subverting the *Greek* and *Persian* empires, and introducing a new system of religion amongst the *Arabs*. This, 'tis probable, he was well enough acquainted with; having had sufficient opportunities of informing himself in all particulars relating to the genius and disposition of both the aforesaid nations, and even, in some respects, of the interior of their respective governments, during his travels as a merchant in his younger years. Nor can it well be doubted, but that the intelligence he then received, enabled him to form his plan, and to promise himself success in his first attempts; especially as he was a man of extraordinary parts and address, and knew how to make the best of every incident, at least if we will believe the *Moslem* writers, and his great admirers the count *de Boulainvilliers* and *Mr. Sale*¹.

* BOULAINVILLIERS la vie de Mahom. pass. Sale, ubi supra, p. 38. Poc. not. in specim. hist. Arab. pass. Univers. Hist. ubi supra, b. iv. c. 21. ¹ SALE, ubi supra, p. 38. BOULAINVILL. la vie de Mahom. pass.

Mohammed's mission.

BUT to return to our history—*Mohammed* pretending, that his grand article of faith, viz. the unity of the Divine Nature, was violated by all the rest of the world; not only by idolaters, but by *Christians* of all denominations, and the *Jews* also, who are accused in the *Korân* of taking *Ezra* for the son of GOD; he resolved to make an attempt to rescue the world from the ignorance and superstition that prevailed in it. But, before this could be effected, he rightly judged, that it would be necessary for him to convert his own household. Having therefore retired with his family, as he had done several times before, to a cave in mount (R) *Hara*, near *Mecca*, he there opened the secret of his (S) mission to his wife *Khadijah*; and acquainted her, that the angel *Gabriel* (T) had just before appeared to him, and told him, that he was appointed the apostle of GOD. He also repeated to her a passage, which he pretended had been revealed to him by the ministry of the angel, with those other circumstances of his first appearance which are related by the *Mohammedan* writers. Our prophet was about

(R) *Hara*, according to *Abulfeda*, was about three miles distant from *Mecca* (17).

(S) The *Arabs* describe this mission in the following terms: "When the apostle of GOD was forty years of age, GOD sent him as an apostle to the "swarthy people" (viz. the *Arabs*), "and the red" (viz. the *Barbarians*, or all other nations), "that, by his law, he might abolish all antecedent laws." The *Arabs* call themselves *swarthy people*, on account of their dark complexions; and the *Romans*, as well as several other nations in a northern direction from them, *red*, both because their faces approach nearer that colour than those of their countrymen, and because they believe them to be descended from *Esau*, or *Edom*; which last word denotes *red*. And this

notion they seem to have borrowed from the *Jews*, who pretend that *Edom* was the great ancestor of the *Romans* (18).

(T) It appears from the *Korân*, and *Jallalo'ddin*, that *Mohammed*, and his more ancient followers, took the angel *Gabriel* to be the Holy Ghost. That he was a spirit of vast strength, as well as singular beauty, is intimated by *Al Beidawi*; and, indeed, this is sufficiently implied by his name itself (جبرائيل), which signifies the strength, or fortitude, of GOD. The *Moslems* believe, that he instructed *Mohammed* in all those points of faith and morality that their prophet required an assent to from them; which is, indeed, strongly insisted upon in several passages of the *Korân* (19).

(17) *Abulfed.* in *geograph.*

(18) *Gagn.* not. ad *Jos. Ben Gorion*, c. 97. p. 453. ut & ipse *Jos. Ben Gor.* in cap. 2. *Ebn Saïd Al Mogreb.* apud *Isn.* *Abulfed.* ut & ipse *Abulfed.* in *bist.* general. cap. de nationib. quæ religion. Christian. profit. Vide etiam *Cl. Gagn.* not. ad *Abulfed.* vit. *Mohammed.* c. vii. p. 14.

(19) *Al Kor. Mohammed.* f. ii. v. 87. f. liii. v. 5, &c. *Jallalo'ddin*, *Al Beidawi*, *Gagn.* not. ad *Abulfed.* de vit. *Mohammed.* p. 15.

forty years of age when he entered upon his office; for which he prepared himself by his usual residence in the cave above-mentioned, in the month *Ramadân*. Here he continued till the night in which, as he pretended, the angel *Gabriel* was first sent to him. This night, which fell between the 23d and the 24th of the month *Ramadân*, is called, in the *Korân*, the night of *Al Kadr* (U) or the divine decree; because in it the

(U) The word *Al Kadr*, according to *Jallâl'ddin*, signifies power, and honour, or dignity; or, as *Al Zamakhshari* will have it, the divine decree. The night here mentioned is so named, either from its excellence above all other nights in the year, or because, as the *Mohammedans* believe, the divine decrees for the ensuing year, with respect to life and death, and the other affairs of this world, are annually on this night fixed and settled, or taken from the preserved table by God's throne, and given to the angels to be executed. Hence those words of the *Korân*—"By the perspicuous book, verily we have sent down the same on a blessed night, wherein is distinctly sent down the decree of every determined thing, as a command from us." Some, however, suppose, that these words refer only to that particular night on which the *Korân*, wherein are completely contained the divine determinations in respect to religion and morality, was sent down. On the night of *Al Kadr*, *Mohammed* received his first revelations: when the *Koran*, say the commentators, was sent down from the aforefaid table, intire and in one volume, to the lowest hea-

ven, from whence *Gabriel* revealed it to *Mohammed* by parcels, as occasion required; and this, according to *Al Zamakhshari*, during the space of twenty-three years only. The *Moslem* doctors are not agreed where to fix the night of *Al Kadr*: the greater part are of opinion, that it is one of the ten last nights of *Ramadân*, and, as is commonly believed, the seventh of those nights, reckoning backwards; by which means it will fall between the 23d and 24th days of that month. This is the opinion of *Al Kodai*, and the most intelligent of the above-mentioned doctors. The 97th *surat*, or chapter, of the *Korân*, is intituled *Al Kadr*; which, as it will throw some light upon what has been observed, we shall beg leave to insert here. "Verily we sent down the *Korân* in the night of *Al Kadr*. And what shall make thee understand how excellent the night of *Al Kadr* is? The night of *Al Kadr* is better than a thousand months. Therein do the angels descend, and the spirit *Gabriel* also, by the permission of their Lord, with his decrees concerning every matter. It is peace until the rising of the morn (20).

(20) *Jallâl'ddin*, *Al Zamakhshar*. *Al Shabi*, *Al Kodai*, *Al Beidawi*, *Al Kor. Mohamm.* f. xlv, xcvi, &c. *Ludovic. Marrac.* not. ad *Alcoran.* f. xlv, xcvi, &c. *Vide etiam Gagn. not. ad Abulfed. de vit. Mohammed.* p. 14, 15. *Salé's translat. and notes on the Kor.* p. 401, 497, &c. *Gagn. la vie de Mahom.* tom. prem. p. 105.

Korân first descended intire from heaven ; that book being afterwards vouchsafed the *Moslems* from the same place only in parts, and this during the space of twenty-three years. It is observed by *Jallab'uddin*, that the angel *Gabriel* appeared at first, on this occasion, to *Mohammed* at a distance, and in his proper form ; which was so glorious, that *Mohammed* fainted away at the first sight of him : upon which, he assumed a human shape, and drew nearer to the prophet. According to *Abulfeda*, *Mohammed*, immediately after his first interview with *Gabriel*, advanced to the middle of the mountain, where he heard a voice coming from heaven, and saying, O MOHAMMED, thou art the apostle of GOD, and I am GABRIEL. Immediately after which, the angel again discovered himself, and *Mohammed* fixed his eyes upon him, till he retired. Then, returning to *Mecca*, he communicated to *Khadijah* a more particular account of this revelation, which she received with great joy ; declaring herself quite charmed with such agreeable news, and swearing, by him in whose hands her soul was, that she was convinced he would be the prophet of the Arabian nation. Nay, being in a sort of extasy, she immediately imparted what she had heard to her cousin *Waraka Ebn Nawfal*, who, being a *Christian*, could write in the Hebrew character, and was tolerably well versed in the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament. He very readily came into her opinion, concerning the certainty and reality of *Mohammed's* mission (W) ; swearing by him in whose hands was the soul of *Waraka*, that what she said was true ; and that MOHAMMED was the great prophet foretold in the law by MOSES the son of AMRAN. This was soon after told by her to *Mohammed* ; who thereupon repaired to the *Caaba*, walked seven times round that sacred place, and, after he had performed his devotions there, retired to his own house. 'Tis pretended by the *Moslem* writers, that when *Gabriel* first appeared to *Mohammed*, he said to him, *Read* ; and that when the prophet answered he could not read, being perfectly illiterate, he replied, that GOD, who had inspired man with the art of writing, would graciously remedy that defect in him. And with this perfectly correspond those words of the *Korân*, " *Read, in the*

(W) *Mohammed's* mission, according to the *Moslems*, was predicted by *Moses* on mount *Sinai*, as also by all the prophets, whose spirits were assembled with him there. This notion,

as they pretend, is countenanced by the *Korân* ; tho' it must be owned too absurd to merit the attention of any of our sober intelligent readers (21).

(21) *Al Kor. Mohammed. f. iii. q. 30. Vide etiam Gagn. not. ad Abulfeda. ubi supra, p. 15.*

“ name of thy LORD, who hath created all things; who
 “ hath created man of congealed blood. Read, by thy most
 “ beneficent LORD, who taught the use of the pen; who
 “ teacheth man that which he knoweth not.” From what
 has been already observed, it may be inferred, that *Mohammed*
 had in view the beginning of St. *Luke's* Gospel, when
 he framed the narrative of his first pretended revelation. As
 he began to set up for a reformer, at the age above-mention-
 ed, the fortieth year of his age is usually called the year of his
 mission. Many more particulars, relative to this remarkable
 event, we are supplied with by *Ahmed Ebn Yusuf, Al Jan-
 nabi*, and others; which favour so strongly of the Arab, or
 rather *Moslem*, genius, that our curious readers will not ex-
 pect of us an insertion of them in this place ^m.

THIS first step meeting with the approbation of so consider-
 able a person as *Waraka Ebn Nawfal Ebn Asad Ebn Abd'almed's*
Uzza Ebn Kosa, Khadijah's uncle, *Mohammed* entertained ^{first steps}
 great hopes of succeeding in the accomplishment of his de-^{successful}
 sign. Encouraged, therefore, by so good a beginning, he
 resolved to proceed, and try, for some time, what he could
 do by private persuasion; not daring to hazard the whole af-
 fair, by exposing it too suddenly to the public. He soon made
 profelytes of those under his own roof, viz. his wife *Khadi-
 jah*, who was indisputably the first of those converts, his ser-
 vant *Zeid Ebn Haretha* (to whom he gave his freedom on
 that occasion, which afterwards became a rule to his follow-
 ers) and his cousin and pupil *Ali*, the son of *Abu Taleb*, tho'
 then not above nine or ten years of age, according to the
 greatest part of the *Moslem* doctors. But this last, making no
 account of the other two, used to stile himself *the first of be-
 lievers*. The next person *Mohammed* applied to with suc-
 cess, was *Abdallah Ebn Abu Kobâsa*, surnamed *Abu Becr*,
 and *Al Seddik*, or the faithful witness, a man of very con-
 siderable authority among the *Koreish*, and one whose interest,
 he well knew would be of great service to him. Nor was
 he at all disappointed in his views; for *Abu Becr*, being gained

^m AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. ii. & alibi. SALE, ubi supra, p.
 39, 42, &c. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi supra, p. 162. ISM.
 ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. p. 14—17. AL TABAR. apud
 Elmacin. ut & ipse ELMACIN. ibid. AL KODAI in cap. de num-
 mer. prophetar. & legator. JALLALO'DDIN, AL ZAMAKHSHAR-
 RI, &c. Vide etiam AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iii. v. 66. f. xcvi,
 xcvi, & alibi pass. AL BOKHARI, AHMED EBN YUSEF hist. par.
 i. c. 9. AL JANNAB. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 14—17.
 & la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 104—109. Poc. not. in spec.
 hist. Arab. p. 157. AL BEIDAWI, LUK. c. i. v. 26. & LUDOVIC.
 MARRACC. refut. Alcoran, p. 811. Patavii, 1698.

over, prevailed also on *Othmân Ebn Affân*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf*, *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkas*, *Al Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm*, and *Teiba Ebn Obeid'allah*, all principal men in Mecca, to follow his example. Afterwards *Abu Obeida*, whose name was *Amer Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Gjerrah*, *Obeida Ebn Al Hâreth*, *Said Ebn Zeid Ebn Amru Ebn Nofail Ebn Abd'al Uzza*, *Abd'allah Ebn Mas'ûd*, and *Amer Ebn Yâser*, at the solicitation of the preceding converts, embraced *Islamism*, and openly declared their intention to support *Mohammed*; so that the surprising success he now met with, was, in a great measure, if not solely, owing to the influence of *Abu Becr*, who, after the death of the prophet, was saluted *Khalifa*, or *Khalif*, that is, *successor*, or *vicegerent*, in exclusion of *Ali*, to whom that title, and the power annexed to it, of right belonged. We are informed by *Al Kodai*, that *Abu Becr's* name, in the time of ignorance, that is, before the introduction of *Islamism*, was *Abd'al Caaba*, or *the servant of the CAABA*; and that afterwards he was named by the prophet *Abd'allah*, or *the servant of God*. He was the son of *Abu Kobâsa*, or *Othmân Ebn Amer*, who was of the posterity of *Taim Ebn Morra*. He was surnamed *Abu Becr*, that is, *the father of the girl*, or *the virgin*, to wit, *Ayesha*, who was a girl, or virgin, when *Mohammed* married her; all his other wives having had husbands before they were admitted to his bed. We must not omit observing, that *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf*, one of those *Arabs* that immediately followed *Abu Becr*, was of a very generous disposition; having, according to *Al Baidawi*, given no less than 4,000 *dirhems*, which was one half of what he had, towards defraying the charge of the expedition to *Tabûc*. But this will be more fully related in its proper placeⁿ.

He makes his mission no longer a secret. *ABU BECR* having thus, by his example and authority, gained *Mohammed* a considerable number of proselytes, the prophet gave him the surname of *Al Seddik*, which imports *the faithful witness*. He did not only vouch for his veracity, in every thing he related concerning the revelation vouchsafed him in the night of *Al Kadr*, and his nocturnal journey afterwards to heaven, but likewise greatly exerted himself to increase the number of his followers. *Mohammed* likewise complimented him with the appellation of *Atik*, or *preserved*, that is, *one saved from hell-fire*; intimating thereby, that this zealous *Moslem* was most certainly one of the elect. For

ⁿ ISM. ABULFED. vit. Mohammed. c. viii. p. 17, 18. Aut. lib. AL SEIRAT. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi supra, & la vie de Mahom. c. viii. p. 109—112. AL KODAI, AL BEIDAWI, ELMACIN. l. i. c. 1. SALE's transl. of the Korân, p. 159. SIONIT. in append. ad geogr. Nubien. c. 8.

the space of three years, during which term he pretended to have received frequent revelations, the apostle only instructed his votaries in private; being under some apprehensions of the resentment of the *Koreish*, the bulk of which tribe did by no means at first favour his undertaking. However, *Abu Bacr* persisting in his fidelity to him, and having, as he supposed, formed a sufficient party to support him, *Mohammed* made his mission no longer a secret; but, at the end of the above-mentioned period, gave out that God had commanded him to admonish his near relations; and, in order to do this with more convenience, and a better prospect of success, he directed *Ali*, whom he had from his infancy taken under his protection, as *Al Abbās* had *Jāsar*, another of *Abu Tāleb*'s sons, to prepare an entertainment, and invite thereto the sons and descendants of *Abd'al Motalleb*, intending then to open his mind unto them. This was done, and about forty of them came; amongst whom were *Hamza* and *Al Abbās*: but *Abu Lahab*, one of *Mohammed*'s uncles, making the company break up before the prophet had an opportunity of speaking, he could not forbear expressing his uneasiness on that account to *Ali*, who thereupon found himself obliged to give them a second invitation the next day; and when they were come, *Mohammed* made them the following speech:—"I know no man in the whole peninsula of the *Arabi*, who can propose to his relations anything more excellent than what I now do to you: I offer you the felicity both of this world and of that which is to come. God Almighty hath commanded me to call you unto him; who therefore among you will be my *Wazir*, or assistant herein, and become my brother, and my vicegerent?" All of them hesitating, and declining the matter, *Ali* at length rose up, and declared that he would assist him; and vehemently threatened those who should oppose him: "I," said he, "O prophet of God, will be thy (X) *Wazir*; I myself will beat out the teeth, pull out the
" eyes,

(X) The word *Wazir*, or *Vizir*, used here, properly denotes a porter, or carrier of burdens; but, in a more noble sense, it is taken for a privy counsellor, or rather a prime minister, who is the person that bears the whole burden of the administration. It appears from *Abulfeda* here, that the institution of this post was originally owing to *Mohammed*; except we shall think proper to

admit, with the *Korān*, that *Aaron* was *Moses*'s *Wazir*. Be that as it will, *Ali* was the first *Moslem* who was distinguished by this honourable title: nor had he any successors in the office annexed to it, before the year of the *Hegira* 132, or of *CHRIST* 749, when *Merwān Ebn Mohammed Ebn Merwān*, the last of the *Ommiyahan Khalifs*, constituted *Abu Moslemah Ebn Al Hātal*
his

“ eyes, rip open the bellies, and cut off the legs, of all who shall dare to oppose thee.” *Mohammed*, upon this, embraced *Ali* with great demonstrations of affection, and desired all who were present to hearken to, and obey him, as his deputy. “ This,” said he, “ is my brother, my deputy, and my successor, or vicar; therefore shew yourselves submissive and obedient to him.” At which the whole company broke out into a great laughter, telling *Abu Táleb*, that he must now pay obedience and submission to his own son *.

It ought here to be remarked, that the original word made use of by *Abulfeda*, which we have translated *successor*, or *vicar*, is *Khalifa*; which title, after the death of *Mohammed*, was common to all his successors. *Abu Becr* was the first who enjoyed it, as well as the power annexed to it; tho’ afterwards it was applied to *Omar*, *Othmán*, and then to *Ali* himself, whom *Mohammed*, immediately after the public commencement of his mission, honoured with it. The *Persians*, however, in opposition to the *Turks*, maintain, that *Ali Ebn Abu Táleb* was the first lawful *Khalif* and *Imam*; and that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to his descendents, notwithstanding they may be deprived of it by the injustice of others, or their own fear. The *Turks*, on the other hand, who stile themselves *Sonnites*, or *orthodox*, and the *Persians Shiites*, or *schismatics*, acknowledged *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Othmán*, the three first *Khalifs*, and respect them as rightful *Imams*; tho’ they are rejected by the *Persians* as intruders and usurpers. Hence the rivetted antipathy which has so long reigned between the *Turks* and the *Persians*; and which has long been come to such a

* *ABULFED.* ubi supra, p. 18—20. *AL KODAI*, *Al Kor.* *MOHAMMED.* f. lxxiv. *ELMACIN.* ubi supra. *AL BEIDAWI*, *AL ZAMAKASHARI*, *JALLALOD.* *ELMACIN.* & *SIONIT.* ubi supra. *GAGN.* not. ad *Abulfed.* ubi supra. *SALE*’s translat. of the *Kor.* f. lxxiv. p. 472, 473.

his *Vizir* of religion, or master of the prophet’s household; in which dignity he was confirmed by *Abu’l Abbás Al Saffah*, the first *Khalif* of the house of *Abbás*. He was succeeded in this post by *Yabia Ebn Kháled*, as *Yabia* was by others, till the commencement of the *Turkish*

empire, in which the office of *Vizir* was finally established, and continues to this day. None of those authors who have favoured the public with a history of *Wazirs*, seem to have traced this supereminent dignity to its original source (22).

(22) *Ism. Abulfed.* ubi supra, p. 19. *Greg. Abu’l-Faraj.* *bis.* *compend. dynast.* p. 213, 214. *Al Kor. Mohammed.* f. xxv. v. 36. *Al Firaumabad.* in *Kam. Col. lex. Arab.* &c.

pitch, that the former hold it more meritorious to kill one of the latter than seventy *Christians*. The *Persians* still retain so great a veneration for the memory of *Ali*, that some of them believe him to be still living, and that he will come at the end of the world with *Elias*, and fill the earth with justice; nay, several of them are so superstitiously mad, as to look upon him as *God*, or at least as something little inferior to the Divinity. So *Abd'allah Ebn Saba* directly called him *God*; and *Alaba Ebn Darâ* preferred him to *Mohammed*; thinking that the prophet was sent by *Ali* to draw all men to him; whereas he abused the trust reposed in him, and drew them over to himself. Others contended, that the angel *Gabriel* mistook *Mohammed* for *Ali*; being deceived by the resemblance they bore to one another; for they were as like one another as two crows, according to these sectaries; who were therefore called *Al Ghorabites*, or the *crowish sect*. But of this, and all the other principal sects among the *Mohammedans*, we shall give a minute and circumstantial account hereafter ^P.

MOHAMMED, notwithstanding the repulse he had received, *The Koreish* was so far from being discouraged, that he began to preach in reish *op-* public to the people; who heard him with some patience, till *pose him.* he came to upbraid them with the idolatry, obstinacy, and perverseness of themselves and their fathers; which so highly provoked them, that they openly declared themselves his enemies; some few only excepted, who were converted to *Islamism*. Nor could he have escaped their resentment, had he not been protected by *Abu Tâleb*, his uncle, who was very active in his favour. However, the chief of the *Koreish* warmly solicited this person to desert his nephew; making frequent remonstrances against the innovations he was attempting. The principal of these were, *Otha* and *Sheiba*, the sons of *Rabia Ebn Abd' Menâf*, *Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb Ebn Ommiyah*, *Abu Al Bekhterah Ebn Heshâm Ebn Al Hâreth Ebn Asad*, *Al Aswad Ebn*, *Al Motaleb Ebn Asad*, *Abu Jahl Ebn Heshâm Ebn Al Mogheira*, *Al Walid Ebn Al Mogheira*, of the family of *Makhzum*, *Bonia* and *Menbâ*; the sons of *Al Hejâj* the *Sahamite*, and *Al As Ebn Wayel* the *Sahamite*. But all their pacific endeavours proving ineffectual, they at length threatened *Abu Tâleb* with an open rupture, if

^P AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocock. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 261. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. hist. dynast. dyn. ix. p. 169, 170, &c. ELMACIN. ubi supra. ISM. ABULFED. in hist. general. cap. de gent. Moslemor. seu Mohammedanor. D'HERBÉL. biblioth. Orient. art. Schiah, & alibi passim. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. de vit. Mohammed. p. 20. SALE'S preliminary discourse, sect. viii. p. 175—179. & HADR. RELAND. de relig. Mohammed. p. 36, 37, & alibi.

he did not prevail on *Mohammed* to desist. At this *Abu Táleb* was so far moved, that he earnestly dissuaded his nephew from pursuing the affair any farther; representing the great danger he and his friends must otherwise run. But *Mohammed* was not to be intimidated; telling his uncle plainly, *that if they set the sun against him on his right hand, and the moon on his left, he would not leave his enterprize.* *Abu Táleb*, therefore, finding him so firmly resolved to proceed, used no further arguments, but promised to stand by him against all his enemies: so that, notwithstanding the people of his tribe came to a determination to expel both him and his followers, he found a powerful support in his uncle, against all their machinations 9.

A short digression.

It must be remembered, that, during the three years in which *Mohammed* confined himself to private admonitions, he was, as his votaries pretend, honoured with frequent revelations. The first, which happened on the night of *Al Kadr*, and of which we have already given our readers a short account, was preceded, according to *Al Fannabi*, by several extraordinary communications of the divine will to the prophet, that, for the space of six months before this memorable event, in dreams, were vouchsafed him. The same author also informs us, that, for some time before *Mohammed* appeared in public as a reformer, a stop was put to his revelations; which so greatly afflicted him, that, one day as he was walking upon mount *Hara*, he found himself in so melancholy a disposition, that he was upon the point of throwing himself down headlong from off the top of the mountain: But, to his vast surprize, as he was advancing towards the summit for that purpose, he heard, all on a sudden, a voice from heaven, saying unto him, *O Mohammed, thou art the apostle of God!* Upon which, lifting up his eyes on high, he saw the angel *Gabriel* descending towards him, clothed in red, and seated on a throne, which was suspended between heaven and earth. At this sight being much terrified, he ran to his relations, and particularly to *Khadijah*, whom he commanded to cover him; and then the following words of the *Korán* immediately descended from heaven: “O thou covered, arise and preach, and magnify thy LORD. And cleanse thy garments: and fly every abomination: and be not liberal, in hopes &c.” Some pretend, that the angel *Gabriel* himself addressed the new apostle in these words,

9 ISM. ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 20, 21. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi supra, p. 162: SALE's prelim. discours. p. 44. Vide etiam ELMACIN. lib. i. c. 1. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, p. 10. Lond. 1718.

which

which form the beginning of the seventy-fourth chapter of the *Korân*; and, from hence, think this chapter to have been the first which was revealed: but the more received opinion is, that it was the ninety-sixth. Others believe, that the prophet, having been reviled by certain of the *Koreish*, was sitting in a melancholy and pensive posture, wrapped up in his mantle, when *Gabriel* accosted him. Others imagine, that he lay sleeping unconcernedly; or, according to others, praying, covered, with his wife *Ayesha*, by a large rug, when the angel *Gabriel* made his appearance to him. But however this may be, it is generally supposed by the *Moslem* writers, that, in the seventy-fourth chapter of the *Korân*, *Mohammed* was more especially commanded to warn his near relations, the *Koreish*; as he was expressly ordered to do in a subsequent revelation. The epithets, *wrapped up*, and *covered*, used in the seventy-third and seventy-fourth chapters of the *Korân*, have been taken, by several learned men, pretty plainly to intimate, that *Mohammed* was subject to the falling-sickness; a malady generally attributed to him by the *Christians*, tho' not directly mentioned by the principal *Mohammedan* writers. This does not please Mr. *Sale*, tho' he allows such an inference may be made; who is very unwilling to believe that the pretended prophet was ever visited with such a distemper. But, in opposition to this notion, Mr. *Gagnier* has pretty clearly shewn, that the probability of *Mohammed*'s having been troubled with such a disorder may be fairly collected from some of the very best *Moslem* historians^r.

THE revelations being thus re-commenced, and he having entered upon his prophetic or apostolic function with success, notwithstanding the obstruction at first given him on the part of the *Koreish*, *Mohammed* continued to discharge it with uncommon diligence and application. 'Till this period, he had contented himself with calling and inviting men to the knowledge of the truth; but now finding himself, as he pretended, invested with full powers, and commissioned in form to undertake the office of a reformer, he preached, he exhorted publicly, he rendered his vocation manifest to all; and, in consequence of the character he had assumed, he propagated

^r ISM. ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 16. AL JANNAB. p. 38. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. lxxiii, lxxiv, & alibi. AL ZAMAKHSAR. AL BEIDAWI, HOTTINGER. hist. Orient. 1. 1. c. 2. LUDOVICUS MARRACCIUS in Alc. p. 763. See PRIDEAUX's life of Mahom. p. 16. RODERIC. TOLETAN. c. vi. RICARDI confutat. c. xiii. THEOPHAN. ZONAR. Miscel. histor. Fortalit. fidei, lib. iv. conf. 2. OCKLEY's hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 300, &c. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. p. 9. & la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 113. SALE's translation of the Korân, p. 469—473.

Islamism, with all his might, where-ever his authority prevailed¹.

Hamza and Omar to the interests of *Mohammed*, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the *Koreish* to obstruct the progress of the new religion. The tribe had come to a resolution to proscribe all who had embraced it. And finding they could neither silence the new converts by fair words, nor menaces, they were determined to try what could be done by force, and ill-treatment. They therefore used *Mohammed's* followers so very injuriously, that it was not safe for them to continue any longer at *Mecca*; nay, *Mohammed* himself was insulted on mount *Al-Safâ* by *Abu Jahl Ebn Heshâm*, a principal man among the *Koreish*, and one of his most inveterate enemies; which proved a great discouragement to some of his adherents: however, it had such an effect upon his uncle *Hamza*, who was not yet converted, that, upon his being acquainted with it by *Abd'allah Ebn Jodhân's* maid, he expostulated with *Abu Jahl*, struck him with his bow, and, after having grievously wounded him, professed himself a proselyte to *Islamism*. This induced the family of *Makbuzâm*, to which *Abu Jahl* belonged, to take up arms against *Hamza*, and the *Hâshemites*, in support of their relation; but not being able to carry their point, the *Hâshemites* at last prevailed. *Mohammed* had also the pleasure to see his party considerably strengthened soon after, by the conversion of *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, a person highly esteemed, and, before this remarkable event, a violent opposer of the prophet. The *Moslems* pretend, that *Mohammed* prayed for the conversion either of *Omar* or *Abu Jahl*, whom he took to be the most dangerous of his enemies; and that, hereupon, *Omar* was almost miraculously converted, by reading the twentieth chapter of the *Korân*: upon which, he retired immediately to mount *Al Safâ*, where he found *Mohammed*, and about forty of his followers; the principal of which were *Hamza*, *Abu Becri Al Seddik*, and *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, assembled together; to whom he declared himself a *Moslem*. *Al Jannabi* relates, that *Omar*, at the request of the *Koreish*, had an intention to assassinate *Mohammed*; but was diverted from his bloody design by *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs*; tho' *Abulfeda* says, that he was persuaded to desist from so wicked an attempt by *Naim Ebn Abd'allah Alkhâm*. The *Mohammedan* writers assert him to

¹ AL JANNAB. ubi sup. ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 18. GAGN. la vie de Mahomet, tom. prem. p. 113, &c. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi sup. ELMACIN. lib. i. c. 1. See also PRID. life of Mahomet, p. 10. Lond. 1718.

have been surnamed *Al Farúk*, or the *Divider*; because, when a certain *Moslem* was condemned by *Mohammed* for his iniquitous treatment of a *Jew*, and appealed afterwards from the sentence of the prophet to *Omar*, he cut him in two with his scymitar, for not acquiescing in the decision of so upright a judge; which when *Mohammed* heard, he gave him the surname of *Al Farúk*, or the *Divider*; because, by this action, he had shewn himself capable of perfectly distinguishing between truth and falsehood. *Al Kodai* affirms, that thirty-nine of *Omar's* adherents followed his example the same day he professed himself a votary of *Mohammed*. For a minute and circumstantial account of this extraordinary change, we must beg leave to refer our readers to *Abulfeda*, *Al Jannabi*, *Al Kodai*, and others of the *Mohammedan* writers. The conversion of *Hamza* and *Omar Ebn Al Khat-táb* happened in the year preceding the first flight of the *Moslems* into *Ethiopia*, or the fourth year of *Mohammed's* mission, according to *Abulfeda*; and not in the year following that flight, or the first *Hajra*, as *Mr. Sale*, in direct opposition to that celebrated historian, has been pleased to assert.

BUT notwithstanding these first instances of success, the *The Koreish* raised such a persecution against the *Moslems*, that reish per- some of them, and particularly *Othmán Ebn Affán*, his wife secute his Rakiah, the daughter of *Mohammed*, *Othmán Ebn Matún*, followers. *Abd'allah Ebn Masúd*, and *Abd'alrahmán Ebn Awf*, found themselves obliged to fly for refuge into *Ethiopia*. This was the first flight; but, afterwards, several others followed them, retiring one after another, to the number of eighty-three men and eighteen women, besides children. These refugees, the first of whom were only twelve men and four women, met with a kind reception at the court of the *Najáschi*, or king of *Ethiopia*; who refused to deliver them up to those whom the *Koreish* sent to demand them. Nay, the *Arab* writers seem unanimously to attest, that this prince even professed the *Mohammedan* religion; but as the absurdity of the relations of that affair, or at least the principal of them, has been already demonstrated in our ancient history of the *Ethiopians*, we shall beg leave to supersede all farther accounts of it here. It will be sufficient to observe at present, that notwithstanding

¹ ISM. ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 21, 22, 23. EBN SHOHNAH. AL JANNAB. p. 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, &c. AL KODAI, in vit. Omar. AL TABAR. EBN SHEHAB apud Al Kodaium, ubi sup. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 22. & la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 123—131. ABUNAZAR, ELMACIN. ubi sup. JOANNEM ANDREAM, c. i. & PRID. life of Mahom. p. 14.

what has been advanced concerning this affair by *Mohammed Ebn Abd'al Baki*, and *Ebn Malkam*, as the whole has manifestly the air of a fiction, and not the least traces of it are to be met with in any of the *Christian* historians, who have touched upon the origin and progress of *Mohammedism*, nor even in any of the ancient monuments of the *Ethiopians*; our more intelligent readers will probably allow it to have been deservedly exploded both by *Ludolfus* and *Marracci* *.

They send to demand ABD'ALLAH ERN ABU RABIA, and *Amru Ebn Al As*, whom the *Koreish* sent with presents, consisting of rich furs, to the *Najâshi*, to demand the fugitives above-mentioned, returned to *Mecca*, without having been able to succeed in their commission. That prince was determined to take them, and all their brethren, who should think proper to retire into *Ethiopia*, under his protection. This so incensed the *Koreish*, that they came to a resolution to suppress effectually, if possible, the new religion, that had now made so considerable a progress among the *Arab* tribes; and, in order to this, they entered into a solemn league, or covenant, against the *Hâshemites* (for so *Mohammed's* followers were called), and the family of *Abd'al Metalleb*; engaging themselves to contract no marriages with any of them, and to have no communication with them. To give this the greater sanction, they reduced it into writing, and laid it up in the *Caaba*. Upon this, the tribe became divided into two factions; and the family of *Hâshem* all, both *Moslems* and unbelievers, repaired to *Abu Taleb*, as their head; except only *Abu'al Uzza*, surnamed *Abu Labeb*, the son of *Abd'al Metalleb*, who, out of his inveterate hatred to his nephew, and his doctrine, went over to the opposite party. This was likewise partly done at the instigation of *Omm Jamil*, his wife, who was sister to the great enemy of the *Hâshemites*, *Abu Sofian Ebn Harb*, of the family of *Ommiyah* †.

* ISM. ABULFED. ubi supra, c. xi. p. 23—27. ELMACIN. & JOANNES ANDREAS, ubi supra. KAMUS, EBN SHOHNAH, AL JANNAHI, ubi sup. EBN AL ATHIR, AL KODAI, MOHAMMED EBN ABD'AL BAKI, in lib. de excellent. Hâshemior. par. i. cap. 2. EBN MALKAM apud Moham. Ebn Abd'al Bak. ubi supra. JOH. LUDOLF. in comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 284, & alibi. LUDOVIC. MARRACC. in prodrom. par. i. c. 2. p. 45. SELD. vox Ebraic. p. 533. Vide etiam Univ. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 331. Lond. 1748. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. p. 24—27. & la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 119—123. † ISM. ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 25. EBN SHOHNAH. ABU'L MAALA AL-EDDIN MOHAMMED EBN ABD'AL BAKI, ubi supra. SIONIT. in append. ad geograph. Nubjens. c. 7. ELMACIN. & JOAN. ANDREAS, ubi sup. AL JANNAHI, ubi supra, p. 41. Vide etiam GAGN. ubi supra, p. 122, 123.

IN the mean time, the Arab refugees, who had taken sanctuary in Ethiopia, received advice, that the citizens of Mecca had embraced Mohammedism. This induced thirty of them to return home; but, upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of Mecca, they found that idolatry still reigned in that city: wherefore only three of them, viz. Othmân Ebn Affân, Al Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm, and Othmân Ebn Matûn, had the courage to visit their friends and relations there. It must not be forgot, that when the first of those refugees, viz. Othmân Ebn Affân, with his wife Rakiâh, Al Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm, Abd'allah Ebn Masûd, Abd'rahmân Ebn Awf, Abu Hadeifa Ebn Otba, with his wife Sahala, the daughter of Soheil Ebn Omar, Ben Masaab Ebn Qmeir, Abu Salmah Ebn Abda'l Asad, with his wife Salama, the daughter of Ommeya, Othmân Ebn Matûn, Amer Ebn Rabia, with his wife Lili, the daughter of Abu Hantama, Hateb Ebn Omar, who first set his foot in Ethiopia, and Soheil Ebn Bahidha, had taken their rout on the sea-coast for Ethiopia, they embarked at Jodda, a maritime city about two days journey to the west of Mecca. Here they hired a vessel for half a dinâr, and immediately set sail for Ethiopia. This event happened, according to Mohammed Ebn Abda'l Baki, in the fifth year of Mohammed's mission, and the month of Rajeb; which is a farther proof of Mr. Sale's error in the point above-mentioned *.

WE are told by Al Jannabi, that, soon after the arrival of the Moslems in Ethiopia, the fifty-third chapter of the Koran, intituled, THE STAR, came down from heaven, by the ministry of the angel Gabriel; and that, after the first reading of it, Mohammed prostrated himself, in a sense of the divine goodness; which being observed by some idolaters, who were present, they all of them did the like. The news of this event, according to the same author, being brought into Ethiopia, the Moslems there concluded that Islamism was established in Mecca; which induced some of them to cross the sea, and advance into the neighbourhood of that city, as has been already observed. During the residence of those Arabs there, Mohammed was protected by his uncle Abu Tâleb, tho' he found it extremely difficult to screen him from the fury and violence of the Koreish; who, according to the last-mentioned author, made frequent attempts upon him; sometimes endeavouring to destroy him by open force, and at others by secret wiles and machinations: nay, if that writer may be credited, in order to compass their end, they had re-

* ABU'L MAALA ALAEDDIN MOHAMMED EBN ABD'AL BAKI, ubi sup. ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 23—27. AL JANNABI, GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. c. x. p. 119—123.

course to the magic art, to enchantments, and diabolical illusions; they raised demons to harass him, and oblige him to desist at last from his undertaking. In fine, they gave him so much trouble, that he was obliged to change his habitation, and seek an asylum for himself, and his new companions. This he found in the house of one *Orkam*, which had on the hill of *Safâ* an advantageous situation. Here he brought over to *Islamism* all the members of *Orkam's* family. The house he then dwelt in was afterwards held in high veneration among the *Moslems*. *Orkam*, the possessor of it at that time, made a present of it to his son, when he married an *Arab* lady. *Al Mansûr*, the second *Khalif* of the house of *Abbâs*, purchased it of the heirs of *Orkam* for a large sum of money, and gave it to his son and successor *Al Mobdi*, surnamed *Al Khazarân*; that is to say, *the cane, or reed*; from whom, says *Al Jannabi*, it retains the appellation of *the house of the reed* to this very day *v*.

Abulfeda's authority preferable to that of *Al Jannabi*. IT has been already observed, that *Abulfeda* places the conversion of *Hamza* and *Omar Al Farûk* in the fourth year of *Mohammed's* mission; that is, he makes it to precede the first flight into *Ethiopia* only about one year. To which we must now beg leave to add, that *Al Jannabi* is of a contrary opinion. According to that author, this conversion happened in the sixth of *Mohammed's* mission, and consequently the year after the first *Hijra*, or flight into *Ethiopia*; *Al Kodai*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'al Bâki*, and *Al Jannabi*, all agreeing (with *Abulfeda*), that *Mohammed's* adherents first sought for refuge at the court of the *Najâshi*, in the fifth year after the apostle entered upon his prophetic function: As we cannot therefore decide in favour of both these opinions, which are diametrically opposite to each other, the question here is, whether of them we are to choose; or, in other words, whether we are to give the preference to *Abulfeda's* authority, or that of *Al Jannabi*? Mr. *Gagnier* and Mr. *Sale* have, to our very great surprize, followed the latter of these authors in the point before us. We say, to our very great surprize; since *Abulfeda* was not near so much tainted with bigotry and superstition as *Al Jannabi*, does not discover so great a propensity to fable and romance, and lived near three hundred years before him. We cannot therefore but think, that he ought to be esteemed as an historian of much better reputation and authority. Besides, the conversion of *Hamza*, one of *Mohammed's* uncles, seems naturally connected with the protection given him by *Abu Tâleb*, another of

▼ *AL JANNAB. MOHAMMED EBN ABDA'L BAKI*, in lib. de excellentiis Habessinor. Vide etiam *JOAN. GAGN.* ubi supra.

them, as it is represented by *Abulfeda*, in the body of his history. So that it being agreed on all hands, that *Abu Táleb* most powerfully supported *Mohammed* in the fourth year of his mission; and *Al Jannabi*, *Al Kodai*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'al Baki*, &c. all asserting, that the first *Hejra*, or flight into *Ethiopia*, happened in the fifth; both the reason of the thing, and the testimony of those writers (even of *Al Jannabi* himself) jointly concur to establish, and, as we apprehend, render indisputable, the authority of *Abulfeda*. Nor can this be at all affected, in the present article, as Mr. *Gagnier* seems to imagine, by what we find, in another place, related by *Al Jannabi*; viz. that *Mohammed* lived upon the mountains of *Al Safá*, after the first retreat of the *Moslems* to the Court of the *Najáshi*: for this ought either to be looked upon as a fresh mistake, or as a natural consequence of the former; which we are inclined to believe; or, lastly, as a proof that *Mohammed* lived twice upon that hill, once before, and once after, some of his first converts were obliged to fly into *Ethiopia* *.

THE factions into which the tribe of the *Koreish* was divided, and which occasioned the solemn league above-men-tioned, subsisted for five years; but, in the tenth year of his mission, *Mohammed* told his uncle *Abu Táleb*, that God had manifestly shewed his disapprobation of the covenant entered into by the *Koreish* against them, by sending a worm to eat out every word of the instrument, except the name of God. Of this accident *Mohammed*, says Mr. *Sale*, had probably some private notice; for *Abu Táleb* went immediately to the *Koreish*, and acquainted them with it; offering, if it proved false, to deliver his nephew up to them; but in case it were true, he insisted, that they ought to lay aside their animosity, and annul the league they had made against the *Hidshemités*. To this they acquiesced, and going to inspect the writing, to their great astonishment, found it to be as *Abu Táleb* had said; and the league was thereupon declared void. The form, in which the name of God was written, according to *Abn Zeid Seid Abd'al Rahmán*, was this, IN THY NAME, O GOD; which words, as the same author affirms, only remained untouched. He also adds, that the hand of *Mansúr Ebn Akrema*, the notary who drew up the writing, was dried up as soon as he had finished it. The

* ISM. ABULFED. AL JANNAB. ABUL MAALA ALAEDDIN MOHAMMED EBN ABDA'L BAKI, AL KODAI, ubi supra. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 119—130. & not. ad Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 21, 22. SALE's prelim. discours. p. 44, 45, &c.

Moslem writers, however, do not intirely agree amongst themselves, in their relations of this pretended miraele; for *Abmed Ebn Abd'al Rahim*, as he is cited by *Marracci*, asserts, that all the names of God only were eaten out of the instrument, every other part of it being perfectly visibie: upon which, continues that author, *Abu Tâleb*, addressing himself to the *Koraisb*, observed, that as God had been averse to the drawing up of the instrument then before them, he had taken care that every thing relating to him in it should be defaced, and that every thing that was the effect of their wickedness should remain. Be this, however, as it will, upon so remarkable an event, according to *Abulfeda*, the rescission of the instrument immediately ensued. Our readers will here take notice, that this extraordinary affair, which proved of such signal service to *Mohammed*, was probably, even according to Mr. *Sale* himself, the effect of collusion; since the person who, as he insinuates, gave the impostor private notice of the destruction of so many words in the instrument, did, in all likelihood, by his directions, erase them. They will also farther remark, that what has been advanced here by *Abulfeda*, *Abu Zeid Seid Abd'al Rahman*, and *Abmed Ebn Abd'al Rahim*, amounts to a good proof, that the *Arabs* had letters in use amongst them, when *Mohammed* made his first appearance upon the theatre of the world, and even before his birth, as we have already observed in our ancient history of that most wonderful and illustrious nation *.

Mohammed loses his uncle Abu Tâleb, and his wife.

AFTER this memorable event, *Mohammed* remained with his uncle *Abu Tâleb*; who died the same year, according to *Abulfeda*. The prophet had before been shut up, or rather closely besieged, in one of *Abu Tâleb's* castles, if we will believe *Al Jannabi*. The two parties, that is, the *Hâshemites*, and the opposite faction of the *Koraisb*, were so exasperated against each other, that there was no manner of intercourse or communication kept up between them; at least before the rescission of the late decree. They never saw one another, except at the public solemnities of the pilgrimage, and then no kind of civilities or salutations passed between them. *Abu Tâleb* departed this life in the month of *Shawâl*, and the tenth year of *Mohammed's* mission; so that he did not long survive the late accommodation. At his death, he was above eighty years of age; and died, according to the general opinion, an

* Iam ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed, c. xii. p. 27. ABU ZEID SEID ABD'AL RAHMAN in lib. de sign. seu mirac. prophet. AHMED EBN ABD'AL RAHIM apud Ludovic. Marraccium, in prodr. par. ii. p. 36. Patavii, 1698: Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Iam. Abulfed. ubi supra, & SALE's prelim. disc. p. 42.

unbeliever; tho' some pretend that he professed himself a *Moslem* just before he expired. *Abulfeda* relates, that, as his death approached, *Mohammed* pressed him to declare his assent to the two fundamental articles, *THERE IS ONLY ONE GOD, AND MOHAMMED IS HIS PROPHET*; but that he excused himself from making such a declaration, because the *Koreish* would, as he said, impute it to his being intimidated at that juncture, and consequently give out, that the fear of death had extorted it from him. However, continues the same author, *Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbās*, who attended him in his last illness, *Mohammed's* cousin-german, asserted, that, with his last breath, he acknowledged his belief of those articles. Be that as it will, *Mohammed* sustained a great loss by the death of his uncle, who had supported him with no small success against all the efforts of his most powerful and inveterate enemies. It must be remembered here, that those who assert *Abu Tāleb* to have embraced *Mohammedism*, when he was at the point of death, produce some passages out of his poetical compositions, to confirm their assertion; and that he lived only eight months and twenty-one days after all acts of hostility ceased between his friends and the *Koreish*, according to *Al Jannabi*. About a month, or, as some write, three days after the death of this great benefactor and patron, *Mohammed* had the additional mortification to lose his wife *Khadījah*, who had so generously made his fortune. She died in the sixty-fifth year of her age, and not in the forty-ninth, as we find asserted by *Marracci*. *Mohammed* had all his children by her, except one called *Ibrahim*, if we will give credit to *Al Kodai*. Two such sinister events, coming as it were together, could not but prove extremely prejudicial to the prophet's affairs. For which reason, this year is called by the *Mohammedans* the year of mourning^b.

It has been remarked by *Al Jannabi*, that the year preceding the death of *Abu Tāleb* and *Khadījah*, the *Persians* gave disgression the *Greeks*, or subjects of the *Constantinopolitan* empire, a signal defeat in *Syria*, near *Bosra* and *Adhrāt*; upon which, the *Koreish* made great rejoicings. The news of this victory, reaching *Mecca*, the infidels became strangely elated, and began to abuse *Mohammed*, and his followers; imagining that

^b AL JANNAB. ubi supra, p. 47. ABD'ALLAH EBN AL AB-BAS apud Ism. Abulfed. ubi supra, c. xiii. p. 28. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. Vide etiam carm. ABU TALEB apud Abulfed. ubi supra, & GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 132, 133. AHMED EBN YUSEF in hist. sect. i. c. 40. AL KODAI de uxori, Mohammed. LUDOVICI MARRACCII vit. Mohammed, c. 4, p. 15, &c.

this success of the *Persians*, who, like themselves, were idolaters, and supposed to have no Scriptures, against the *Christians*, who pretended, as well as *Mohammed*, to worship one GOD, and to have divine Scriptures, was an earnest of their own future successes against the prophet, and those of his religion. To check which vain hopes, it was foretold, in the thirtieth chapter of the *Korân*, intituled, AL RÛM, or THE GREEKS, which, the *Moslems* pretend, was revealed on occasion of this victory, that how improbable soever it might seem, yet the scale should be turned in a few years, and the vanquished *Greeks* prevail as remarkably over the *Persians*. Which prophecy, according to the commentators on the *Korân*, was exactly fulfilled, tho' they do not agree in their accounts of its completion; the number of years between the two actions being not precisely determined. Some place the victory gained by the *Persians* in the fifth year before the *Hejra*, and their defeat by the *Greeks* in the second year after it, when the battle of *Bedr* was fought: others place the former in the third or fourth year before the *Hejra*, and the latter in the end of the sixth, or beginning of the seventh year after it, when the expedition of *Al Hodribiyah* was undertaken. The date of the victory gained by the *Greeks*, in the first of these accounts, interferes with a story, which the commentators on the *Korân* tell us, of a wager laid by *Abu Becr* with *Obba Ebn Khalf*, who turned this prophecy into ridicule. *Abu Becr* at first laid ten young camels, that the *Persians* should receive an overthrow within three years; but, on his acquainting *Mohammed* with what he had done, that prophet told him, that the word *bed'*, made use of in the prediction, signified no determinate number of years, but any number from three to nine (tho' some suppose the tenth year is included); and therefore advised him to prolong the time, and raise the wager; which he accordingly proposed to *Obba*, and they agreed that the time assigned should be nine years, and the wager an hundred camels. Before the time was elapsed, *Obba* died, of a wound he had received at *Ohod*, in the third year of the *Hejra*; but the event afterwards shewing that *Abu Becr* had won, he received the camels of *Obba's* heirs, and brought them in triumph to *Mohammed*. The victory, mentioned in the *Korân*, seems, according to Mr. Sale, to have been obtained about the sixth year before the *Hejra*, when the *Persians*, after their conquest of *Syria*, made themselves masters of *Palestine*, and took *Jerusalem*, as agreeing best with the terms used in the thirtieth chapter of the *Korân*, and being the most likely to alarm the *Arabs*, by reason of their vicinity to the scene of action. And, in the year of *Christ* 625, in which the fourth year of the *Hejra* began,

about

about ten years after the reduction of *Jerusalem*, the *Greeks*, in a great battle, overthrew the *Persians*, obliged them to quit the territories of the empire, drove them to the last extremity, and spoiled the capital city of *Al Madâyen*. But, for more exact information in these matters, our readers must have recourse to historians and chronologers. In the mean time, we shall beg leave farther to remark, that tho' *Al Yannabi* takes the battle, mentioned in the *Korân*, to have been fought in the neighbourhood of *Beſtra* and *Adbraût*, as well as *Al Beidawi* and *Ahmed Ebn Yahya*, yet others place the scene of action in the land of *Persia*, and others in *Mesopotamia*, on the frontiers of that kingdom: but *Ebn Abbâs* differs from them all, when he thinks that the aforesaid general action happened in *Palestine*. Be this, however, as it will, the *Persians* were at that time in a declining condition, as well as the *Greeks*; and this *Mohammed* very well knew, as has been already observed, and is even allowed by Mr. *Sale* himself; so that the pretended apostle might, without the gift of prophecy, conjecture, that the *Greeks* would, within a few years, in their turn, overcome the *Persians*, and boldly offer such a conjecture as a prophécy, in order to animate and encourage his followers, who were then in a state of persecution. That such a procedure as this was, at that time, consonant to the *Arab* genius, appears from hence, that the infidel *Korêish* did foretel future successes to themselves from the victory of the *Persians*; and that this prediction also, as well as *Mohammed's*, was, in some measure, fulfilled. But there is nothing at all wonderful in this: sanguine persons will frequently utter such conjectures as these, with a prophetic air, either to animate their partisans, after some disaster has happened, or to express their hopes of better times. Instances enough of this kind might be produced from history, were they in any manner necessary; and thousands of such instances, we doubt not, have actually occurred to persons acquainted with the nature of mankind, since the creation of the world. Nothing, therefore, can be more ridiculous, or inconsistent with itself, than the conduct of Mr. *Sale*; who, in one part of his book, represents both the *Persians* and the *Greeks* as extremely weak, when *Mohammed* began to attempt a reformation amongst the *Arabs*; and, in another, insinuates, that the *Persians* were then so infinitely superior to the *Greeks*, that the latter were upon the point of being swallowed up by the former. With what view this is done, our intelligent readers will easily perceive. Mr. *Gagnier* also discovers a strong inclination to favour the *Mohammedan* cause; when, in our opinion, without reason, he carps at Father *Marracci's* refutation of the thirtieth chapter of the *Korân*. In fine, the two
learned

learned men now in view would perhaps have had a dislike to *Islamism* in those countries only where it at present prevails; and that because it is the established religion there^c.

A miracle wrought by Mohammed.

BUT to return to our history—Before the expiration of the tenth year of the prophet's mission, a most wonderful fact was wrought by *Mohammed*, if we may depend upon *Al Jannabi*, for the conviction of unbelievers. The beginning of the fifty-fourth chapter of the *Korân*, according to some, refers to this famous miracle, supposed to have been performed by *Mohammed*: for it is said, that, on the infidels demanding a sign of him, the moon appeared cloven in two, one part vanishing, and the other remaining; and *Ebn Masûd* affirmed, that he saw mount *Hara* interpose between the two sections. The words of the *Korân*, hinted at in the chapter above-mentioned, intituled, *THE MOON*, are to the following effect: "The hour approacheth; and the moon hath been split in sunder: but if they see a sign, they turn aside, saying this is a powerful charm. And they accuse of imposture, and follow their own lusts: but every thing will be immutably fixed." *Al Jannabi* also relates, that *Moslems*, as well as unbelievers, and the people of the book, that is, both *Jews* and *Christians*, who were both favoured with Scriptures of divine original, saw this stupendous prodigy^d.

The Koreish more troublesome than ever to Mohammed.

HOWEVER, notwithstanding this, after the death of *Abu Tâleb* and *Khadîjah*, the *Koreish* began to be more troublesome than ever to their prophet, and especially some who had formerly been his intimate friends. The principal of these were *Abu Labeb Ebn Abd'allah*, *Al Hakam Ebn Al As*, and *Okba Ebn Abi Moait Ebn Ommeiya*, who persecuted him with great rancour and fury; insomuch that he found himself obliged to seek for shelter elsewhere, and first pitched upon *Tâyef*, about sixty miles east from *Mecca*, for the place of his retreat. Thither, therefore, he went, accompanied by his servant *Zeid*, and applied himself to *Masûd* and *Habib*, two of the chief of the tribe of *Thakif*, who were the inhabitants of that place; but they received him very coldly, and even treated

^c AL JANNAB. p. 43, 47, 48, &c. ELMACIN. p. 13, 17. DION. PETAV. rational. temp. p. 506. JA'LALU'DDIN, AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xxx. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, AHMED EBN YAHYA, ASSEMAN. bibliothec. Oriental. tom. iii. par. 1. p. 411, &c. MOJANED apud Al Zamakhshar. SALE's notes on the 30th chapter of the Kor. GAGN la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. c. xii. p. 134, 135.

^d AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. liv. v. 2, 3. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, GAGN. ubi sup. p. 134, 135, 136. Vide etiam lib. AL SAHIB. & LUD. MAR-RACC. refutat. Alcoran, c. xxx. p. 541, 542. Petavii, 1698.

him with some contempt: however, he staid with them a month, and made some converts amongst them; some of the more considerate and better sort of the citizens shewing him a little respect. At last, the slaves, and inferior people rose against him, and, bringing him to the wall of the city, obliged him to depart, and return to *Mecca*. This he did the twenty-third day of the month *Dhu'lkaada*, in the tenth year of his mission, according to *Al Jannabi*, and put himself under the protection of *Al Mo'tam Ebn Adi* :

THE reason assigned by *Golius* for Mohammed's retreat to *Tâyes*, in preference to all other places, is, because his uncle of *Mo-Abbâs* lived for the most part in that city: hence the *Turks*, ham-med's retreat to *Tâyes*. at this day, give the district or territory belonging to it the name of *Abbâs Beladi*; that is, the country of *Abbâs*; and under that appellation it has chiefly gone even from the age of *Mahammed* to the present. To this place, therefore, he seems to have repaired, in order to secure to himself the protection of *Abbâs*; and afterwards, if a favourable opportunity offered, to subjugate the inhabitants of it. But he found himself disappointed in both those views, as sufficiently appears from what has been already observed. *Tâyes* is situated upon the back of mount *Ghammân*, the coldest spot in *Hejâz*; insomuch that it pretty frequently freezes upon the top of this mountain. For which reason, it abounds with variety of fruits, great quantities of which are continually sent to *Mecca*, and enjoys a most salubrious air. Hence the poet *Temiris*, when he celebrates the praises of *Zeinab*, sister to the prince of *Hejâz*, says, that she spent the winter at *Mecca*, and the summer at *Tâyes*. Its first name was *Veja*, which it derived from its founder. *Ghazwân* is commonly called by the *Arabs* *Afwân*, and looked upon to be famous, amongst them, for the excellent raisins it produces. *Abulfeda* says, the town now in view was originally called *Tâyes*, because it was separated from the continent of *Syria* by the waters of the deluge. But this seems to be a mistake, as it first went under the name of *Veja*; and, consequently, that of *Tâyes* must be perfectly modern, in comparison of the age of *Noah*. For other etymons of the word *Tâyes*, we must beg leave to refer the curious to *Al Jannabi* [†].

THIS last repulse greatly discouraged the new converts; as *Who the* they perceived from hence that their countrymen were more than *Al Ansâr*,

* ISM. ABULFED. ubi supra, c. xv. p. 29. EBN SHOHNAH, ELMACIN. lib. i. c. 1. AL JANNAB. [†] GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 100. TEMIRIS poet. Arab. apud Golium, ibid. SHARIF AL EDRISI, in provinc. Hej. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 29.

or *Ansârs*, ever incensed against them. However, *Mohammed* continued
uscre. boldly to preach to the public assemblies at the pilgrimage,
 who resorted to *Mecca*, on that occasion, from all parts of
Arabia, against idolatry, and particularly against the worship
 of *Allât* and *Al Uzza*, to which the tribes, especially the wo-
 men of that of *Thakif*, were much addicted; tho' he exposed
 his person to insults and affronts, and his life itself to no small
 danger, by so doing. Here he gained several profelytes, and
 amongst them six of the inhabitants of *Yathreb*, of the
Jewish tribe of *Khazraj*; who, on their return home, failed
 not to speak much in commendation of their new religion,
 and exhorted their fellow citizens to embrace it. We are
 told, that this tribe, and that of *Al Aws*, were reconciled im-
 mediately after their conversion to *Mohammedism*, tho' they
 had before been at variance an hundred and twenty years. The
 city of *Yathreb* was inhabited by those two tribes, who were
 descended from *Azd*, the son of *Gahlân*, the son of *Saba*, the
 the son of *Yashhab*, the son of *Yaarab*, the son of *Kabtân*,
 the son of *Eber*. These converts of the tribe of *Khaz-
 raj* are called by the *Arab* writers *Al Ansâr*, *Al Ansarii*, or
Ansârs; that is, *assistants*, *favourers*, *supporters*, &c. because
 they assisted and supported the prophet when he was pursued
 to the very brink of destruction, by the malice and contume-
 lious rage of his enemies. They first met *Mohammed* upon the
 hill called *Al Akaba*, a little out of *Mecca*, where a temple
 stood, in which, according to *Al Fûzi*, or *Al Fuzius*, these
Ansârs first took an oath to exert themselves in support of their
 new apostle, and his religion. An uninterrupted friendship
 and harmony long reigned amongst the members of the
Jewish tribes of *Khazraj*, *Koreidha*, and *Nadîr*, whose great
 progenitor, say the *Arabs*, was *Harûn Ebn Amrân*. *Moham-
 med*, therefore, insinuating himself into the good graces and
 affections of the *Ansârs*, they very readily embraced *Islamism*,
 and gladly received from him that part of the *Korân* which
 had been revealed. With regard to the *Jews* first seated at
Yathreb, we are told by *Abulfeda*, that they deduced their origin
 from those *Israelites* that were sent by *Moses*, to extirpate the
Amalekites who occupied *Yathreb*, *Khaibar*, and other cities,
 in the province of *Hefâz*. Having executed their orders, and
 killed the king of the *Amalekites*, they brought his son with
 them prisoner into *Palestine*; and, some time after, returning
 into *Arabia*, they took possession of those towns, whose inha-
 bitants they had before put to the sword, and remained there,
 till the tribes of *Aws* and *Khazraj*, who were obliged to aban-
 don *Taman*, by the inundation of *Al Arem*, came and subdued
 them. Others say, that the *Jews* did not settle in *Arabia* till
 after the reduction of *Jerusalem* by *Nebuchadnezzar*; and,
 lastly,

lastly, others believe, that they had no settlement in that country till after the destruction of the second temple by *Titus*. The tribe of *Koreidha*, tho' in league with *Mohammed*, at the incessant persuasion of *Caab Ebn Asad*, a principal man amongst them, went over to his enemies in the WAR OF THE DITCH; and were severely punished for it. But of this our curious readers may expect a full and ample account hereafter.

THE next remarkable event, we find related of *Mohammed* ^{Mohammed's} by *Abulfeda*, is the night-journey he made from *Macca* to *Jerusalem*, and from thence to heaven, so much spoken of by all ^{night-journey to} that have written of him. This happened, according to the author of the book *Al Seirat*, before the decease of *Abu Taleb*, and consequently in or before the tenth year of his mission. But *Al Juzi*, or, as the *Arabs* call him, *Ebn Al Juzi*, and he seems to have reason on his side, takes it to have happened in the twelfth year of his prophetic function. Here, therefore, we shall beg leave to place it. *Dr. Prideaux* thinks he invented it either to answer the expectations of those who demanded some miracle as a proof of his mission; or else, by pretending to have conversed with *God*, to establish the authority of whatever he should think fit to leave behind him by way of oral tradition, and make his sayings to serve the same purpose as the oral law of the *Jews*. And this must be allowed extremely probable, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Mr. Sale*, which has no manner of weight in it. For he contents himself with barely asserting, "that he does not find, that *Mohammed* himself ever expected so great a regard should be paid to his sayings, as his followers have since done." Whereas from the whole tenor of his conduct, as described even by the *Moslem* writers themselves, the contrary seems most clearly to appear. Nor can any thing be more remote from truth than what the learned author now before us immediately subjoins, "and seeing he all along disclaimed any power of performing miracles," &c. since this bold assertion runs counter to the whole stream of *Moslem* antiquity, as well as to the express testimony of some good *Christian* writers, who have transmitted to posterity several particulars relating to the life and actions of *Mohammed*. In fine, the contrary to it may be demonstrated from the authors, both *Christian* and *Mohammedan*, so frequently cited in this work. However, he merits greater re-

* *EBN SHONNAH*. *ISM. ABULFED.* ubi sup. c. xv, xvi, xvii. p. 29, 30, 31. *AL JANNAB. AL. TABAR. EBN AL JUZI. EL-MACIN.* ubi sup. *AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL BEIDAWI, EBN ISHAK.* Vid. etiam *GAGN.* not. ad *Abulfed.* ubi sup. p. 30, 31. *La vie de Mahom.* l. iv. c. 2. & alib. & *SALE's* not. on the 33d chap. of the Kor.

gard, when he presently adds, that "it seems rather to have been a fetch of policy, to raise his reputation, by pretending to have actually conversed with GOD in heaven, as *Moses* had heretofore done in the mount, and to have received several institutions immediately from him, whereas he before contented himself with persuading them that he had all by the ministry of *Gabriel*." This, we say, merits greater regard; tho', at the same time, it must be allowed, that it fixes upon the favourite prophet, in conformity to what has been related of him by all *Christian* writers, the imputation of having been one of the most abandoned wretches, and the most execrable impostors, however inconsistent he may be with himself by so doing, that ever appeared in the world. Nor can we deny but that, in our opinion, such a character he most richly deserved ^b.

He arrives at Jerusalem;

BUT to resume the thread of our history—*Mohammed* lying in the open air between the mountains of *Al Safâ* and *Merwâ*; in the neighbourhood of *Mecca*, according to the tradition of *Abu Horeira*, was one night accosted by the angel *Gabriel*, and another heavenly spirit with him. *Gabriel*, if we will believe *Al Fârûd*, opened *Mohammed*'s heart, wrung out the black drop, or seed of original sin; washed and cleansed the same, filled it with wisdom and faith, and then put it into its proper place, out of which he had taken it for the more expeditious and convenient performance of that operation. Afterwards *Gabriel*, with seventy pair of wings expanded from his sides, according to some, brought to our apostle the beast *Al Borâk*, which, say the *Mohammedans*, was the beast the prophets used to ride, when they were carried from one place to another, upon the execution of any divine command. *Mohammed* describes this animal to have been as white as milk, to have resembled an ass as well as a mule, and to have been of a size something less than the latter, but larger than the former. According to the tradition of *Abu Horeira*, the face of *Al Borâk* was like that of a man, and his jaws like those of a horse. His eyes shone with as great a lustre as the

^b Aut. lib. AL SEIRAT apud Abulfed. ubi sup. c. xviii. p. 32. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. EBN AL JUZI, AHMED EBN YUSEF. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, p. 38. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. hist. dynast. p. 166. AL NODHAM EBN MASUD apud Al Shahrestân. ut & ipse AL SHAHRESTAN. ibid. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 187, 188. HOTTING. hist. Orient. lib. ii. c. 6. GUADAGNOL. tract. ii. c. 2. sect. 2. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. liv. v. 2, 3. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. ubi sup. p. 134, 135, 136. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, AL BOKHARI. SALE's prelim. discours. p. 46, 47. See also SALE's translat. of the 54th chap. of the Kor. and his notes on that chap. & lib. AL SAHÎH, &c.

stars would do, were they enlightened by the solar rays, and he had two wings resembling those of an eagle. The *Moslems* also pretend that he was endued with a rational soul, so that he could hear, reason, and understand, tho' he was destitute naturally of the faculty of speech. He could move with such surprising velocity, that he was able to pass from one place to another as quick as lightning; from whence he received the name of *Al Borák*, which denotes *lightning*, or rather *the author of lightning, the thunderer*, in the *Arabic* tongue. At *Mohammed's* approach, he kicked with great force, and would not suffer the prophet to mount him. Upon which, *Gabriel* immediately interposed, and addressed himself to the beast in the following terms: "Stand still," said he, "O *Borák*, and be obedient to *Mohammed*, for a greater favourite of God than he is never got upon thy back." To which *Al Borák* replied, "Did not *Ibrahim*, O *Gabriel*, the friend of God, ride upon me, when he went to pay a visit to his son *Ismael*? Perhaps, *Gabriel*, this is the mediator, intercessor, and the author of the new religion, whose fundamental article is THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD." To this *Gabriel* answered—"Stand still, O *Borák*, stand still, this is *Mohammed* the son of *Abd'allah*, the chief of the sons of *Adam*, the first amongst the prophets and ambassadors, and the seal of them all; his tribe is settled in *Yaman*, and his religion orthodox; all men, through his intercession, hope to enter paradise; at his right hand is paradise, and at his left hell-fire; whoever professes his word to be true will enter paradise, but whoever accuses him of a lye will be thrust into hell." To this *Al Borák* returned, for God had enabled him to speak on this occasion, "O *Gabriel*, I adjure thee, by the friendship and alliance between thee and *Mohammed*, to prevail upon him to admit me into paradise, by his intercession, in the day of the resurrection." The prophet hearing this, said to him;—"Stand still, *Borák*, through my intercession thou shalt be with me in paradise." Upon which the beast presently came to him, took him on his back, and carried him through the air to *Jerusalem* in the twinkling of an eye ⁱ.

He

ⁱ AL BOKHARI, ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xix. p. 33. AL JARUD apud Abulfed. ibid. Aut. lib. AGAR. Al KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xvii. & xciv. v. i. MOSLEM, AL BEIDAWI, AHMED EBN YAHYA, ABU HOREIRA. Vide etiam PHILIP. GUADAGNOL. Lat. vers. lib. AGAR. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 31, 32. RODERIC. TOLETAN. c. 5. JOAN. ANDREAM, c. 8. RICHARDI confutat. legis Saracenicæ, c. 1. 27. CANTACUZENI orat. 4. GUADAGNOL. ubi sup. tract. ii. c. 2. sect. 2. BELLONIUS, lib. iii. c. 7.

and afterwards at the first heaven; HE no sooner arrived there than he went to the temple, where he found *Ibrahim, Musa, and Isa*, that is, *Abraham, Moses, and Jesus*, with a great number of the prophets and saints, who all saluted him, and immediately went to prayers with him. After which, *Gabriel* and he ascended a ladder of light, which they found ready fixed for them, and left *Al Borák* upon the sacred spot till their return. Then they proceeded directly to the *first heaven*, where, upon their arrival, *Gabriel* knocked at the gate, and having informed the porter who he was, as also that he had brought *Mohammed*, the friend of God, with him, by the divine command, it was instantly opened. This gate he describes to be of a prodigious size. The *first heaven*, he likewise tells us, consisted intirely of pure silver, and that he there saw the stars hanging from it by chains of gold as large as mount *Nobo*, near *Mecca* in *Arabia*; and that in these stars the angels keep guard, to hinder the devils from approaching too near, or prying into the actions, and overhearing the discourse, of the inhabitants of heaven, in order to tempt them. When *Mohammed* first entered this heaven, he saw an old decrepit man, according to the same tradition, who called him the best of sons, and the best of prophets. This venerable person, as he learned from *Gabriel*, was our first father *Adam*, who then, say certain of the *Moslems*, recommended himself to his prayers. He also saw, as some pretend, an infinite number of angels of all manner of shapes; and amongst those who appeared in the forms of birds, a cock as white as snow, of so prodigious a size, that with his head he touched the *second heaven*, though this was five hundred years journey distant from the *first*, according to the usual computation of travellers in the East. Nay some affirm, that the head of this (Y) cock reached up, through all the

BOCHART. *hierozoic.* par. ii. lib. 6. c. 13. FORTAL. *Fid.* lib. iv. confid. 4. JOAN. GAGN. not. ad *Abulfed.* ubi sup. p. 8, 9. 33, 34. & la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. liv. ii. p. 195—207. SALE's *prelimin. discours.* p. 46. & *translat.* & not. on the Kor. f. xvii, xciv, &c. •

(Y) This fable of the cock *Mohammed* has been supplied with by the *Talmudists*, as has been rightly observed by Dr. *Prideaux*. The *Babylonish Talmud* mentions a bird called *Ziz*, that standeth with his feet upon the earth, reacheth up unto the heavens with his head, and with the expansion of his wings

totally obscures the solar orb. The *Chaldee paraphrast* on the *psalms* likewise describes this bird as a cock of the same immense size, and tells us that he crows before the LORD. He also in his paraphrase on the book of *Job* informs us, that he crows every morning before the LORD, and that God gives him

the *seven heavens*, as far as the throne of God, which is above seven times higher. His wings are represented as adorned with carbuncles and pearls, and as extended, when he pleases, towards the East and West, at a distance proportionable to his height. The angels appearing in the shapes of animals, as *Gabriel* informed the prophet, intercede with God for all those living creatures on earth that they resemble; those in the form of men for men, those in the form of beasts for beasts, and those in a shape similar to that of birds for birds. The angel above-mentioned, according to *Mohammed*, is the representative of the cocks, and every morning joins with God in singing an holy hymn by his crowing, which is so loud that all the inhabitants of heaven and earth, except men and fairies, can hear it, and then all the other cocks, both material and immaterial, crow also. We likewise learn from *Al Termedi*, that, at the approach of the day of judgment, the great white cock in the *first heaven* shall be commanded to draw in his wings, and cease crowing, which shall be a sign that that day is at hand, to all beings, but men and fairies, who having been before deaf to his crowing, shall not then be sensible of his silence. The *Mohammedans* believe, that there are three voices which God always hears; the voice of him that is constant in reading the *Korân*, the voice of him that prayeth early every morning for the pardon of his sins; and the voice of this great cock, which they think is ever most acceptable to him. Some pretend, that, according to a tradition derived originally from *Mohammed*, the *first heaven* consists of a thin subtile vapour, called the firmament, and that the celestial space occupied by this vapour, throughout the vast extent of it, is full of angels and superior intelligent beings, some of whom profoundly inclined themselves, and others prostrated themselves, by way of adoration, before *Mohammed*. The chief of these were, as is hinted by the same tradition, *Michael* and *Asmael*, who treated *Gabriel* and *Mohammed* with the highest marks of distinction^k.

FROM

^k ABU HOREIRA, AL BOKHAR. apud Abulfed. ubi sup. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. p. 34. 35. Lib. AGAR. PRID. & GUADAGNOL. ubi sup. AL TERMED. in lib. de vit. animal. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xv. AL BEIDAWI, GAGN. ubi sup. p. 207—210.

him wisdom for this purpose. *Al Termedi* relates, that this cock's wings are adorned with an infinite number of emeralds, carbuncles, and pearls, of in-

estimable value; and that, at the approach of the day of judgment, he will pronounce the words PRAISE, SANCTITY, &c. with a very loud and sonorous

then at the
second;

FROM the *first heaven* they advanced to the *second*, into which they were admitted, and met with the same salutation as before. We are not informed of what happened to them during the course of their ascent; but only that this heaven is about five hundred years journey distant from the former, according to the celerity and method of travelling here on earth. The *second heaven* consists of a sort of iron, says the tradition, called *Maun*. Here *Mohammed* is said first to have met with *Noah*, who rejoiced much at the sight of him, recommended himself to his prayers, and afterwards with *Isa* and *Yahya*, that is, *Jesus* and *John*, who both welcomed him to that place, and stiled him the best of men, and the best of prophets. But the author of the book called *Agar* differs from the tradition, or narration, of *Abu Horeira*, in the point before us. For he places *John* in the *sixth heaven*, and *Jesus* in the *seventh*, or the highest of all. Here *Ibrahim*, or *Abraham*, has by the same author a place likewise assigned him. It may not be improper to observe, that this writer, though a *Moslem*, seems to intimate, that *Mohammed* acknowledged himself to be inferior to CHRIST; which he did, as Mr. *Gagnier* justly remarks, in order to flatter the *Christians*. For the true, or orthodox, *Moslems* consider our Saviour as a creature, and *Mohammed* at the same time as scarce inferior to GOD himself, and derive the word *Mohammed* from the divine name MAH-MUD. Some authors relate, that the substance of the *second heaven* was pure gold; and that the prophet saw twice as many angels there as in the *first*, and, amongst them, one of so prodigious a size that his head reached even to the *third heaven*. *Al Bokhâri* agrees with *Abu Horeira* in assigning *Jesus* and *John* a place in the *second heaven*, and *Abraham* one in the *seventh*¹.

after-

wards at,
the third;

GABRIEL and *Mohammed* being arrived at the *third heaven*, met with the same reception there as before. This heaven, say some of the *Mohammedan* writers, was almost intirely formed of precious stones; though others make it to have

¹ AL BOKHARI & ABULFED. ubi sup. Lib. AGAR. GUADAG. & PRID. ubi sup. ABU HOREIRA. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 35, 36. Vide etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. c. iii. p. 210, 211.

rous voice. For a more particular account of him, we must refer our curious readers to the authors here cited in the margin (23).

(23) Buxtorfi lexicon Rabbinicum, in voce III. Chald. paraphr. ad Psal. l. II. & lxxx. 14. & ad Job. iii. 7. xxxviii. 36. xxxix. 16, &c. Abu Horeir. in major. tradit. ascension. Al Termed. in lib. de vit. animal. Prid. life of Mahom. p. 32, 33, 34.

consisted of a sort of iron called *Zaitun*. Amongst the wonderful creatures of GOD that *Mohammed* saw here, there was a great angel, called *The faithful of GOD*, who had an hundred thousand other angels under his command. Some pretend that this angel was of so prodigious a size, that the distance between his eyes was equal to seventy thousand days journey, according to our rate of travelling here on earth. But here, as Dr. *Prideaux* observes, *Mohammed* was inconsistent with himself, since the distance between a man's eyes is in proportion to his height, as one to seventy-two; so that, according to this computation, the angel's height must have been near fourteen thousand years journey, which is almost four times as much as the distance between the highest heaven and the earth: wherefore, this angel could not have stood within any one of the heavens. He had a large table before him, in which he was continually writing some words, and blotting out others. Besides the former appellation, as *Mohammed* learned from *Gabriel*, he had another, viz. *The angel of death*. On the table here mentioned he is constantly employed, according to *Gabriel*, in writing the names of all that are to be born, computing the days of their lives, and blotting out those names, as he finds the persons to whom they belong to have completed the numbers of days assigned them. And, added *Gabriel*, whenever any name is erased, the person to whom it belongs immediately dies. Then *Mohammed* and his guide were saluted, continues the tradition, in a most friendly manner, by *David* and *Solomon*. To these *Abulfeda* and *Al Bokhâri* add *Joseph*; but tell us not whether he was the patriarch of that name, or the husband of the Virgin *Mary*, the mother of our LORD. At last having performed their devotions amongst the angels, after the manner of *Abraham*, the well-beloved of GOD, with two inclinations, they retired, and without delay set out for the *fourth heaven*. It must be remembered here, that the *third heaven* is about five hundred years journey, if we will give any credit to *Abu Horeira's* narration, from the *second*; as also that *Gabriel* and *Mohammed* traversed this immense quantity of space in about an hour's time m.

UPON their arrival at the *fourth heaven*, they were admitted then be and received as before. Here *Gabriel* introduced *Mohammed* to reaches *Edris*, or *Enoch*, according to *Abulfeda*; or, as others will the *fourth*. have it, to *Joseph*, the son of *Jacob*. This person felicitated the two travellers, after their entrance, in the same manner that others had done before. The *fourth heaven*, if some of the *Moslem* writers may be credited, was made of a fine kind

of silver, called *Zohari*; or, as others say, of emeralds. In this heaven he saw a vastly larger number of angels than in the former, and, amongst them, one so very tall that he reached from the *third heaven* to the *fourth*, which was also five hundred years journey. This angel, as the apostle learned from *Gabriel*, spent his time in weeping, and making great lamentations; which was occasioned by the sins of men, and the destruction which they thereby voluntarily bring upon themselves. Some *Moslems* also pretend, that *Mohammed* saw here another angel, seated on a throne of light, with a vast number of inferior spirits attending him on his right hand and on his left, and always ready to execute his orders, whose head reached to the *seventh heaven*, and his feet to the *seventh earth*. For the *Mohammedans* believe, that the number of earths corresponds with that of the heavens. After having performed their devotions with the number of inclinations used by *Abraham*, *Gabriel* and *Mohammed* took their leave, and made the proper dispositions for proceeding on their journey to the *fifth heaven* n.

From
whence he
proceeds to
the fifth; HERE they were admitted, as soon as they made themselves known to the porter, without any difficulty at all; and, after their admission, met with *Aaron*, according to *Abulfeda*, who congratulated them on their arrival. This heaven also is about five hundred years journey distant from the preceding, and consists, as the tradition says, of an extremely pure sort of gold, called, from its fineness and purity, *Al Safia*; or, as others will have it, of adamant. Some pretend, that *Moses* found *Mohammed* here, and recommended himself to his prayers; as also *Edris*, or *Enoch*, who paid him uncommon honours. They also relate, that the fire of God's wrath is reserved for obdurate offenders, and particularly the wicked *Arabs*, in this place; and mention other particulars relating to it, that merit not the least attention o.

and after
wards to
the sixth. In the *sixth heaven*, if we will believe *Abulfeda*, *Mohammed* met with *Moses*, who called him his brother, but wept at the sight of him. The reason he gave for which was, because a boy, as he said, was sent after him, that would be instrumental in bringing more individuals of the nation to which he belonged to paradise, than there were *Israelites* or *Jews* in that happy region. This the *Arabs* interpret of their prophet and themselves. Some assert, that *Gabriel* and *Mohammed* found *John the Baptist* in the *sixth heaven*; and that he recommended himself to the prayers of the *Arab* prophet. We are also told, that this prophet saw many more angels in the *sixth heaven* than in the *fifth*, and in the *fifth* than the *fourth*. The matter of the

* *Idem* *ibid*.* *Idem* *ibid*.

sixth heaven, according to *Mohammed's* description of it, say some of the *Moslems*, was a precious stone, called *Al Liâfala*, that is, *the clear and transparent*. It ought to be remarked, that *Al Bokhâri* agrees with *Abu Hureira* in his relation of some of the circumstances attending the interview between *Moses* and *Mohammed*.

FROM the *sixth heaven* *Gabriel* and the pretended apostle ^{th'n to the} of the *Arabs* ascended into the *seventh*, which, say some of ^{seventh.} the *Moslem* traditions, was composed intirely of *divine light*; or, as others assert, of a *red hyacinth*, called *Al La'ama*: Some affirm, that *Mohammed* observed here an angel that was the largest of all God's creatures, and had seventy thousand heads, every one of which had seventy thousand faces, every one of which had seventy thousand mouths, every one of which had seventy thousand tongues, every one of which spoke seventy thousand languages, with all which he was continually celebrating the praises of the Almighty. Here *Mohammed* had an interview, according to *Al Bokhâri*, and some traditions of great authority amongst the *Moslems*, with a venerable old man, seated on a throne of light, fixed to the house *Al Ma'mûr*, who, as *Gabriel* informed him, was *Abraham*, the father of the faithful, and the friend of God. *Abraham* treated him with the same respect that he had met with in every one of the inferior heavens; after which, he was elevated to the lotus-tree, beyond which there was no passing. This tree, say the commentators, stands in the *seventh heaven*, on the right hand of the throne of God; and is the utmost limit, beyond which the angels themselves must not pass; or, as some rather imagine, beyond which no creature's knowledge can extend. The *Korân* seems to intimate, that what was under this tree, when *Mohammed* saw it, exceeded all number and description. Some suppose the whole host of angels worshipping beneath it, and others the birds sitting on its branches, to be intended in the passage of that book here referred to. This tree, called by the *Arabs* *Sedra*, or *Sedrat*, as *Abulfeda* from the narration of *Al Bokhâri* relates, bears fruits that resemble the water-pots of *Hajr*, and leaves like the ears of elephants. The fruits are sweeter than either milk or honey, and one of them, according to the tradition of *Ebn Abbû*, who received it immediately from *Mohammed* himself, is sufficient to sustain all God's creatures, if they were assembled in the *seventh heaven*. Here the pretended apostle saw four rivers, says *Al Bokhâri*; the two interior of which run in paradise with great rapidity, and the two exterior are the *Nile* and the *Euphrates*. The source of these, or the fountain

from whence they spring, is under the tree *Sedrat*, and named in the *Korân Salsabil*. At this fountain the angel *Gabriel* left *Mohammed*, and was succeeded in his post of guide to the apostle by another angel, who went under the name of *Israfil*, and informed the *Arab* prophet, according to *Abu Horeira*, that the four rivers here mentioned were called *Al Cawthar*, the *Nile* of *Egypt*, *Sibân*, and *Jihân*; and that they all ran from the aforesaid fountain, situated under the throne of *GOD*. With regard to the house *Ma'mour*, or *Ma'mûr*, that is, *visited*, it was visited daily, says the foregoing tradition, by seventy thousand angels; from which circumstance it seems to have received its name. The form of it was in all respects similar to the *Al Harâm*, or sacred temple at *Mecca*; and should it at any time fall from the *seventh heaven*, it would, as some of the *Moslems* believe, fall perpendicularly upon this temple. *Mohammed* related, that it was built of *red hyacinths*, and adorned with an innumerable company of lamps, that were continually burning. The angels there informed him, as we find intimated in *Abu Horeira's* narrative, that they began to perform pilgrimages to this house, which sometimes in heaven was called *Al Dhorâh*, that is, *placed at a great distance*, as well as *Al Ma'mûr*, a thousand years before the creation of *Adam*. *Mr. Gagnier* observes, that the primitive *Christians* seem to have entertained the same opinion of the situation of the heavenly *Jerusalem*, in respect of the earthly one, that the *Mohammedans* do of that of the house *Al Ma'mûr*, in respect of the *Harâm*, or temple of *Mecca*; from whence we may infer the probability of *Mohammed's* receiving some hints in the narration now before us from several ancient *Christian* pieces, and particularly the apocryphal book, intitled, *The Revelation of St. PETER*, an *Arabic* version of which is preserved in the *Bodleian library at Oxford*. In proof of this opinion, our curious readers may find an extract from that book in those learned notes of *Mr. Gagnier* upon *Abulfeda*, that have been so often cited in this work⁹.

WE must not omit observing here, that the *sixth heaven*, according to the book *Agar*, was five hundred years journey distant from the *fifth*; as the *seventh heaven* was from the *sixth*. The author of that book likewise informs us, that *Mohammed*

⁹ Lib. AGAR, ABU HOREIRA, AL BOKHARI, ABULFED. ubi sup. AL JUZI in lib. de rit peregrinat. Meccan. c. 77. ABD'AL-LAH EBN AL ABBAS apud Abu Horeir. HADRIAN. RELAND. de relig. Mohammed. p. 38. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1717. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. liii. v. 14. JALLALO'DDIN. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. lxxvi. v. 18. AL BEIDAWI. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. in Abulfed. de vit. Mohammed. p. 37, 38. & la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 223—234.

in the *seventh heaven* found JESUS CHRIST, and recommended himself to his prayers; which amounts to a clear acknowledgement in the *Arab* prophet of our Saviour's superiority. But Mr. *Gagnier* takes this to have been either done, in order to flatter the *Christians*, by this writer himself; or else he thinks the passage in the original may have been misunderstood, and mistranslated, by *Guadagnolus*, who has not produced the *Arabic* text. For the staunch and orthodox *Mohammedans* entertain higher sentiments of their prophet, as has been already remarked. After the apostle had been elevated to the house *Al Ma'mûr*, *Gabriel* brought to him three cups, one full of wine, another of milk, and the third of honey; upon which, he took the milk, and drank it, as the most proper of the three; and the angel approved of his choice. But, according to another tradition, he had only two cups offered him, one filled with milk, and the other with wine; and that upon his preferring the former to the latter, he heard a voice, saying, "Thou hast made a lucky choice, "*Mohammed*; since, hadst thou drank of the wine, thy nation would have deviated from the right path, and consequently in their enterprizes have proved unsuccessful."

THE angel *Gabriel* not being permitted to advance any farther than the house *Al Ma'mûr*, and the lote-tree above-mentioned, there took his leave of *Mohammed*, who, by his direction, or that of the angel *Israfil*, ascended up the rest of the way to the throne of GOD by himself. Before he reached that glorious throne, says the tradition, he passed two seas of light, and one of a black colour, of an immense extent; he passed also through an infinity of angels, called *Al Sâjedun*, or adorers prostrating themselves, *Mahalelun*, or those who praise GOD, *Carubun*, or *Cherubim*, and *Rohanun*, or spirituals. Some of the *Mohammedans* pretend, that he did not meet with *Israfil*, who supported the throne of GOD, till he approached that throne; tho' others believe, that this angel took *Mohammed* under his care as soon as *Gabriel* left him. Be that as it will, we are told, that *Israfil* has a million of heads, every one of which has a million of mouths, to every one of which there is a million of tongues; and that every one of these tongues speaks a million of different languages, in which this angel is day and night incessantly praising GOD. At last *Mohammed*, after having traversed almost infinite tracts of space, continues

^r Lib. AGAR. & PHIL. GUADAGNOL. ubi supra. ALI EBN HAMZA ABU HASAN AL KASSAI in vit. prophet. PRID. ubi sup. ABU HOREIR. in lib. de ascension. Mohammed. AL BOKHAR. & ABULFED. ubi sup. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. in Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 35, 36, &c.

the relation, approached the immediate presence of God himself, when he heard a voice saying unto him, "O MOHAMMED, advance; and approach the glorious and powerful God;" upon which ascending higher, he saw a luminous appearance of a most transcendent brightness, and, at the divine command, drew so near to the Almighty, that he was scarce two (Z) bows length distant from him. On the right side of the throne, according to the prophet's relation, the names of God and *Mohammed* were written in the following Arabic words; LA ALLAH ILLA ALLAH, WA-MOHAMMED RASOUL ALLAH; *i. e.* THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD, AND MOHAMMED IS HIS APOSTLE: which words, containing the two fundamental articles of faith of the *Moslems*, he also pretends to have found inscribed on all the gates of the *seven heavens*, through which he passed. Being thus introduced into the divine presence, as he tells us, he saw GOD sitting on his throne, who, as a mark of his favour, put one of his hands upon the prophet's breast, and the other upon his shoulder, the coldness of which was so intense that it pierced through every part; tho' immediately afterwards an ineffable sweetness and complacency, flowing from the divine presence, diffused itself over his soul, and filled him with a most perfect pleasure. After which, says the tradition, he had a long and familiar conference with GOD, who revealed many hidden mysteries to him, and instructed him in the knowledge of his law, gave him some rules for the better regulation of his conduct, and the more effectual communication of this knowledge to the people over whom he was to preside, and conferred many singular privileges upon him. Some of these were, that he should be the most perfect of all creatures; that he should be honoured and advanced above the rest of mankind; that he should be the redeemer of all believing in him; that he should be able to speak all languages; and that the spoils of all he conquered in war should belong to him alone. Lastly, he received a command from GOD to enjoin his followers to pray fifty times a day; but afterwards meeting with *Moses*, who represented to him the impossibility of performing so tedious and fatiguing a duty, at his persuasion, he returned

(Z) Dr. *Prideaux*, or rather *Guadagnol*, whose Latin version of the book *Agar* he has followed, translates the Arabic word here *two bow-shots*; whereas it properly signifies *two bows length*, or *two cubits length*; however, the Doctor might have met with the original word in the fifty-third chapter of the *Korân* (24).

(24) *Prid. life of Mahom*: p. 36. *London*. 1718. *A. Kor. Mohammed*. f. liii. v. 9. & f. 2.

to the immediate presence of God, and prevailed upon him to oblige the *Moslems* to pray only five times in every twenty-four hours, and that at certain stated times. These, which seem to have been left to the determination of *Mohammed* and his successors, were the following: First, the prayer in the morning, before sun-rise; secondly, the prayer after noon, when the sun begins to decline from the meridian; thirdly, that in the afternoon, before sun-set; fourthly, that in the evening, after sun-set, and before day be shut in; and fifthly, that after the day is shut in, and before the first watch of the night: to which some add a sixth, not as a prayer enjoined, but as a work of supererogation, called the *singular prayer*, which begins at the first watch of the night, and continues till day-break, or rather may be performed in any part of that space. As *Mohammed*, therefore, pretended to have received the divine command for this institution, from the throne of God himself, the observance of the stated times of prayer is frequently insisted on in the *Korân*, though they be not therein particularly prescribed.

THE prophet having thus received full instructions immediately from the Almighty himself, thought now of descending into the lower regions, and visiting once more his friends upon earth. At a proper place, therefore, *Gabriel* met him again, and conducted him through various descents, and the seven heavens, to *Jerusalem*, where *Al Borak* waited for them. In their passage, they met with vast numbers of angels, all the way, who saluted them with the greatest demonstrations of joy, and the most friendly felicitations. When they drew near to the earth, it was still extremely dark; but descending a little lower, they had just light enough to discover part of the kingdom of *Armenia*, and the province of *Aderbijan*, which appeared to them like two small green garden-spots under them. At *Jerusalem* the prophet mounted *Al Borak*, and was attended by the angel *Gabriel* all the way to *Mecca*. Upon his arrival there, he said to *Gabriel*, "My people will, I apprehend, accuse me of telling them lies; and refuse to believe

He returns to Mecca.

* Lib. AGAR, & ABU HOREIRA, ubi sup. Al Kor. MOHAMMED. ubi sup. & f. liii. v. 9. JALLALO'DDIN. AL BEIDAWI. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 38, 39. Al Kor. MOHAMMED. f. v. 7, 8. HADRIAN. RELAND. de relig. Mohammed. cap. viii. ix. p. 86, &c. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, p. 36, 37. SALE's prelimin. disc. sect. iv. Vid. etiam GAGN. not. in Abulfed. ubi sup. HOTTING. hist. ecclesiast. tom. vii. p. 470—529. BOBÔV. in liturg. Turcic. post itiner. Abr. Perittol. edit. p. 1, & seq. GRELOTIUS in itinerar. Constantinopolit. p. 253—264. LUDOVIC. MARRACC. in prodrom. Al Kor. CHARDIN. itinerar. tom. vii. p. 245—329. aliosque plurim. scriptor.

“ me, if I communicate to them the particulars of my night-journey to heaven.” To which *Gabriel* replied, “ Abu Becr, O Mohammed, *the faithful witness*, in that case, will sufficiently justify all the particulars of that wonderful event you shall please to enumerate to them †.

THUS have we obliged our curious readers with a circumstantial relation of *Mohammed's* night-journey to heaven, extracted from *Abulfeda*, *Al Bokhâri*, and the tradition ascribed to *Abu Horeira*, intituled, *The history of the ascension*; a MS. copy of which was presented by archbishop *Marsh*, late lord primate of *Ireland*, to the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford*. Mr. *Gagnier* has obliged the learned world with a *French* version of that piece; but of all this we could not pretend to give our readers here an *English* translation, as it would have swelled us beyond the bounds which we have been necessitated to prescribe to ourselves in this work. Besides, tho' we have not had time to compare Mr. *Gagnier's* version with the original *Arabic*, nor is this to our present purpose, we have some reason to believe, that this version is far from being faithful and exact. However, as that history, or narration, abounds with the most monstrous absurdities, and the most palpable fictions, that have nothing entertaining in them, our readers will not be sensible of any loss in, and consequently by no means regret, such an omission. As this history is a part of the *Sonna*, which contains not only all the juridical and ceremonial laws, supposed to have been derived from their prophet, in force amongst the *Mohammedans*, but also the histories and narrations attributed to *Mohammed*, which are either wholly omitted, or but just touched upon, in the *Korân*, tho' looked upon to be of equal authority with that book; 'tis plain, that all the *Sonnites*, or orthodox *Mohammedans*, hold their prophet's nocturnal journey to heaven to have been a real event. Since, therefore, this journey was one of the most eminent of *Mohammed's* miracles, as has been rightly observed by Mr. *Gagnier*, and the traditional account of it believed to be true, nay as true as the *Korân*, by all the *Moslems*, who receive the *Sonna*, or book of traditions of their prophet, as of canonical authority; we may fairly infer from thence, that *Mohammed*, in the opinion of the greatest part of his followers, at least, did not disclaim all along any power of performing miracles, or, which is the same thing, did not deny several extraordinary interpositions of the Supreme Being in his favour. And with these *Mohammedans*, in the point before

† ABU HOREIR. ubi sup. Lib. AGAR & GUADAGNOL. ubi sup. PRID. life of Mahomet, p. 37. Lond. 1718. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. c. xii. p. 249—251.

us, concur many very authentic and reputable *Christian* writers. 'Tis true, Dr. *Prideaux* takes upon him to affirm, that *Mohammed* disclaimed all miracles; but in this that learned gentleman seems not altogether consistent with himself; since he elsewhere more than barely insinuates, that *Mohammed* invented the story of his journey to heaven, in order to answer the expectations of those who demanded some miracle as a proof of his mission, and consequently that he did not absolutely disclaim the power of performing miracles. Nay, he immediately subjoins, "that this journey to heaven must be acknowledged to have miracle enough in it, by all those who have faith to believe it;" that is, by all the *Sonmites*, who comprehend the greatest part, or rather the bulk, of the *Mohammedans*; from whence it appears, that, at least in their opinion, *Mohammed* did not only pretend to the power of working miracles, or, which is the same thing, gave out, that God was pleased to favour him with an extraordinary interposition, in order to forward the propagation of his religion, but likewise that he succeeded in his intention of convincing his followers of the truth of it. But that he arrogated to himself, on certain occasions, the power of suspending the common laws of nature; or, at least, that he pretended they were sometimes suspended on his account, seems to be clearly implied, if not put beyond all doubt, by the *Korân*. We flatter ourselves, therefore, that what has been already advanced on this head, will be admitted by all our intelligent readers ^u.

WE must beg leave farther to observe, before we dismiss *The Mos-*
the point at present before us, that it is a dispute amongst the *lems be-*
Mohammedan divines, whether their prophet's night-journey *lieve that*
was really performed by him corporally; or whether it *was journey*
only a dream or vision. Some think that the whole was no
more than a vision; and allege an express tradition of *Mohammed* *was per-*
wiyah, one of *Mohammed's* successors, to that purpose. Others *formed*
suppose he was carried bodily to *Jerusalem*, but no farther; *corporally.*
and that he ascended thence to heaven in spirit only. But the
received opinion is, that it was no vision, but that he was
actually transported in the body to his journey's end; and if
any impossibility be objected, they think it a sufficient answer
to say, that it might easily be effected by an omnipotent agent.
And that he was disposed to persuade them, that his body

^u Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 298, &c. PRID. life of Mahomet, p. 31, &c. HADR. RELAND. de relig. Moham. p. 68, &c. MILLIUS de Mohammedismo ante Mohammed. p. 368, 369. Vide etiam PRID. ubi sup. p. 28, 29. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xvii. liv. v. 2, 3, & alib. & AL JANNAB. pass.

was actually conveyed to Jerusalem, at least, is a notion strongly countenanced, if not absolutely confirmed, by the authority of the *Korân*. But were the history of this memorable transaction only a part of the *Sanna*, or the collection of authentic traditions attested by *Ayesha*, the daughter of *Abu Beker*, whom *Mohammed* married after the death of *Khadijah*, and who survived her husband about fifty years, *Abu Horeira*, the prophet's friend and most intimate companion, *Ebn Ab-bâs*, *Ebn Omar*, *Jâbar Ebn Abd'allah*, and *Anas Ebn Mâlec*, it would amount to the same thing, as being of equal validity. The last of these handed down those traditions, and the relation of *Mohammed's* nocturnal journey amongst the rest, to *Al Shâfiî* and *Kottada*, who delivered them to *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal* (A), from whom *Al Zohari*, who first began to collect them, and commit them to writing, in the year of the *Hejra* 124, received them. After him, *Al Bakhâri*, the famous author, or rather compiler, of the *Sonna*, reduced all those traditions to one complete and intire body of pandects, in a book stiled *Al-Sahîb*; that is, *the sincere*, because in it the author has distinguished the genuine from the spurious traditions, in the year of the *Hejra* 224. As to the night, in which *Mohammed's* journey to heaven was performed, the *Moslem* doctors are not perfectly agreed: some make it the night of the seventeenth day of the month *Ramadân*; others place it in the former *Rabia*; and others, lastly, in the month of *Rajeb*. Which last seems to be the most prevailing opinion. For the *Turks*, at this day, celebrate the twentieth night of *Rajeb* as a grand festival, in commemoration of *Mohammed's* nocturnal journey to heaven; which they pretend happened on that night, as we are informed by a modern traveller, who was himself at *Constantinople* an eye-witness of it. It must be remembered here, that the aforesaid journey was performed, according to a certain author, notwithstanding the immense

(A) This *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal* and *Mohammed Ebn Edris Al Shafîi*, who was born either at *Gaza* or *Ascalon* in *Palestine*, in the year of the *Hejra* 150, were contemporaries; but it appears from *D'Herbelot*, that *Al Zohari*, who died in the year of the *Hejra* 124, lived near an hundred years before them. Mr. *Gagner*, therefore, whom we have followed here, must be egregiously mistaken, when he asserts, that *Al Zohari* received the collection of traditions here mentioned from *Al Shafîi*, *Al Kottada*, and *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal*; which mistake our learned readers would do well to expunge out of that author's notes upon *Abulfeda* (25).

(25) *Ebn Khalecân*. *D'Herbel. biblioth. Orient. art. Zohari*, &c. *Joan. Gagn. not. in Isin. Abulfed. de vit. Mohammed. c. xix. p. 33.*

tract of space traversed in it, within the the tenth part of a night; tho' this circumstance, it must be owned, has been omitted in the narrations of *Abu Horeira* and *Al Bekhâri*, as well as by the best *Moslem* commentators and historians *.

WHEN *Mohammed* first told this story to his uncle *Al Ab- Abu Becr bäs*, and *Om Hâna*, the daughter of *Abu Tâleb*, it seemed ^{vouches} so absurd and incredible to both of them, that they endeavoured by all means to dissuade him from communicating it to the *Koreish*. But being resolved to push the point in view, he was imprudent enough to relate the whole affair to *Abu Fahl*, one of the most active and inveterate of his enemies, who ridiculed him for it. Nay, he placed his relation in so ridiculous a light to the *Koreish*, that they were upon the point of insulting him; inasmuch that several of his followers left him upon it; and it had probably ruined the whole design, had not *Abu Becr* vouched for his veracity, and declared, that if *Mohammed* affirmed it to be true, he verily believed the whole. Which happy incident not only retrieved the prophet's credit, but increased it to such a degree, that he was secure of being able to make his disciples swallow whatever he pleased to impose on them for the future. *Mr. Sale*, therefore, thinks this fiction, notwithstanding its extravagance, was one of the most artful contrivances *Mohammed* ever put in practice, and what chiefly contributed to the raising of his reputation to that great height to which it afterwards arrived. But this seems to be only judging by the event; since nothing could have a more direct and natural tendency, with submission to that ingenious gentleman's opinion, than such a series of the most gross and palpable absurdities, to overturn *Mohammed's* scheme, even had the *Arabs* not been so acute and discerning a nation as *Mr. Sale* himself is pleased to represent them *.

ABU BECR's fidelity, and signal service, to *Mohammed*, so *Many* ^{not-} raised his character with that impostor, that, according to *Al with-* *Kodai*, he had the title of the *faithful witness* conferred upon *standing* him, tho' some believe he had before been distinguished by that ^{disbeliev-} *ed Mo-*

* ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. xviii. p. 32. AL HAM-BRIDAWI, ATA, ABU HOREIRA, AL JANNAB. p. 54, &c. See med's re-also SALE's tranſlat, and notes on the Kor. f. xvii. p. 227. *Al lation.* KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xvii. & alibi. POC. RELAND. MILL. ubi supra. AL BOKHAR. GAGN. not. in Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 32, 33. AL SEIRAT. EBN AL JUZ. apud Ism. Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 32. THO. SMITH, de morib. & institut. Turcar. p. 49. EBN KHALECAN, D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. *Zobari*. SALE's pre-lim. disc. p. 156, 157, &c. FRIB. life of Mahom. p. 37. Lib. AGAR. GUADAGNOL. &c. * ABU HORREIRA, AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xvii. HOTTING. hist. Orient. l. ii. c. 6. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. c. xiii. SALE's prelin. disc. p. 47.

appellation. And, indeed, the extraordinary merit of his faith in the above-mentioned particular, highly deserved such an honourable mark of distinction. However, *Mohammed* found himself still obliged to combat several difficulties, before he could gain from his countrymen an intire assent to the pretended relation; and hence it is, that, in order to support the credit of it, he introduces GOD himself, in two passages of the *Korân*, to attest it. In one of which GOD is made to swear, that, in the whole story, *Mohammed* related nothing but what he had seen, and consequently nothing but what he knew to be strictly true. And even notwithstanding this, many of his countrymen, who had embraced *Islamism*, apostatized, according to *Abu Horeira*; whilst others of them, at the same time, most vigorously opposed him, out of a spirit of debate and contention. Nor has the story of *Mohammed's* night-journey to heaven, taken in the literal sense, failed proving a stumbling-block to many *Moslems* in every age, since that famous journey is supposed to have happened; tho' it must be owned, that the generality of them have always most firmly believed the truth of it. Nay, from their adherence to such traditions as these, they have derived the name of *Sonnites*, or *Traditionists*; because they acknowledge the authority of the *Sonna*, or the collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of their prophet; which is a sort of supplement to the *Korân*, directing the observance of several things omitted in that book, and in name, as well as design, answering to the *Mishna* of the *Jews*.

The sum of the Mohammedan theology contained in the Sonna. As, therefore, the afore said traditions, together with what the orthodox *Mohammedans* call the constitutions of the *Seniors* (that is, of the *Khalifs*, who immediately succeeded the pretended prophet, and especially the four first) concerning them, collected, explained, and digested under proper heads, by the compilers of them, make up the sum of the *Mohammedan* theology, and contained so considerable a part of the *Moslem* religion; our curious readers will by no means think the account inserted here of *Mohammed's* journey to heaven too prolix, especially as that journey is to be considered as the foundation of those traditions, he pretending to have received, at least, many of them from GOD himself, as an invaluable

7 ELMACIN. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. liii, & alibi. HOTTING. ubi supra. ABU HOREIRA, ATA, AL JANNABI, GAON. ubi sup. c. xiv. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xviii. p. 32. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 37, 38. LOND. 1718. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 298. RELAND. de relig. Mohammed. p. 68, &c. MILLIUS de Mohammedismo ante Mohammed. p. 368, 369. SALEZ's prelim. disc. p. 154.

collection of divine truths. Nor, indeed, can we enter into the true spirit and genius of *Mohammedism*, without such a description of that fictitious event; nor so clearly discover the immense difference between the monstrous lies of the *Korân*, which sometimes alludes to it, and the sublime truths of the Gospel; nor consequently form an adequate idea of the unaccountable absurdity, as well as the most shocking impiety, of those favourers of the *Korân*, or rather of deism itself, who have been educated in the principles of the *Christian* religion².

THE *Socinians*, as has been justly observed by Dr. Pri-The Socinians
deaux, seem to have had the *Sonna* before them, when they
suppose, that our blessed Saviour was carried into heaven, and
instructed there in the doctrines he was to teach, a little be-^{more ab-}
fore he entered upon his prophetic function. This they do, ^{surd than}
in order to elude the force of those texts of Scripture, which, ^{the Mos-}
by asserting his descent from heaven, do clearly intimate his
existence there as GOD, and consequently evince his real and
proper divinity, before he took our nature upon him. But
we must beg leave to observe, that tho' *Mohammed*, supposing
him to have acknowledged the canonical authority of the holy
Scriptures, and *Socinus*, were much upon a level; yet the
present *Socinians* are more inexcusable, in the point before us,
than the followers of that impostor. For the latter are coun-
tenanced in their absurd notion of *Mohammed's* ascension by
the *Korân* itself, and even fully persuaded of the truth of it,
from what they find delivered in the *Sonna*, a book with them
of the same authority; whereas the former have framed their
impious fiction in direct opposition to Scripture, if not with a
certain intention of invalidating the express testimony of those
Sacred writings. Which is a plain demonstration of the diffi-
culties to which they are reduced, in order to defend their
antiscriptural and erroneous opinion².

To conclude this head, the *Moslem* doctors are not quite ^{The Mos-}
agreed, as to the manner in which their prophet saw GOD. ^{lems not}
Some maintain, that he saw his Creator with his real natural ^{agreed in}
eyes; and others, that he viewed him with the eyes of the ^{their opi-}
mind. The former notion is espoused upon the authority of ^{nion of}
Ata and *Abu Horeira*; but the latter is the most prevailing ^{Moham-}
opinion, as we learn from *Al Jannâbi*. In some sense or ^{med's vi-}
other, however, *Mohammed's* journey to heaven must be ac- ^{sion of}
knowledged by every orthodox *Moslem*; it being reputed by all ^{GOD.}

² Idem ibid. BEN AL ATHIR, BEN AL KHASSAL. ПОРОС.
ubi supra. PRID. life of Mahomet, p. 39, 40. * PRID.
ubi sup. p. 40, 41. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xvii, lili, & alibi.
AL BOKHAR. & ABU HOREIRA, ubi supra.

the doctors of the law as heinous a crime, and as damnable an error, to deny the traditional history of that famous event, as to disbelieve any point insisted on in the *Korán*. On this occasion, it may not be improper to produce the words of the *Khalif Omar*, as they have been preserved by *Al Fannábi*, on this subject. Being one day preaching in a mosque, and pushed by his zeal, he cried aloud: *To deny the ascension of the prophet into heaven, is to open a gate to incredulity, and to deny the reality of one of the greatest miracles and the most wonderful works of the ALMIGHTY* ^b.

Twelve
men of
Medina
take an
oath to
Moham-
med.

IN this year, that is, the twelfth of *Mohammed's* mission, called by the *Moslems* the accepted year, twelve men of *Yathreb*, or *Medina*, of whom ten were of the tribe of *Khazraj*, and the other two of that of *Aws*, came to *Mecca*, and took an oath of fidelity to *Mohammed* at *Al Akaba*, a hill on the north of that city. Six of those of the tribe of *Khazraj*, according to *Ebn Ishák*, had before resorted to *Mohammed* at the same place, on a similar occasion, viz. *Saad Ebn Zarára*, *Awf Ebn Al Hâreth*, *Rabe' Ebn Malk*, *Kotba Ebn Amâm*, *Okba Ebn Amer*, and *Jâber Ebn Abd'allah*. This oath was called the *womens oath*; not that any women were present at this time, but because a man was not thereby obliged to take up arms in defence of *Mohammed*, or his religion; it being the same oath that was afterwards exacted of the women, the form of which we have in the *Korán*, and is to this effect; viz. That they should renounce all idolatry; that they should not steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children (as the pagan *Arabs* used to do, when they apprehended they should not be able to maintain them) nor forge calumnies; and that they should obey the prophet in all things that were reasonable. And, as a reward for the due observance of this oath, he promised them paradise; but, on failure of such observance, he doomed them to eternal misery on the day of the resurrection. "In the mean time," added he, "whether you are to be punished or forgiven, I recommend you to the divine protection. When they had solemnly engaged to do all required of them, *Mohammed* sent one of his disciples, named *Masâb Ebn Omair*, home with them, to instruct them more fully in the grounds and ceremonies of his new religion. *Masâb*, being arrived at *Medina*, by the assistance of those who had been formerly converted, gained several proselytes, particularly *Osaid Ebn Hodeira*, a chief man of the city, and *Saad Ebn Moâdh*, prince of the tribe of *Aws*; *Mohammedism* spreading so fast, that there was scarce a house wherein there

^b ATA, ABU HOREIRA, AL JANNAB. p. 54. 56. GAGN. ubi sup. c. xiv. p. 263, 264.

were not some who had embraced it. The principal of these were the *Banu Abd'al Asbal* and *Asad Ebn Hofein*, tho' the *Banu Ommeya Ebn Zeid* persisted still in their infidelity. Upon this, *Mas'ab* immediately wrote to *Mohammed*, giving him a full account of the happy success of his mission, and at the same time desiring of him leave to form a congregation of all those who professed *Islamism* at *Medina*. To this the prophet readily agreed; in consequence of which, the new *Moslems* assembled regularly, to the number of forty persons, in the house of *Saad Ebn Khaithama*. This missionary, therefore, by his diligence and activity, extended *Mohammed's* interest in *Medina*, before his arrival there; which not a little facilitated the execution of his grand scheme. The form used by *Mas'ab*, as we are told by *Ebn Ishak*, of the initiation of the new converts, was conceived in the following terms: *Wash yourself with water, purify your two garments, repeat the confession of your faith* (THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD, AND MOHAMMED IS HIS APOSTLE); *and, lastly, say your prayers with two incurvations*. The year we are now upon was stiled the *accepted year*, because in it the prophet's party was strengthened by the accession of *Al Ansar*, the *Ansars*, or his coadjutors and confederates of the tribes of *Khazraj*, who had before sworn obedience to him. And let this suffice for an account of the principal transactions of that most remarkable year.

THE next year, being the thirteenth of *Mohammed's* mission, *Several of Mas'ab* returned to *Mecca*, accompanied by seventy-three men ^{that city} and two women of *Medina*, who had professed *Islamism*, be- ^{favoured} *favoured* some others who were as yet unbelievers. Of these ^{several} *several* belonged to the tribe of *Aws*, and the rest to that of *Mohammed's* adherents. At this interview he was attended by his uncle *Al Abbas*, who, tho' he was not then a believer, wished his nephew well, and made a speech to those of *Medina*; wherein he told them, that as *Mohammed* was obliged to quit his native city, and to seek an *asylum* elsewhere; and as they had offered him their protection, they would do well

^c ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xx. p. 40, 41, 42. AL KODAI, ubi sup. EBN ISHAK. AL JANNABI, ABU ZFID. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. vi. v. 151. lx. v. 12.

not to deceive him ; and that if they were not firmly resolved to defend and not betray him, they had better declare their minds, and let him provide for his safety in some other manner. Upon their protesting their sincerity, *Mohammed* swore to be faithful to them, a part of the *Korân* being before read to all present ; on condition that they should protect him against all insults, as heartily as they would their own wives and families. After which, he permitted them to speak, and composed some differences between them. They then asked him what recompence they were to expect, if they should happen to be killed in his quarrel ; he answered, Paradise. Whereupon they pledged their faith to him, and so returned home ; after *Mohammed* had chosen twelve out of their number, who were to have the same authority amongst them as the twelve apostles of CHRIST had among his disciples. The form used by the *Ansârs*, or confederates, when they agreed to the prophet's proposal, or rather that of his uncle *Al Abbâs*, was, WE HAVE HEARD IT WELL ; which is taken notice of in the *Korân*. It must here be observed, that the oath taken on this occasion to defend *Mohammed*, amounted to a sort of declaration of war against both the *Blacks* and the *Reds*, that is, against all nations that should dare to oppose the establishment of the new religion. The promise of paradise, here mentioned, is supposed to be founded on those express words of the *Korân*—" And as to those who fight in defence " of GOD's true religion, GOD will not suffer their works to " perish : He will guide them, and dispose their heart aright ; " and he will lead them into *paradise*, of which HE hath told " them." Nay, in order to inspire them with a superior degree of fortitude and resolution, he supported the promises of the *Korân* with the authority of THE LAW and THE GOSPEL, as is manifestly implied in the following words of the *Korân* : " Verily GOD hath purchased of the true believers " their souls, and their substance, promising them the enjoyment of *paradise* ; on condition that they fight for the " cause of GOD : whether they slay, or be slain, the promise " for the same is assuredly due by THE LAW and THE GOSPEL, and THE KORAN. And who performeth his contract more faithfully than GOD ? Rejoice, therefore, in the " contract which ye have made. This shall be great and " unspeakable happiness." Having brought this important point to bear, *Mohammed* made the proper dispositions, in conjunction with his friends, for retiring from the city of *Mecca* ^d.

As

^d ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xxi. p. 42, 43, 44. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. v. v. 8. f. viii. v. 39. EBN ISHAK. AL JANNAB. Vide etiam AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xlvii. v. 5. f. ix. v. 113. ^e GAGN.

As the declaration of the *Ansârs* in his favour secured him *The names* a proper retreat, and for the present screened him effectually *of the* from the fury of his enemies, this may be considered as the *chief of* foundation of his future greatness; it may therefore not be im- *the An-* proper here to insert the names of the chief of them, whom *sârs.* he had dignified with the name, as well as authority, of apostles. 1. *Abu Amama*, or *Aṣṣa'd Ebn Zarâra*. 2. *Sa'ad Ebn Al Raba'*. 3. *Abd'allah Ebn Rawâba*. 4. *Rabe' Ebn Aṣalec*. 5. *Al Bera Ebn Ma'rûr*. 6. *Abd'allah Ebn Omar Ebn Harâm*. 7. *Abâda Ebn Al Sâma*. 8. *Sa'ad Ebn Abâda*. 9. *Al Mondar Ebn Omar*. 10. *Oṣâid Ebn Hedhair*. 11. *Sa'ad Ebn Khaithama*. 12. *Raṣâ'a Ebn Abda'l Mondar*. The nine first of these belonged to the tribe of *Khazraj*, and the other three to that of *Aws*. Some of the learned, however, in the room of the last of them, substitute *Abu Huitham Ebn Al Yothân*. According to a tradition of *Abu Becr*, preserved by *Ebn Ishâk*, when *Mohammed* elected them, he said, *You are invested with the same power and authority that the apostles of Isa (JESUS) were, and I am the GREAT APOSTLE of all my people*; to which they replied, *It is undoubtedly so*. If we will believe the same author, who pretends to have received his intelligence from *Caab Ebn Malk*, one of the *Ansârs* then present, who himself heard it, when the confederates of *Medina* had taken the oath of fidelity to *Mohammed*, and were upon the point of returning home, the devil cried out with an exceeding loud voice, from the top of *Al Akaba*, *O ye inhabitants of Al Jehâjeb, why do you concern yourselves with Mohammed, the Sabian; for those with him are Sabians, and intend to make war upon you*. Upon which, the prophet immediately said to them, *This is the little fellow of the hill Al Akaba, the son of the disparager*; and then directing his discourse to that malevolent spirit, *O thou enemy of God*, said he, *thou canst do no mischief here; thou canst draw no prey into thy net*; and then turning to his friends, *Depart*, said he, *go and take your rest*; which they accordingly did. That *Mohammed* was frequently by his enemies called a *Sabian*, we learn from *Ebn Al Athir*, as well as the *Korân*, where he endeavours to clear himself of that imputation, by declaring, that he only taught and professed the religion of *Abraham*, as has been already observed. For a full and ample account of the *Sabians*, who are mentioned in the *Korân*, we must beg leave to refer our readers to *Hottinger*, *Abraham Ecchellenfis*, *Eutychius*, *D'Herbelot*, *Hyde*, *Prideaux*, *Sale*, and to what has

GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 43, 44. GREG. ABUL-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 162. ELMACIN. lib. i. c. i. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 42.

been advanced concerning them in our ancient history of the Arabs *.

Mohammed pre-
tends to
have leave
to defend
himself.

MOHAMMED finding now a confederacy formed in his favour, began to pull off the mask, and to discover his true sentiments in relation to the means of reformation. Hitherto he had propagated his religion by fair means; so that the whole success of his enterprize, before the flight to *Medina*, must be attributed to persuasion only, and not to compulsion. For before the second oath of fealty, or inauguration, at *Al Akaba*, he had no permission to use any force at all; and in several places (B) of the *Korân*, which he pretended were revealed during his stay at *Mecca*, he declares his business was only to preach and admonish; that he had no authority to compel any person to embrace his religion; and that whether people believed, or not, was none of his concern, but belonged solely unto GOD. And he was so far from allowing his followers to use force, that he exhorted them to bear patiently those injuries which were offered them on account of their faith; and, when persecuted himself, chose rather to quit the place of his birth, says Mr. Sale, and retire to *Medina*, than to make any resistance. In which, however (as Mr. Sale himself is pleased to allow), there was no great virtue, as his adherents were in no-wise able to make head against their numerous and powerful enemies. This wonderful passiveness and moderation, therefore, seems intirely owing to his want of power, and the great superiority of his opposers for the first twelve years of his mission; for no sooner was he enabled, by the assistance of those of *Medina*, to resist his enemies, than he gave out, that GOD had allowed him and his followers to defend themselves against the infidels; and at length, as his forces increased, he pretended to have the divine leave to attack them, to destroy

* ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 40—44. EBN ISHAK, EBN HESHAM, EBN AL ATHIR, AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. ii. v. 62. HOTTING. hist. Orient. lib. i. c. 8. ABR. ECHELLENS. Eutychn. vindic. par. ii. c. 7. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. PRID. Poc. GOL. HYD. & Univers. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 381—384.

(B) Hence it very clearly appears, that the *Korân* is inconsistent with itself, and consequently can never be considered as a book of divine authority. For, in some places of it, Mohammed declares, that he had no permission to force or compel any person to embrace his religion; whereas, in others, he

commands his followers to set up the true faith by the sword, and propagate it by persecution. But instances of this kind occur not seldom in that book; so that perhaps we may have an opportunity of inserting more of them in the sequel of this history (26).

(26) Sale's prelim. dissert. p. 48, 49.

idolatry,

idolatry, and set up the true faith by the sword. To this he was excited by an apprehension that his designs would proceed very slowly, if they were not utterly overthrown, by pacific measures; which determined him to have recourse to the most violent methods, even utter excision, for the more effectual conversion of the pagan *Arabs*, or rather the extension of his power, and the advancement of his authority. Nor do his followers at this day fail making use of the same means of conviction, on many occasions; being sufficiently authorized thereto by the example of their prophet, as well as the injunctions he has left them. The first passage of the *Korân*, which gave *Mohammed* the permission of defending himself by arms, is said to have been that in the twenty-second chapter; after which, a great number to the same purpose were pretended to be revealed †.

WE are told by *Mr. Sale*, who by citing, on this occasion, *Mr. Sale* a passage in *Machiavel* with approbation, and even inserting *conjured* it, makes it his own; “that innovators, when they depend solely upon their own strength, and can compel, seldom run any risque; that from hence it follows, that all the armed prophets have succeeded, and that the unarmed ones have failed; and therefore that *Moses*, *Cyrus*, *Theseus*, and *Romulus*, would not have been able to establish the observance of their institutions for any length of time, had they not been armed.” Upon which most remarkable words, we shall only at present beg leave to make the following short reflection: *Moses*, according to what is here suggested, was as much an innovator as *Cyrus*, *Theseus*, and *Romulus*; in the establishment of his institutions, he depended solely on his own strength; and, consequently, no miracles, or extraordinary interpolations, of the Supreme Being, contributed any thing thereto; and, therefore, those books, which assert such interpositions, can by no means be deemed of divine authority. This must necessarily fix the imputation of imposture upon the writing of the sacred historian; and will of course induce us to entertain very unfavourable sentiments of the tenets adopted by those authors from whom such a suggestion comes ‡.

THE chief of the *Koreish* finding that *Mohammed*, notwithstanding the opposition they had given him, by his diligence, activity, and address, had considerably extended his influence; and having moreover received intelligence, that he had provided for the security of his companions, as well as himself,

† ISM. ABULFED. & GAGN ubi sup. Al KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xxii. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 49. § MACHIAVELLI princ. c. 6. SALE, ubi supra.

his own, by the league offensive and defensive which he had now concluded with the *Ansârs*, began to be greatly alarmed. Fearing, therefore, the consequence of this new alliance, they began to think it absolutely necessary to prevent *Mohammed's* escape to *Medina*; and having held a council thereupon, after several milder expedients had been rejected, they came to a resolution that he should be killed. In order to effect this, they agreed that a man should be chosen out of every tribe for the execution of this design; and that each man should have a blow at him with his sword, that the guilt of his blood might fall equally on all the tribes, to whose united power the *Hashemites* were much inferior, and therefore durst not attempt to revenge their kinsman's death. Nor did they doubt but that they should effectually secure themselves from the fatal effects of his ambition by such a salutary precaution. We are told by *Al Jannâbi*, that the council (C) above-mentioned was held in the palace of *Kosa Ebn Kelâb*, the wisest man amongst the *Koreish*; and that the devil himself, *Mohammed's* most inveterate enemy, in the shape of an old man, assisted at their deliberations. He intimated to them, that *Mohammed*, being crafty and eloquent, would easily insinuate himself into the good graces and affections of the people of *Medina*, and the neighbouring *Arabs*; inasmuch that, after he had seduced them, he would soon be able to form a considerable army, and make himself master of *Mecca*. These suggestions of the ancient person of *Najd*, for that the evil spirit pretended to be, had such an effect upon the *Koreish*, that they produced the foregoing resolution. *Abu 'Jahl* also, *Mohammed's* implacable foe, who then made a very considerable figure amongst the *Koreish*, and proposed the opinion that prevailed, greatly exerted himself on this occasion ^h.

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^h ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xxiv. p. 50. AL JANNABI, p. 61, 62. EBN ISHAK, GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. c. xvii. p. 280—283.

(C) The following account of this affair is given by *Al Beidawî*. When the *Meccans* heard of the league entered into by *Mohammed* with those of *Medina*, being apprehensive of the consequence, they held a council, whereat, they say, the devil assisted, in the likeness of an old man of *Najd*. The point under consideration being what they should do with *Mohammed*, *Abu 'l-bakhtari* was of opinion

that he should be imprisoned, and the room walled up, except a little hole, through which he should have necessities given him, till he died. This the devil opposed, saying, that he might probably be released by some of his own party. *Hosâ'ar Ebn Amru* was for banishing him: but his advice also the devil rejected; insisting, that *Mohammed* might engage some other tribes in his interest, and make war

war

IN the mean time *Mohammed* directed his companions to *Mohammed* repair to *Medina*, where, in consequence of the late treaty, med re- they might be assured of protection; which they accordingly tures to a did. But himself, with *Abu Becr* and *Ali*, staid behind, having cave in not yet received the divine permission, as he pretended, to mount leave *Mecca*. Here he narrowly watched the motions of the Thûr. *Koreish*, and was soon apprized of their machinations. For the foregoing conspiracy was scarce formed, when, by some means or other, it came to *Mohammed*'s knowlege; and he gave out that it was revealed to him by the angel *Gabriel*, who had now ordered him to retire to *Mecca*. Whereupon, to amuse his enemies, he directed *Ali* to lie down in his place, and wrap himself up in his green cloak; which he did, and *Mohammed*, as the *Moslems* believe, escaped miraculously to *Abu Becr*'s house, unperceived by the conspirators, who had already assembled at the prophet's door. The extreme danger *Ali* was in produced in his mind an infinity of movements and agitations, which continued the whole night. For the conspirators looking through the crevice, and seeing *Ali*, whom they took to be *Mohammed* himself, asleep, remained watching there till morning, when *Ali* awoke, and they found themselves deceived. The *Moslem* historians and panegyrists bestow the highest encomiums upon *Ali*, for so generous and heroic an action. *Abulfeda* pretends, that when *Mohammed*, in his passage to *Abu Becr*'s house, met some of the assassins, he repeated the nine first verses of the thirty-sixth chapter of the *Korân*, and immediately threw a handful of dust upon their heads; and that they thereupon were instantly stricken with blindness, so that they could not see him. The words supposed to be more particularly efficacious on this occasion, are the following: "And we have set a bar before them, and a bar behind them; and we have covered them with darkness; wherefore they shall not see." *Ebn Ishâk* relates, that of this plot the following passage of the eighth chapter of the *Korân* is to be primarily understood: "And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted against thee, that they might either detain thee in bonds, or put thee to death, or expel thee the city; and they plotted against thee: but GOD laid a plot against them; and GOD is the best layer of plots." In fine, *Mohammed*, being thus pressed on all sides, found himself obliged at last to retire; which he did in company with *Abu Becr*, who could not forbear shedding tears at the deplorable situa-

war on them. At length *Abu Jabl* gave his opinion for putting him to death; and proposed the manner; which was unanimously approved (27).

tion of the prophet's affairs, and, by the direction of one *Abd'allah Ebn Oraikat*, an unbeliever, arrived at a cave (D) in mount *Thûr*, a hill a little to the south of *Mecca* ¹.

He had a very narrow escape at *Thûr*. IT seems to be intimated by the *Korân*, that *Abu Beer* was so extremely dejected during his and the prophet's residence in the cave of *Thûr*, that *Mohammed* could not without great difficulty preserve his spirits from sinking. With regard to

mount *Thûr*, it seems to be about an hour's journey to the south, or rather south-west, of *Mecca*. *Mohammed*, in his flight from *Mecca* to *Medina*, probably took a compass about the mountains and the maritime coast, described by *Sharif Al Edrisi*, commonly called the *Nubian* geographer; so that he first reached *Batin-Mar*, and afterwards *Osfân*, *Kodaid*, &c. This may be inferred from *Ebn Ishâk*. *Abu Beer*, before he left *Mecca*, had commanded his son *Abd'allah* to watch the motions of the *Koreish*, and bring him intelligence of what passed there; he had also taken care to give his servant *Amer Ebn Fohairah* orders to carry a supply of provisions to the aforesaid cavern. He and the prophet were frequently visited by his daughter *Asama*, who brought them a considerable variety of refreshments. *Al Damiri*, in his history of animals,

¹ ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. EBN ISHAK, AL JANNABI, ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xxxvi. v. 9. & f. viii. v. 29. AL BEIDAWI in comment ad AL KOR. HOTTINGER. hist. Orient. lib. ii. c. 5. AL GHAZALI, PRID. life of Mahomet, p. 42.

(D) The *Moslems* have a tradition, that a party of the *Koreish*, being detached from *Mecca* to reconnoitre the mouth of the cave, when they came thither, found it covered by a spider's web, and a nest built by two pigeons at the entrance, which they saw, and which had laid two eggs therein. At which sight, they reasoned with themselves in this manner: "If any person had lately entered this cavern, the eggs now before us would infallibly have been broke, and the spider's web demolished; there can, therefore, be no body in it." After which, they immediately retired. As the prophet, there-

fore, and his friend were now saved so miraculously, by means of the pigeons eggs, and the interposition of the spider's web, he afterwards enjoined his followers, in memory of so remarkable an event, to look upon pigeons as a sort of sacred animals, and never to kill a spider. Which veneration for pigeons, Mr. Gagnier thinks, might occasion the story of the pigeon, taught by *Mohammed* to come to his ears, in order to persuade the *Arabs*, that the Holy Ghost conversed with him. But as this is only a bare conjecture, our readers may allow what degree of credit to it they please (28).

(28) Gagn. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 289, 290, 291. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 186. Hadr. Reland. de relig. Mohammed. p. 259—262.

relates, that the pigeon is an animal held sacred among the *Moslems*, because GOD was pleased to deliver *Mohammed* miraculously, by means of two of them, from the infidel *Arabs*, who had surrounded that cavern, when he was there, in order to take him. We are told by *l'Jannabi*, and other *Moslem* historians, that *Mohammed* performed many miracles in the cave of *Thúr*, which produced a very good effect; tho' *Abulfeda* has not taken the least notice of them ^k.

HERE the prophet and *Abu Becr* took refuge for three days, *He ar-* and recovered themselves a little out of the consternation into *rives safe* which they had been thrown by the late bloody attempt of *at Medi-* the *Koreish*. But the latter being informed of the route they *na* had taken, sent a party after them, under the command of *Soráka Ebn Malec*, the *Madbehite*, who coming up with them between *Thúr* and *Medina*, and offering to seize *Mohammed*, his horse fell down. Upon which, *Soráka* desired the prophet to pray to GOD for him, that he might be screened from all impending dangers; and, in this case, promised to leave off pursuing him. This *Mohammed* did, and *Soráka* mounted his horse again without receiving any hurt; but as, notwithstanding his promise, he still continued the pursuit, his horse fell down with him a second time, when he was remounted without the least contusion, upon the prophet's repeating his prayers to GOD for him. Upon this, the prophet looking at him, said, *How will you behave yourself, O Soráka, when you (E) shall have put on the bracelets of KESRA, or KHOSRU PARVIZ? Soráka, therefore, returned to Mecca,*

^k AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. ix. v. 42. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 51. SHARIF AL EDRISI, EBN ISHAK, AL JANNABI; AL DAMIRI, GAGN. la vie de Mahom. ubi sup. & not. ad Abulfed. c. xxiv.

(E) The *Moslems* say, that these remarkable words are to be considered as a prophecy, or prediction, that was fulfilled in the fifteenth year of the *Hjra*, when the *Khalif Omar* gained a signal victory over *Yezdegerd*, the last king of the *Persians*, of the *Sassanide*, at *Kadesia*. When the action was over, the bracelets, belt, and diadem, of the fugitive prince, which had formerly belonged to *Khosrú Parvîz*, were brought to *Omar*, who calling *Soráka*, then become

a good *Moslem*, to him, caused him to put on those insignia of *Yezdegerd*. This he did, at the *Khalif's* command; but his hair being grey, and his arms very hairy, he exhibited a very odd and grotesque appearance. However, the *Moslems* urge this as a full proof of the completion of *Mohammed's* prophecy here, and consequently of his having had the knowledge of future events communicated to him (29).

without offering him any violence; and *Mohammed*, with *Abu Becr* and *Abd'allah Ebn Oraikat*, being thus delivered from his pursuers, arrived safe at *Medina*, where he met with a very favourable reception^l.

Makes several pro- HOWEVER, before he entered that city, he thought proper
felytes before his to stop at *Kobâ*, a village about two miles north-west of *Me-*
entry into *dina*, where he lodged four days at the house of one *Calthum*
Medina. *Ebn Al Hadam*. Here he laid the foundation of a mosque, and called it *Al Takwa*, or *the temple of piety*; which was afterwards, according to some, built by the *Banu Amru Ebn Auf*. Before *Mohammed* reached *Kobâ*, he was met by one *Boreida Ebn Al Hoseib*, the *Sahamite*, at the head of the *Banu Saham*, amounting to about seventy persons, who immediately embraced *Islamism*, after having taken an oath of fidelity and allegiance to the prophet. During his abode at *Kobâ*, he also received another profelyte of great note amongst the *Mohammedans*, and sufficiently known likewise amongst the *Christians*. This was the famous *Salmân Al Parsi*, or *Salmân the Persian*, who was of a good family at *Ispahan*, and, in his younger years, left the religion of his country to embrace *Christianity*; but travelling afterwards into *Syria*, he was advised by a certain monk of *Amûria* to go into *Arabia*, where a prophet was expected to arise about that time, who should establish the religion of *Abraham*; and whom he should know, among other things, by the *seal of prophecy* between his shoulders. *Salmân*, whose father was *Dekan*, or governor, of *Ispahan*, performed the journey, and meeting with *Mohammed* at *Kobâ*, where he rested in his flight to *Medina*, soon found him to be the person he sought, and professed *Islam*. The commentators on the *Korân* suppose this *Salmân* to have been the person mentioned in the sixteenth chapter of that book, and whom Dr. *Prideaux* confounds with *Abdallab Ebn Salam*, the *Jew*, who was so intimate with *Mohammed*, and, according to some *Christian* writers, assisted him in the compiling his pretended revelations. It is said he died in the city of *Al Madâyen*, then the capital of *Persia*, of which he had been appointed governor by the *Khalif Omar*, in the thirty-fifth year of the *Hejra* ^m.

^l ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 51, 52. ASSONAILI, SHAREIF AL EDRISI, AL JANNAB. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. liv. ii. c. xvii. p. 291—295. ^m ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 52. EBN ISHAK. Aut. lib. AL MOSHTAREK apud Ism. Abulfed. in descript. Arab. p. 13. AL JANNAB. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xvi. RICARD. confutat. legis Saracenicz, c. xiii. JOAN. ANDREAS, de confus. sect. Mahometan. c. ii. AL BEIDAWI, PRID. life of Mahom. p. 24, 25. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. de vit. Moham. p. 74. & la vie de Mahom. ubi sup. p. 296, 297, 298.

MOHAMMED having left *Kobâ* the sixteenth of the former *Received Rabi*, early in the morning, arrived the same day, after he *with* had fortunately, or, as the *Moslems* tell us, miraculously, *great de-* escaped all the dangers that threatened him, at *Medina*. He *monstra-* was met at a small distance from the town by about five hun- *tions of* dred of the inhabitants, who had notice given them of his ap- *joy at Me-* proach by a *Jew* posted upon one of the highest towers of the *dina*. city. He had no sooner entered the place than he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and conducted with *Abu Becr*, amidst the universal acclamations of the people, to the house of *Abu Ayub Ebn Zeid*, the *Anſâr*, who carried the prophet's baggage upon his own shoulders to the apartment fitted up for him. Here he remained till he had built himself an house; which he immediately set about, and, adjoining thereto, also erected a mosque at the same time, for the exercise of his new religion. Hither his faithful friend *Ali*, in about three days time, repaired to him, after he had settled some affairs at *Mecca*. *Abu Becr* now was extremely chearful, seeing the prophet in so flourishing a situation; tho' he had before been so dejected, at the prospect of the imminent dangers which threatened him, that *Mohammed* found it necessary to raise his drooping spirits with those words, recorded in the *Korân*, *Be not grieved, for God is with us*. In fine, the new converts became every day more and more numerous; insomuch that he doubted not but, in a short time, he should be able to carry the vast design he had formed into execution. It is intimated by *Zonaras*, that *Mahommed*, before he fled to *Medina*, which city that author calls *Æthrib*, a manifest corruption of *Tathreb*, the ancient name of this place, desired the emperor *Heraclius* to grant him a tract of ground to settle upon, with his followers, as they were obliged to leave *Mecca*, by the violence of the *Koreish*. Which request, according to the same writer, the emperor complied with; and the impostor, by way of return, pillaged the neighbouring part of *Syria*. But as this article is unsupported by any good *Arab* author, we shall not insist upon the truth of it here; and therefore our learned readers may allow it what degree of credit they please.ⁿ

THE first thing *Mohammed* did, as has been just observed, *Builds a* after his arrival at *Medina*, was to build a temple, or mosque, *house and* for his religious worship, and an house for himself; which he *mosque* did on a parcel of ground that had before served to put camels *there*.

ⁿ ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 50, 51, 52. AL MOSHTAREK, ubi sup. EBN SHOHNAH, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ix. v. 42. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. liv. iii. c. 1. JOAN. ZONAR. annal. tom. ii. p. 86. Parisus, 1687.

in, or, as others tell us, for a burying-ground, and belonged to *Sabal* and *Sobeil*, the sons of *Amru*, who were orphans, and under the tutelage of *Moâd Ebn Osra*. But others say, that the site of the temple belonged to the *Banu Al Najjâr*, one of the most considerable tribes amongst the *Arabs*. Be that as it will, this action *Dr. Prideaux* exclaims against, representing it as a flagrant instance of injustice; since, as he affirms, *Mohammed* violently dispossessed these poor orphans, the sons of an inferior artificer (whom the author he quotes calls a carpenter) of this ground, and so founded the first fabric of his worship with the like wickedness as he did his religion. But, in answer to this, *Mr. Sale* thinks it sufficient to reply, "that, besides the improbability of *Mohammed's* acting in so impolitic a manner at his first coming, the *Mohammedan* writers set this affair in a quite different light. For one," continues he, "tells us, that the prophet treated with the lads about the price of the ground, but they desired he would accept it as a present; however," he goes on, "as historians of good credit assure us, he actually bought it, and the money was paid by *Abu Beccr*. Besides," says the same author, "had *Mohammed* accepted it as a present, the orphans were in circumstances sufficient to have afforded it; for they were of a very good family of the tribe of *Najjâr*, and not the sons of a carpenter, as *Dr. Prideaux's* author writes, who took the word *Najjâr*, which signifies a carpenter, for an appellative; whereas it is a proper name." *Mr. Gagnier* also, from whom indeed *Mr. Sale* has borrowed his whole answer to what has been advanced by *Dr. Prideaux*, endeavours to overthrow the same notion, by citing *Al Bokhârî*, *Al Jannâbi*, *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, and even the *Korân* itself, in support of the contrary opinion. This we thought ourselves obliged to take notice of, that our readers may be convinced of our strict impartiality in all dubious points, and the present one in particular; since, by laying before them what has been offered on both sides here, we put it in their power the more easily to determine to whose sentiments they will adhere.

Some account of the Hejra,

OUR readers will here observe, that *Mohammed* (F) made his grand entry into *Medina* on the sixteenth of the former *Rabi*,

° ISM. ABULFED. & EBN SHOHNAH, ubi sup. AL BOKHAR. in SONNA. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. iv. v. 126. f. vi. v. 152. f. xciii. v. 6. & alib. pass. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 44. Disputat. Christian. c. iv. SALE's prelim. discours. p. 51, 52. JOAN. GAGN. not. in ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Moham. p. 52, 53.

(F) *Abulfeda* gives a confused account of this affair; but it is set in a clear and indistinct account of this light by *Mr. Gagnier*, from the best

Rabî, as has been just remarked, and not on the twelfth, as *and the* we find intimated by Dr. *Prideaux*. The Doctor, in that point, runs counter to the best *Mohammedan* writers, and even to the whole stream of *Moslem* antiquity; for it appears from *Abulfeda*, and the other writers already cited, that the prophet and *Abu Becr* arrived at *Kobâ* on the twelfth of the former *Rabî*, and reached *Medina* four days after; that is, on the sixteenth of the aforesaid month. However, the *Hejra*, or flight of *Mohammed* from *Mecca*, happened on the first of the former *Rabî*; and that day afterwards became very famous among the *Mohammedans*. This remarkable event has supplied the *Moslems* with an *era*, called the *Hejra*, even to this very day, tho' it did not take place till the reign of the *Khalif Omar*, by whom it was first appointed, on the following occasion. A dispute arising between two of his subjects about the payment of a sum of money, which one of them pretended was due to him, the *Khalif* himself was applied to by the creditor, for his assistance in this affair. But the debtor alleging, that the month mentioned in the bill did not belong to the current year, but to the following, and consequently that the money was not then due; and there not appearing any date as to the year on the bill, the *Khalif* found it impossible to decide this controversy. In order, therefore, to remedy such defects, and prevent such inconveniences, for the future, it was ordained, by the advice of his privy council, that all bills and other instruments should ever after have inserted in them the date both of the day of the month, and also of the year, in which they were signed. And as to the year, he was persuaded by *Harmuzan*, or *Hormuz*, a learned *Persian*, whom he consulted on this head, to order all computations to be made for the future from the flight of *Mohammed* from *Mecca* to *Medina*; for which reason this

best *Moslem* writers. But farther, that *Mohammed* entered *Mecca* on the sixteenth, rather than the twelfth, of the former *Rabî*, appears from hence, that *Medina* is ten good days journey distant from *Mecca*; which place the prophet left on the first of the aforesaid month. For, as, in his journey from thence to *Medina*, he took a compass round about the maritime coast and the mountains,

as has been already observed, and staid four days at *Kobâ*, besides three in the cave at *Thûr*, he could not possibly have reached *Medina* before the sixteenth day of the former *Rabî*, as even *Abulfeda* himself seems to intimate, tho' in apparent contradiction to what he had just before advanced. But this point is so exceeding clear, that at present we shall insist no farther upon it (30).

(30) *Abulfed. de vit. Mohammed. c. xxiv. p. 52. Gagn. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. liv. iii. c. 1. p. 300.*

era was called the *Hejra*, that word, in the *Arabic* language, signifying a *flight*. However, the *Arabs*, after the example of the *Romans* and the *Egyptians*, on a similar occasion, made no alteration in the ancient form of their proper year. For it still consists of only three hundred fifty-four days, eight hours, and forty-eight minutes, as formerly; the *Arabs* still, as they always have done, computing by lunar months. As for the *Khalif Omar*; tho' he introduced a new era, yet he anticipated the computation from the event that gave rise to it fifty-nine days; beginning the year, as before, from the *Neomenia*, or first, of the month *Al Moharram*, which precedes the first of the former *Rabi* fifty-nine days. The flight, therefore, or migration, of *Mohammed* from *Mecca*, in the *Moslem* computation of time, is supposed to have fallen upon the sixteenth of *July*, which answered to the first of *Al Moharram*; tho', in reality, it happened on the first of the former *Rabi*, in the year of our LORD 622. However, in this, the present *Arabs* differ from their ancestors, that whereas the former, by intercalating seven months in nineteen years, after the manner of the *Jews*, reduced their lunar to solar years, and consequently had their months always fixed to the same season of the year; the latter, from the time of *Mohammed*, have intercalated a day on the second, fifth, seventh, tenth, thirteenth, fifteenth, eighteenth, twenty-first, twenty-fourth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-ninth years of the period formed by the odd hours and minutes exceeding the annual complement of three hundred fifty-four days, which consists of thirty years. The present *Arabian* year, therefore, in those parts of that period, has three hundred fifty-five days, by reason of the aforesaid intercalation. Which form of the year the *Mohammedans* strictly observe, they being confined to such a usage by a passage in the *Korán*; according to which, the intercalation of a month every third or second year, which the *Arabs* had learned of the *Jews*, in order to reduce their lunar to solar years, is absolutely unlawful. For, by this means, they fixed the time of the pilgrimage, and of the fast of *Ramadán*, to certain seasons of the year, which ought to be ambulatory. Hence it appears, that the beginning of the year, amongst the *Moslems*, is ambulatory and unfixed, the succeeding year always beginning eleven days sooner than the preceding; so that, in the period of thirty-three years, the first day of the *Mohammedan* year passes through summer, spring, winter, and autumn, and arrives again at the same time of the solar year, tho' not precisely at the same day. The decree of *Omar*, here mentioned, began to be in force about the eighteenth year of the *Hejra*, and the manner of computation enjoined therein has ever since prevailed amongst the

the *Mohammedans*. It has been already observed, in the ancient history of the *Arabs*, that it was usual with them, before the appointment of the *Hejra*, to compute from the last great war they were engaged in; whence it happened, that the war of the elephant, the impious war, &c. supplied them with *eras* at *Mecca*; so that it would be intirely superfluous and unnecessary to give a farther account of every *era* that preceded the *Hejra* here P.

BEFORE we dismiss this point, however, it may not be improper to inform our curious readers, that the names of the Arabian months are, *Al Mobarram*, *Safar*, the former *modern* *Ra*, the latter *Dul*, the former *Samad*, the latter *Ma*, the names of

Dhu'muzja; the first, second, third, and fourth of which were held sacred by the *Arabs*. The first of these months consists of thirty days, and the second of twenty-nine; and so they go on alternately to the end of the year; only, in the intercalary years, the month *Dhu'l'hajja* has thirty days, on account of the day added; but in all the other years only twenty-nine. The descendents of *Kablan*, or *Jactan*, the son of *Eber*, who are called *Al Arab*, *Al Ariba*, i. e. the genuine or pure *Arabs*, denominated their months *Mutemer*, *Najir*, *Khavan*, *Savan*, *Ritma*, *Ida*, *Asam*, *Adil*, *Natil*, *Vail*, *Varna*, and *Burec*; which words have not the least affinity with the present names. But the former were gradually lost, after *Kelâh*, the son of *Morrah*, one of *Mohammed's* progenitors, imposed the latter, from certain accidents that happened in the months to which they were applied; and these having received a sanction from *Mohammed's* authority, who made the use of them one of the distinguishing marks of his followers, they have ever since prevailed. We might here give an account of another *era*, of a later date, by which the *Mohammedans* of *Persia* computed in all civil affairs, called by them the *era* of *Yezdegerd*, as it commenced ten years after the *Hejra*, in the very beginning of the reign of that prince, had this not been already done in our ancient history of the *Persians* 9.

SECT.

P ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 52. EBN SHOHNAH, GOLI notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 52, 53, 55. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 43. ABR. ECHELLENS. hist. Arab. par. i. c. 10. ALFRAGAN. element. astronom. c. i. p. 67. Amstelodami, 1669. ELMACIN. ubi supra. c. i. & iii. EUTYCHIUS, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 172, 173. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. ix. AL KODAI de ritib. peregrinat. Meccan. PRID. ubi supra, p. 44, 45. SALE's prelim. disc. sect. iv. & vii. Univ. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 440. Lond. 1748. GOLI notæ ad Alfragan. p. 3—9. R. SAAD. in vers. Arab. Pentat. Gen. c. x. v. 25. MOHAMMED.

S E C T. II.

Mohammed con-
summates
his mar-
riage
with
Ayesha.

MOHAMMED finding the people of *Medina* intirely at his devotion, soon thoroughly established his new system of religion in that place. The city of *Medina*, which we have already described, was about ten days journey distant from *Mecca*, and stood in the northern part of *Hejâz*. At the time of *Mohammed's* retreat thither, it was inhabited partly by *Jews*, and partly by heretical *Christians*, who formed two different factions, that persecuted each other with no small fury and violence. This gave *Mohammed* as good an opportunity as could be desired of making new converts among them; and to this must be attributed the great and rapid success he met with in the execution of his favourite design. He had espoused *Ayesha*, the daughter of *Abu. Beer Al Seddik*, above a year before he found himself obliged to abandon *Mecca*, tho' she was then not above seven years of age; but did not consummate his marriage with her till eight months after his retreat to *Medina*. She accompanied her husband in an expedition he undertook against the tribe of *Mosalek*, in the sixth year of the *Hejra*, when she was accused of disloyalty to his bed, as we shall relate more fully hereafter. According to *Abulfeda* and *Al Bokhâri*, she was not above nine years old when *Mohammed* began to cohabit with her, nor above eighteen at the time of that impostor's death. Some authors say, that, about this time also, he gave in marriage to *Ali* his daughter *Fâtema*, whom he considered as one of the most perfect of women, and who was the only one of his children that survived him.

Unites the
Mohâje-
rin and
the An-
sârs.

THE next point the pretended prophet had in view, was the union of the *Mohâjerin* and the *Ansârs*. The *Mohâjerin*, or *refugees*, were those of *Mecca*, who fled thence on account of their religion; and the *Ansârs*, or *auxiliaries*, were those of *Medina*, who received *Mohammed*, and his followers, into their protection, and assisted them against their enemies. After his new mosque and house, therefore, were finished, in order to facilitate this, and to attach both those bodies of *Moslems* more closely

ALFRAGAN. element. astron. c. i. p. 1. EBN MASUD. SALE'S prelim. disc. p. 8, 9. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. hist. dynast. p. 177, & p. 183. EUTYCHIUS, par. ii. p. 256, & p. 296. ELMACIN. lib. i. c. 2. & 4. ULUGH BEIGH, de cognitione epoch. c. 3. Univers. Hist. vol. xi. p. 206. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 98. AL SHAHRESTAN. JOAN. ANDREAS, c. i. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 137. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xxv. p. 53. AL JANNAB. AL BOKHARI, GAGN. la vie de Mahom. ubi sup. p. 302, 303. Vide etiam Al KOR. MOHAM. f. xxiv. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. hist. dynast. p. 165. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 183, & alibi.

to his interests, he established a fraternity among them; the principal statute or maxim of which society was, "that they should not only treat one another like brethren, but likewise most cordially love and mutually cherish one another, to the utmost of their power." But lest even this should prove insufficient, and absolutely to effect what he proposed, he coupled the individuals of those two bodies; the principal pairs resulting from which particular union were the following: *Abu Becr* and *Hareja Ebn Zeid*, *Abu Obeidab Ebn Al Jarah* and *Saad Ebn Moad*, *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb* and *Otbân Ebn Mâlec*, *Abda'l-Rahmân Ebn Awf* and *Saad Ebn Al Robi*, *Othmân Ebn Affân* and *Awz Ebn Thâbet*, *Telha Ebn Obeidallah* and *Caab Ebn Mâlec*, *Said Ebn Zeid* and *Obba Ebn Caab*. Which institution, according to *Abulfeda*, was the last transaction of the first year of the *Hejra* ².

THE second year of the *Hejra*, if we will believe the *Changes* same author, was ushered in by a change of the *Kebla* (G), *the Kc.* or bla, and

² ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xxvi. p. 53. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. ix. AL JANNAB. p. 75. AL BEIDAWI. Vide etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. ubi supra, p. 303, 304.

(G.) The *Jews* constantly pray with their faces turned towards *Jerusalem*, which has been their *Kebla* from the time it was first dedicated by *Solomon*; for which reason *Daniel*, praying in *Chaldea*, had the windows of his chamber open towards that city; and the same was the *Kebla* of *Mohammed*, and his followers, for seventeen or eighteen months, and till he found himself obliged to change it for the *Caaba*. The *Arabs* had directed their prayers towards that place from very remote antiquity, as the *Sabians* had theirs towards the *North-star*, and the *Persians*, who considered *fire* and *light* as their chief deities, towards the *East*; because in that quarter the sun first appeared, which they held to be the fountain of both; and therefore *Mohammed*, in order to gain them, found himself obliged to alter his original plan, in relation to the

Kebla. Hence it came to pass, that *Al Kebla* was sometimes used among the *Arabs* to denote the *Caaba* itself; and the *Mohammedans* in general were called *Abul Kebla*, or the people of the *Kebla*, as we learn from some good authors. It may not be improper here to observe, that *Mohammed* seems to have copied most of the particulars comprised in his institution of prayer from the *Jews*, tho' he exceeded them in the number of his prayers. For they were directed to pray only three times a day, in the morning, in the evening, and within night, in imitation of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; which practice was, at least, as early as the time of *Daniel*. The several postures used by the *Mohammedans* in their prayers are also the same with those prescribed by the *Jewish Rabbins*, and particularly the most solemn act of adoration, by prostrating themselves

appoints
the month
of Rama-
dân for a
fast.

or the part to which the *Mohammedans* are to turn their faces in prayer. At first, *Mohammed*, and his followers, observed no particular rite in turning their faces towards any certain place, or quarter of the world, when they prayed; it being declared to be perfectly indifferent. Afterwards, when the prophet fled to *Medina*, he directed them to turn towards the temple of *Jerusalem* (probably to ingratiate himself with the *Jews*); which continued to be their *Kebla* for seventeen or eighteen months; but either finding the *Jews* too intractable, or despairing otherwise to gain the pagan *Arabs*, who could not forget their respect to the temple of *Mecca*, he ordered that prayers for the future should be towards the *East*. This change was made in the second year of the *Hejra*; and, as *Jallalo'ddin* relates, occasioned many to fall from him, taking offence at his inconstancy. This year also he appointed the month of *Ramadân* (H) for a fast, according to the same author;

selves so as to touch the ground with their forehead; notwithstanding the latter pretend the practice of the former, in this respect, to be a relic of their ancient manner of paying their devotions to *Baal-Peor*. The *Moslem* precepts also relating to the cleanness of the place of prayer, and the garments wore during the performance of that duty, as well as the separation of the men from the women, at the same time, seem to have been derived from the *Jews*. Many other conformities between the *Jewish* and *Mohammedan* public worship might be here remarked, would the limits of the work we are at present engaged in permit. Our readers will observe, that *Mohammed* used the *Jewish* *Kebla*

at least seventeen or eighteen months, as may be inferred from *Abulfeda* and *Al Kodai*, and not only six or seven, as we find advanced, without any manner of foundation, by Mr. *Sale* (31).

(H) The *Mohammedans* are obliged, by the express command of the *Korân*, to fast the whole month of *Ramadân*, from the time the new moon first appears till the appearance of the next new moon; during which time they must abstain from eating, drinking, and women, from day-break till night, or sun-set. This injunction the *Moslems* at present observe so strictly, that, while they fast, they suffer nothing to enter their mouths, or other parts of their body, esteeming the fast broken

(31) *Gemar. Bawa Balbra, & Beracbat. 1 Kings, vii. 29, &c. Dan. vi. 10. Jsm. Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 54. Al Kodai, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 163, & 231. Poc. not. in spec. bisp. Arab. p. 147, 148. Al Sbabrestan. Al Kor. Mohammed. f. ii. v. 143. f. iii. v. 96. Al Fuxi, in lib. de peregrinat. Meccan. c. 67. Poc. ubi sup. p. 175. Lib. Mogreb, apud Al Khasfai, apud Al Sbabrestan. & apud Autor. Shazbo'l-Mowakef. Al Firauzabad, in Kam. Gen. xix. 27. xxiv. 63. xxviii. 11, &c. Dan. vi. 10. Millius de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 427, &c. Hyde, de rel. vet. Pers. p. 5, &c. Maimonid. in epist. ad profect. relig. Poc. ubi sup. p. 306. Maimon. in Malacoth Tophilla, c. ix. sect. 8, 9. Menuwa Hammon, fol. 28. 2; Sale's prelim. disc. p. 109.*

author ; which fast likewise we find expressly enjoined in the second chapter of the *Korân* ¹.

ABOUT

¹ ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 54. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. ii. v. 146. JALLALO'DDIN, AHMED EBN YAHYA, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. p. 163. AL KODAI, JOANNES ANDREAS, c. vi. v. 10. BUXTORF. synagog. Judaic. c. x. MAIMONID. in Halachoth Tephillah, c. i. sect. 3.

and null, if they smell perfumes, take a clyster or injection, bathe, or even purposely swallow their spittle ; some being so cautious that they will not open their mouths to speak, lest they should breathe the air too freely. The fast is also deemed void, if a man kiss or touch a woman, or if he vomit designedly. But after sun-set they are allowed to refresh themselves, to eat and drink, and enjoy the company of their wives till day-break ; tho' the more rigid begin the fast again at midnight. This fast is extremely rigorous, when the month of *Ramadân* happens to fall in summer, on account of the length and heat of the days. The reason given by *Mohammed* why this month was pitched on for so solemn a fast is, that the *Korân* was then sent down from heaven. None of the *Moslems* are excused from it, except only travellers, sick persons, women with child, and giving suck, ancient people, and young children, who are all upon the same foot with those that are sick. But then all such are obliged to fast an equal number of days, as soon as they are capable of so doing ; and, in the mean time, are ordered to expiate their breaking the fast by giving alms to the poor. *Mohammed* is reported to have said, that a fast of one day in

a sacred month was better than a fast of thirty days in another month ; and that a fast of one day in *Ramadân* was more meritorious than a fast of thirty days in a sacred month. Among the more commendable days is that of *Ashûra*, the tenth of *Mobarram* ; which, according to some authors, was observed by the tribe of *Karîsh* before the birth of *Mohammed* ; tho' others maintain, that the prophet borrowed both the name and the fast from the *Jews*. And this notion, it must be owned, is the most probable. For *Mohammed* seems to have followed the guidance of the *Jews* in his ordinances concerning fasting, no less than in the former particulars relating to prayer. Whence it came to pass, that the *Moslems*, as well as the *Jews*, abstain from meat, drink, women, and unclean, from day-break until sun-set, and the stars begin to appear ; spending the night in taking what refreshments they please, and excusing from the fast such persons as are not capable of observing it. Besides, this perfectly agrees with what we find related by *Al Kazwini*, who informs us, that when *Mohammed* ask'd the *Jews* at *Medina* the reason why they fasted on the day of *Ashûra*, and they answered him, because *Pharaoh* and his people were on that day drowned in the *Red*

Hamza

not strong
enough to
attack
one of the
enemies
caravans.

ABOUT this time, the prophet receiving advice, that a rich caravan of the *Koreish* was on the road from *Shâm*, or *Syria*, to *Mecca*, he detached his uncle *Hamza*, at the head of thirty horse, to seize upon it; who accordingly posted himself in one of the woods of *Yamâma*, through which it was to pass, for that purpose. But being informed, that the caravan was guarded by three hundred men, he thought fit to retire at their approach, as being too weak to attack them. He, therefore, returned to *Medina*, without making any attempt. We are also told, that, after this, some small parties were sent out to harass the *Koreish*, who found themselves not strong enough to annoy them. However, the prophet made the proper dispositions for acting against them with success^u.

WE have taken the liberty here to differ from Dr. *Prideaux*, who believes this attempt of *Hamza* to have been made in the first year of the *Hejra*. For such a notion is intirely unsupported by *Abulfeda*, whose authority is by

^u ELMACIN. hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. i. Disputat. Christian. c. 4. apud Vincent. Bellovac. in specul. histor. lib. xxiv. Par. 1531. & Theod. Bibliand. in Alcor. Latin. 1550. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 53.

Sea, *Moses* and the *Israelites* then escaping; he replied, that he bore a nearer relation to *Moses* than they, and ordered his followers likewise to fast on that day. However, if we will believe *Ebn Al Athir*, having contracted afterwards an utter aversion to the *Jews*, he intended to have altered the fast and day of *Ashûra*, had he lived a year longer. Dr. *Prideaux* thinks that *Mohammed* instituted the fast of *Ramadân*, to answer *Lent*, in imitation of the *Christians*, with whom he was desirous of ingratiating himself,

out of his hatred to the *Jews*, at the commencement of this institution. *Ramadân* is the ninth month, and, when the ancient *Arabs* reduced their lunar to solar years, by an intercalation of seven months in nineteen years, always fell in summer; from which circumstance it derived its name, which, in *Arabic*, denotes heat, or vehemency of heat. How the *Turks* at present observe this fast, our curious readers may be informed by a learned modern traveller, whom they will find cited in the margin (32).

(32) *Al Kor. Mohammed. f. ii. xix. Al Beidawi, Poc. not. in carmen Tograi, p. 89, &c. Chardin, voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 421, 423, &c. Reland. de relig. Mohammed. p. 109, &c. Al Ghazali, Al Bareni, in comment. ad erat. Ebn Nobeata, Siphra, fol. 252. 2. Tosepboth ad Gemar. Yoma, fol. 34. Vide etiam Gemar. Yoma, fol. 40. & Maimon. in Hahebotb Tanieib, c. v. f. 5. Gemar. Tanieib, fol. 12. & Yoma, fol. 83. & Es Hayim, Tanieib, c. i. Al Kazwini, Ebn Al Athir, Ebn Ahmed, A. usfid. Al Kodai, Al Makrizi, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 175. Al Feubar, Gollii not. ad Alfrozan. p. 7. Smith de morib. & institut. Turcar. p. 42, &c.*

no means inferior to that of *Al Makin*, and the other author here cited, in the point before us. Besides, 'tis highly improbable, that *Mohammed* should have thought of committing any hostilities against the *Koreish*, before he had united the *Mohâjerin* and the *Ansâr*, which did not happen till the first year of the *Hejra* was upon the point of expiring. For before he had effected that union, it would have been impossible for him to have drawn together any number of forces; which he must have done, before he could have thought of engaging in a war with the *Koreish*. Nor can it be inferred from *Al Makin*, the principal author mentioned by Dr. *Prideaux*, on this occasion, that *Hamza* was sent out with a party against a caravan of the *Koreish*, in the first year of the *Hejra*, tho' he is pleased to intimate the contrary. We, therefore, hope our readers will not refuse concurring with us in so probable an opinion *.

BUT farther, that *Hamza's* expedition was undertaken in the second, not the first, year of the *Hejra*, we learn from *Al Jannâbi*. That writer informs us, that, in the beginning of the latter *Rabi*, above a year after *Mohammed's* arrival at *Mecca*, the prophet sent *Obeidab Ebn Al Hâreth*, on whom he conferred the first pair of colours in his service, with a party of sixty or eighty horse, all *Mohâjerin*, except one who was an *Ansâr*, to make reprisals on the *Koreish*. *Obeidab*, continues *Al Jannâbi*, in pursuance of his orders, set out from *Medina*, and, in his march, arrived at a well in *Hejâz*, called *Khainat Al Haran*, where he met with a party of the *Koreish*, who immediately prepared for an encounter. However, they parted without any effusion of blood, excepting only that *Saad Ebn Abu Wakkâs*, one of *Obeidab's* men, let fly an arrow that killed one of the *Koreish*; and this, says our author, was the first arrow that was shot after the introduction of *Islamism* into *Arabia*. Upon this, the infidels, believing that the *Moslems* were sustained by a larger body of troops, retired with great precipitation; and two *Moslems*, that were amongst them, took this opportunity to desert, and join *Obeidab's* detachment. The names of these were *Al Makkâr Ebn Amru* and *Otha Ebn Ghazwân*, the *Mâzenite*. A LITTLE WHILE AFTER, adds our author, the prophet dispatched his uncle *Hamza* at the head of thirty horse, all *Mohâjerin*, towards the maritime coast of *Hejâz*; who, being arrived at a wood, met a party of eighty *Meccan* horse. Both sides prepared for action; but, by the interposition of *Majda Ebn Amru*, they parted without coming to blows. From this

* PRID. life of Mahom. p. 53. ELMACIN. lib. i. c. 1. Disputat. Christian. c. 4. ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 53—55.

account, in conjunction with what we have already observed, it indisputably appears, that *Hamza's* excursion was made, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by Dr. *Prideaux*, in the second year of the *Hejra*; and that no acts of hostility were committed the preceding year *.

Abd'al-
lah Ebn
Hajalh
intercepts
a caravan
of the Ko-
reish.

MOHAMMED, having now provided for the safety of his companions as well as his own, being securely settled at *Medina*, and, by the prudent measures he had taken, consequential to the late offensive and defensive league, concluded with the *Ansûrs*, finding himself in a condition not only to defend himself against the insults of his enemies, but even to attack them, began to send out, in earnest, parties to make reprisals on the *Koreish*. One of these, which he ordered to advance as far as *Nakbla*, under the command of *Abd'allah Ebn Hajalh*, to get intelligence of the *Koreish*, consisting of no more than nine men, intercepted, and plundered, a caravan belonging to that tribe; and, after having killed one, took two of the escorte prisoners, in the action. One of these was called *Nasir Ebn Waja*. *Nakbla* is a valley, or place, situated between *Al Tayef* and *Mecca*, if *Abulfeda's* geographical description of *Arabia* in this point be exact. This small advantage animated the *Moslems*, and induced the prophet to think that he should gain as much reputation by his arms as his revelations †.

Gains the
battle of
Bedr.

BUT what the most established *Mohammed's* affairs, at this juncture, and was the foundation on which he built all his succeeding greatness, was the gaining of the battle of *Bedr*, which was fought in the second year of the *Hejra*, and is so famous in the *Mohammedan* history. Of this remarkable action, as well as some of the most material circumstances preceding and attending it, the *Moslem* writers have handed down to us the following particulars. The prophet having been informed by his spies, that *Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb* escorted a caravan of the *Koreish*, then on its return from *Syria*, with a guard of only thirty or forty men, resolved to advance at the head of a small detachment of his troops, to intercept it. To this he was excited by the riches of the caravan, which consisted of a large quantity of valuable merchandize, the produce of the country it came from, carried on the backs of a thousand camels. He first, therefore, sent out a party to reconnoitre it, with orders to post themselves in some place convenient for an ambuscade, where they might

* AL JANNABI & ABULFED. ubi sup. PRID. ubi sup. p. 53.
† AL JANNAB. ISM. ABULFED. ubi supra. AL MASUDI, in lib. *Al Athrât*, apud ISM. ABULFED. ibid. Vide etiam ejusdem Abulfed. descript. Arab. p. 55.

remain undiscovered by the enemy. But *Abu Sofiân* having notice of *Mohammed's* motions, immediately dispatched a courier to *Mecca*, with advice of his arrival on the frontiers of *Hejân*, and of the designs of the *Moslems*; requesting his countrymen, at the same time, to send him speedy succours, that he might be able to defend the caravan. Upon which, *Abu Fahl*, and all the principal men of the city, except *Abu Lahab*, marched to his assistance, with a body of nine hundred and fifty men. *Mohammed* had no sooner received advice of this, than he drew together all his forces, which amounted to no more than three hundred and thirteen men, with which he advanced against the enemy. In the mean time he took care to leave a proper garison in *Medina*, to defend it in case of any disaster, and made *Omar Ebn Omm Ma'âzum* governor of the place, during his absence. In his army he had seventy-seven *Mohâjerîn*, on whom he seemed chiefly to depend; the rest being *Ansârs*, with whom he was supplied by the tribes of *Khazraj* and *Aws*. He first encamped at *Safrâ*, a port of the *Red Sea* above *Al Yâr*, another port about three days journey distant from *Medina*. Here he soon received intelligence, that the caravan he was in quest of, together with the escorte that attended it, was arrived at *Bedr*; and that the body of troops from *Mecca* was making forced marches to join *Abu Sofiân*. As he was encamped on the plain of *Dâfarân*, to the right of *Safrâ*, and advantageously situated between two hills, the enemy could not easily have forced his camp, had they been disposed to attack him; and therefore here he could with safety, in conjunction with his officers, form a plan of the future operations. Which having done, he advanced into the neighbourhood of *Bedr*, and pitched his tents at a small distance from the enemy. But before this was done, he had had the precaution to choose a spot of ground to encamp on, which was nearer a well of water than that which had been before occupied for the same purpose by the forces of *Abu Fahl* and *Abu Sofiân*.*

THINGS had not been long in this situation before *Mohammed* ordered his men to march directly against the enemy; and, on the seventeenth of the month *Ramaddân*, early in the morning, the army of the *Koreish* likewise appeared on the heights in the neighbourhood of *Bedr*. Before the beginning of the battle, *Oiba Ebn Rabia*, *Shaiba Ebn Rabia*, and *Al Walid Ebn Otba*, on the side of the *Koreish*, and *Obeidah Ebn*

* ELMACIN. p. 5. ISM. ABULFEN. de vif. Moham. c. xxvii. p. 56—61. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. ii, viii, xxxii, &c. AL BOKHARI in *Sonna*. AL JANNAB. p. 86, 88, &c. EBN ISHAK, SHARIF AL EDRISI, HOTTINGER. hist. Oriental. lib. ii. c. 4.

Al Hâreth, Hamza, and Ali, on the side of the *Moslems*, engaged in single combat; in which the three former were slain. This greatly animated the *Moslems*, and as much dejected the *Koreish*, who now seemed to apprehend that victory would declare against them. In the mean time, *Mohammed* taking advantage of this lucky event, offered up his prayers to God with great fervency and vehemence; and then, feigning himself in a trance, pretended that God had promised him certain victory. After which, throwing a handful of dust towards the enemy, he said, *May the faces of them be confounded*; and then, exhorting his men to behave valiantly, he commanded them to fall upon the *Koreish*. Upon which they charged them with such bravery, that they soon put them to flight; having killed seventy of the principal of them on the spot, and taken as many prisoners, with the loss of only fourteen men. Amongst the slain were *Hântala Ebn Abu Sofân*, *Obeidah Ebn Saïd*, *Zama'a Ebn Al Aswad*, *Abu'l Bakhtara Ebn Hesbâm*, *Nawfal Ebn Khowailed*, *Omaïr Ebn Othmân*, *Masûd Ebn Ommiyah*, *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mondar*, *Monba Ebn Al Hahâj*, *Al As Ebn Monba*, *Bania Ebn Al Hahâj*, and *Abu Jahl*. Amongst the prisoners were *Al Abbâs*, the prophet's uncle, *Okail Ebn Abu Tâleb*, and *Nawfal Ebn Al Hâreth Ebn Abd'al Motalleb*. The dead bodies *Mohammed* ordered to be thrown into the well *Bedr*, which gave name to the place where the battle was fought, and originally belonged to an *Arab* so called. Having refreshed his troops, he quitted his camp on the sea-coast near mount *Radwa*, and returned to *Safra*, three days after the action ^a.

AL BEIDAWI relates, that the *Meccans*, who marched to the assistance of the caravan, having advanced as far as *Johfa*, were there met by a messenger from *Abu Sofân*, to acquaint them that he thought himself out of danger, and therefore they might return home. Upon which, adds he, *Abu Jahl*, to give the greater opinion of the courage of himself and his companions, as well as of their readiness to assist their friends, swore that they would not return till they had been at *Bedr*, had there drank wine, entertained those who should be present, and diverted themselves with singing women. The event of which bravado proved fatal to them; several of the principal of the *Koreish*, as has been here observed, and *Abu Jahl* in particular, losing their lives in the expedition ^b.

^a Ibidem ibid. AL BEIDAWI, AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. iii. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. hist. dynast. p. 163. PRID. life of Mahomet, p. 54.
^b AL BEIDAWI.

WE are farther told by the *Moslem* writers, that *Mohammed* had no sooner received advice of *Abu Jahl's* approach, than *Gabriel* descended from heaven, with a promise that he should either take the caravan, or beat the succours; whereupon he consulted with his companions which of the two he should attack. Some of them were for setting upon the caravan, saying, that they were not prepared to fight such a body of troops as *Abu Jahl* had with him: but this proposal was rejected by *Mohammed*, as the caravan was at a considerable distance, by the sea-side; whereas *Abu Jahl* was just upon them. This, however, did not satisfy the others, till, by the interposition of *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, *Saad Ebn Obadah*, and *Mokdâd Ebn Amru*, they acquiesced to the prophet's opinion. *Mokdâd*, in particular, assured the prophet, that they were all ready to obey his orders on all occasions. At which *Mohammed* smiled, and applied himself to the *Ansârs*, who promised to follow him where-ever he pleased, tho' it were into the sea. Upon which the prophet ordered them to attack the succours, assuring them of the victory; which, tho' it might seem not so considerable in itself, was of great advantage to him, and the foundation of all his future power and success. Nay, it had such an immediate effect, that it caused both him and his followers to be treated with the highest respect by the *Najâshi*, who had received a particular account of it; and, in its consequences, was of vast importance to the *Moslems*. For it not only paved the way to the erection of the *Moslem* empire, then soon to commence, but may likewise be considered as a remote foundation of the present *Ottoman* power. It cannot, therefore, appear surprising, notwithstanding this has been treated with such contempt by *Marracci*, that the victory at *Bedr* should be so famous in the *Arabian* history, and more than once represented in the *Korân* as an effect of the divine assistance. The miracle, it is said by the *Mohammedans*, consisted in three things. 1. *Mohammed*, by the direction of the angel *Gabriel*, took a handful of gravel, and threw it towards the enemy in the attack, saying, *May their faces be confounded*; whereupon they immediately turned their backs, and fled. For, the prophet pretends to be told in the *Korân*, that not he, but God, by the ministry of his angel, threw the gravel towards the unbelievers. 2. The *Moslem* troops seemed to the infidels to be twice as numerous as themselves, which greatly discouraged them. 3. God sent down to their assistance first a thousand, and afterwards three thousand, angels, led by *Gabriel*, mounted on his horse *Haizûm*; and, according to the *Korân*, these celestial auxiliaries did all the execution, tho' *Mohammed's* troops could not perceive them. They rode,

rode, say the commentators, on black and white horses, having on their heads white and yellow turbans, the ends of which hung down between their shoulders. In fine, according to these visionary writers, they first struck the *Korish* with terror, throwing them into such a panic that they could never recover themselves, and then immediately dispatched them. This is the account given of the battle of *Bedr*, so fatal in its consequences to the *Korish*, by the *Moslem* commentators and historians c.

Mohammed settles the division of the spoils taken at *Bedr*;

NOTWITHSTANDING this defeat, *Abu Sefiân* made a tolerable good retreat, and conducted the greatest part of the caravan safe to *Mecca*. This something chagrined the *Moslems*, tho' they found great spoils on the field of battle, part of the caravan falling into their hands. These, however, had like to have proved fatal to the victors themselves, as they could not agree about a division of them. The *Ansfars*, as having taken the *Mohâjerin* into their protection, after they had been expelled their native city, insisted upon being rewarded with the largest share of them; which the *Mohâjerin*, as they had been the prophet's original companions, and greatly distinguished themselves in the action, would by no means allow. This is *Hottinger's* representation of the case; but the commentators on the *Korân* place the affair in another light: they relate, that the disputes about the division of the spoils taken at the battle of *Bedr* happened between the old men, who had staid under the ensigns, and the young men, who had fought; the latter insisting that they ought to have the whole, and the former, that they deserved a share. Be this as it will, 'tis agreed on all hands, that these disputes ran so high, that *Mohammed*, in order to put an end to the contention, pretended to have received orders from heaven to divide the booty amongst them equally, having first taken therefrom a fifth part for the purposes mentioned in the eighth chapter of the *Korân*. Which chapter, say the *Moslems*, was revealed to compose matters between the contending parties, and conciliate the affections of both of them to the prophet, at this critical juncture. So that, to avoid all intestine broils and dissensions, and every species of mutiny, the division of the spoils on all future similar occasions, is intirely settled, by *Mohammed's* decision after the battle of *Bedr*, which was

c Al Kor. MOHAM. f. iii, viii, &c. AL BEIDAWI, AL WAKEDI, & AL NAISABURI, apud Abu Zeid Seid in lib. *Splendor*. ut & ipse ABU ZEID SEID, ibid. ASSOHAILI, LUDOVICUS MARACCIUS in vit. Mohammed. p. 23. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. de vit. Mohammed. c. xxvii. p. 56—60. JALAL-ODDIN, AL ZAMAKHSAR. &c.

founded upon the eighth chapter of the *Korán*, and is as follows: A fifth part is to be appropriated to the service of God, and the use of his prophet, his kindred, the orphans, the poor, and the traveller; and the other four fifths are to be equally divided amongst those who shall be present at the action. But with regard to the distribution of the first fifth, the *Mohammedan* doctors are not absolutely agreed. Nor did, indeed, the pretended apostle, in his life-time, always strictly adhere to the rule he himself had laid down, and which, with respect to his followers, he intended should be of perpetual force and obligation. For, by virtue of the divine commission, he pretended to have received, to distribute the spoil among his soldiers at his own discretion, he took himself to be authorized, on extraordinary occasions, to distribute it as he thought fit, without observing an equality. Thus he did, for example, with the spoil of the tribe of *Hawázan*, taken at the battle of *Honein*, which he bestowed by way of presents on the *Meccans* only, passing by those of *Medina*, and highly distinguishing the principal *Korashites*, that he might ingratiate himself with them, after he had become master of their city. He was likewise allowed, in the expedition against those of *Al Nadir*, to take the whole booty to himself, and to dispose thereof as he pleased, because no horses or camels were made use of in that expedition, but the whole army went on foot; and this became thenceforward a law: the reason of which seems to be, that the spoil taken by a party consisting of infantry only, should be considered as the more immediate gift of God, and therefore properly left to the disposition of his apostle. But, for a farther account of this, and the other institutions of the *Korán* in civil affairs, we must beg leave refer our curious readers to the learned Mr. *Sale*, who will give them full and ample satisfaction ^d.

BUT to return to our history—On *Monday*, the 20th of *and ar-Ramadán*, the *Moslem* army decamped from *Bedr*, and re-
turned to the port of *Safrá*. Here the prophet took a review *riues at Médina*. of his forces, and found that he had lost only six *Mohájerin*, and eight *Ansárs*, in the expedition. These the *Moslems* look upon as martyrs, and as such they are celebrated by *Abulfeda*. Soon after *Mohammed's* arrival at *Safrá*, he ordered *Ali* to strike off the head of *Al Nodar Ebn Al Hareth*, who seems to have been taken prisoner at the battle of *Bedr*, and was one of the prophet's most implacable enemies. *Al Nodar*, *Abu*

^d Al KOR. MOHAMMED. f. viii. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'D-DIN. HOTTINGER. ubi sup. AHMED EBN YAHYA, ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. p. 98, 118, &c. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 54. SALE's prelim. discours. sect. vi. p. 145.

Sofian, Al Walid, Otba, Abu Jabl, and their comrades, who are all pointed at in the *Korân*, went one day to hear *Mohammed* repeat some of the verses of that book; and *Nodar* being afterwards asked what he said, answered, with an oath, that he knew not; only that he moved his tongue, and told a parcel of foolish stories, as he had done to them. The same person is likewise said to have brought with him from *Persia* the romance of *Rostam* and *Isfandiyar*, the two heroes of that country, recited it in the assemblies of the *Koreish*, and highly extolled the power and splendor of the ancient *Persian* kings, preferring their stories to those of *Ad* and *Thamud*, *David* and *Solomon*, and the rest which are told in the *Korân*. Such flights as these could not fail to render him extremely disagreeable to *Mohammed*, and were undoubtedly the cause of his death. *Okba Ebn Abu Moait* had likewise the same punishment inflicted upon him. This person, at the infliction of *Okba Ebn Khalf*, set his foot on *Mohammed's* neck, and spit in his face, in the public hall, where he found the prophet sitting; whereupon *Mohammed* told him, that if ever he met him out of *Mecca*, he would cut off his head. And he was as good as his word; for *Okba*, being now taken prisoner at the battle of *Bedr*, had his head struck off by *Ali*, at the prophet's command. After these executions, the army continued its march to *Medina*, where the prophet was received in triumph, amidst the universal acclamations of the people. But the public joy was not a little interrupted by the death of *Rakiah*, the daughter of *Mohammed*, who was first married to *Otba Ebn Abu Lahab*, who repudiated her a little before he declared himself an enemy, in conjunction with his father, to the prophet; after which *Othmân* took her to wife, and had by her a son, named *Abd'allah*. *Rakiah* fled with her husband *Othmân* first into *Ethiopia*, and afterwards to *Medina*, where she died when her father *Mohammed* was at *Bedr*. Her son *Abd'allah* was destroyed by a cock, that put out one of his eyes, in the fourth year of the *Hejra*, when he was about six years of age. She was *Mohammed's* third daughter by *Khadijah*, as we learn from *Al Kodai*. The prophet, in nineteen days, the whole time he was absent from *Medina*, finished the *Bedr* expedition; which is the more to be wondered at, as he had not above two horses and seventy camels in his army °.

° ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xxvii. p. 60. AL JANNAB. EBN ISHAK. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. vi, viii, xxxi, &c. AL BEIDAWI, AL KODAI in hist. gen. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. p. 332—334, & p. 362.

THE *Koreish*, in order to be revenged of Mohammed for the late defeat at *Bedr*, resolved to send an embassy to the *Najâshi*, to desire him to put into their hands the *Moslem* refugees, who had taken sanctuary in *Ethiopia*. This we learn from Mohammed Ebn Abd'al Bâki; who likewise informs us, that the people of *Mecca* lost the whole caravan escorted to *Bedr* by *Abu Sofiân*. This loss, together with the bad success that attended their arms in the first engagement between their troops and those of the *Moslems*, made them despair of putting a stop to the progress of *Islamism*, without the assistance of some neighbouring power. In pursuance, therefore, of the resolution they had taken, they sent *Amru Ebn Al As* and *Abd'allah Ebn Abu Rabia* their ambassadors to the *Najâshi*, with skins or furs, the produce of their country, and other rich presents for that prince, and the lords of his court, to engage them the more effectually in their interest. Upon their arrival in *Ethiopia*, they distributed their presents to the best advantage, and obtained an audience of the *Najâshi*; but could not prevail upon him to deliver up the *Moslem* fugitives at his court into their hands, to be carried to *Mecca*, and punished there. The ambassadors, in order to carry their point, accused the *Moslem* refugees of speaking disrespectfully of *JESUS*, and his mother *MARY*; but the force of this accusation was eluded by *Jaafar*, the principal of them, when he produced the nineteenth chapter of the *Korân*, intitled, *MARY*, to the *Najâshi*, which, our author pretends, demonstrated the falsity of it. In fine, continues *Ebn Abd'al Bâki*, the *Ethiopian* monarch receiving at that time a courier from *Mohammed*, with advice of the great victory he had obtained over his enemies at *Bedr*, was so far from complying with the request of the *Koreish*, that he returned their presents, ordered their ambassadors to depart out of his dominions, and took *Jaafar Ebn Abu Tâleb*, with the other *Moslems*, who had been obliged to seek for shelter at his court, into his more immediate protection^f.

WE must beg leave to observe here, tho' it be by way of digression, that, according to *Mohammed Ebn Abd'al Bâki*, when the *Najâshi* received a formal relation from *Mohammed* of the defeat of the *Koreish*, he sent for *Jaafar*, and his companions, and told them that their prophet had gained a signal victory at *Bedr*; adding, that he had served one *Said*, of the *Banu Dhamra*, in the capacity of a shepherd, formerly there, and that he knew the place to abound with a plant called *Erâk*. From which curious particulars, in conjunction with

^f ABU'L MAALA ALARDDIN MOHAMMED EBN ABDA'L BAKI in lib. de excellent. Habessinor. par. ii. c. 2.

the preceding paragraph, especially that part of it relating to *JESUS*, and his mother *MARY*, we may infer, that this prince had been formerly expelled his dominions, and obliged to follow the business of a shepherd, for a subsistence, in the province of *Hejáz*; that he had never intirely renounced the *Christian* religion, or embraced *Islamism*, notwithstanding what we find advanced to the contrary by *Ebn Abd'ul Baki*, and other *Arabian* authors; that the valley of *Bedr* was famous for a celebrated plant that it produced; and, finally, that the *Moslem* writers are justly to be suspected of partiality, and consequently not to be depended upon, when they assert so early an introduction of *Islamism* into *Ethiopia* ².

Mohammed dis-
peres the
Banu So-
laïm and
the Banu
Ghatfan.

MOHAMMED having received advice, about seven days after his return to *Medina*, that the *Banu Solaim*, and the *Banu Ghatfan*, had assembled a considerable body of troops near a well called *Karkarat Al Cadr*, on the road frequented by the *Arabs* bordering upon *Irâk*, in their pilgrimage to *Mecca*, where they committed some disorders, he was resolved to drive them from thence. For this purpose, he put himself at the head of two hundred men, and having constituted *Ebn Omm Mattum* governor of the town in his absence, advanced towards the said well; but the pagan *Arabs* being apprized of his intention to surprise them, dispersed themselves at his approach. This happened in the beginning of the month *Shawâl*. However, he made himself master of several head of cattle, that they left behind them, and carried them off in triumph to *Medina* ².

The war
of Al Sa-
wik.

THE prophet spent the remainder of the month *Shawâl*, and all that of *Dhu'lkaada*, with a youth he had taken prisoner in the last expedition, named *Saïâr*; whom, after embracing *Islamism*, he had made his shepherd. But, in the following month, which was that of *Dhu'lhajja*, *Abu Sofiân*, who had sworn never to use either women or perfumes, till he had had another battle with *Mohammed*, set out from *Mecca* with a body of two hundred horse. He took his route through the country of the *Nadîrites*, advanced to a post within three miles of *Medina*, and from thence sent a small party to a village called *Orâidb*, which set fire to a barn, and burnt a man in it who was winnowing of wheat. From thence they made an excursion to the very walls of *Medina*, where they met with an *Ansar*, and another person with him, both of whom they put to the sword. *Mohammed*, being in-

² *Iidem* *ibid.* ASSONAILL. Vide etiam GAGN. not. in Abulfed. c. xxvii. p. 57. & la vie de Mahomet, tom. prem. liv. iii. c. 5. p. 334—341. * ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 62. AL JANNAB. p. 96.

formed of this insult, moved immediately, with a detachment of horse, towards *Abu Sefián*; who, receiving intelligence of his march, fled with so much precipitation, that his men were obliged to leave behind them, on the road, all the sacks of meal, or flower, that they brought with them for their subsistence. He, therefore, contented himself with alarming the country through which he passed, and pillaging such as he suspected of favouring the designs of the prophet. From the preceding circumstance, this short expedition of *Abu Sefián* was stiled by the *Arabs* the war of *AL SAWIK*, or *THE MEAL*; alluding to the sacks abandoned by the *Mecans* at the approach of the *Moslems*.¹

WE are told by *Abulfeda*, that a great battle was fought *The Arabs* this year, that is, the second of the *Hijra*, between the *Arabs*, under the conduct of *Béer Ebn Wáyl*, and the *Persians*, commanded by *Al Hámeraz*, *Khostrú Parviz*'s general, in the plain of *Dhú Kár*; which, after an hour's dispute, ended in the defeat of the *Persian* army. *Dhú Kár* is situated between *Medina* and *Bosra*, or *Bosra*, on the confines of *Syria*, at a small distance from *Hira*, the seat of the *Arab* kings, surnamed *Al Mondar*; of whom we have already given a particular account in our ancient history of the *Arabs*. *Khostrú* having put one of these princes to death, commanded his successor to send him all the arms and military accoutrements of his predecessor *Al Noóman*. But *Ayás Ebn Kobaisa*, for so was the reigning king of *Hira* called, or rather *Hana Ebn Masúd*, refusing to obey his orders, the *Persian* monarch sent an army against him; which was routed and put to flight by *Ayás*'s forces at the place above-mentioned. Mr. *Gagnier* endeavours to shew that *Abulfeda* is inconsistent with himself, when he places this action, in which *Al Hámeraz*, the *Persian* general, was killed, and a great number of the *Arab* auxiliaries with him, in the second year of the *Hijra*.²

ABOUT this time died *Ommeya Ebn Abi'Isa*, one of the *Ommeya* principal of the infidel *Koreish*. The *Mohammedans* pretend, *Ebn Abil-* salt dies. that, by reading the Scriptures, he found God would then send a prophet; and had the vanity to believe that he himself was the man. *Mohammed*'s declaration, therefore, of his mission gave him great uneasiness; nor would he believe on him, as they affirm, through envy. Having undertaken a journey to *Syria*, he passed by *Bedr*; when, by *Mohammed*'s order, the dead bodies, and, amongst the rest, those of *Oiba* and *Shaiba*, his cousin-germans, were thrown into the pit

¹ *Iidem* *ibid.* * *ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. xxx. p. 62. Vide etiam ABULFED. hist. general. sect. 4. & JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi supra,*

above-mentioned. This so deeply affected him, that he is said to have cut off his camel's ears with his sword; and, through envy and grief, to have expired on the spot^k.

as also

Othmân
Ebn Ma-
tûn.

THIS year also died *Othmân Ebn Matûn*, who was converted, say the commentators, to *Moslemism* by the following verse of the *Korân*: "Verily GOD commandeth justice, and the doing of good, and the giving up to kindred what shall be necessary; and he forbiddeth wickedness, iniquity, and oppression: he admonisheth you that you may remember."

Which verse, according to them, contains the whole of our duty, with regard to what is either to be performed or avoided by us. This conversion rendered *Othmân* so famous, that his death is reckoned by *Abulfeda* amongst the remarkable events of the second year of the *Hejra*^l.

Moham-
med con-
quers the
Banu
Kainokâ.

MOHAMMED, soon after his establishment at *Medina*, entered into a treaty of alliance with the *Jews* of that place; by which he granted them the enjoyment of all their privileges, and the free exercise of their religion. But a little above two years after the conclusion of this treaty, the *Arab* writers tell us, that the *Jews* violated it, on the following occasion. One of the *Banu Kainokâ*, a *Jewish* tribe settled at *Medina*, offering some indecency to an *Arab* woman, was killed by a *Moslem*, who was an eye witness of the action. This so incensed the *Jews*, that they immediately surrounded the *Moslem*, and cut him in pieces; upon which a great tumult ensued, the *Moslems* pouring in from all parts, to revenge their companion's death. However, the prophet himself interposing, for the present, prevented all disorders that might otherwise have been committed; but refused to let the *Jews* enjoy the advantages they were intitled to by the late treaty, unless they would renounce their religion, and embrace *Islamism*. This proposal they absolutely rejected; and therefore he resolved to make war upon them in form. So that having trusted the government of the city of *Medina* with *Bashir Ebn Abdal Mondar*, he besieged the *Jews* in their forts and retrenchments, during the space of fifteen days; at the end of which they were obliged to surrender at discretion. The prophet being now master of their persons, ordered all the *Jews*, to the number of seven hundred men, among which were three hundred armed with cuirasses, to be put to the sword; but *Abdallah Ebn Abu Solûl*, of the tribe of *Khazraj*, an infidel *Arab*, of great authority in *Medina*, interceded for them, as his confederates, and prevailed upon Mo-

^k *Abulfeda*. de vit. Mohammed. p. 63. AL BEIDAWI, JAL-
LALO'DDIN, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. &c. ^l ISM. ABULFED.
ubi sup. p. 62. AL BEIDAWI, AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xvi.

banished to convert their destined punishment into perpetual banishment. They were, therefore, immediately sent to the city of *Adhraât* in *Syria*, in consequence of this determination, there to remain in a state of perpetual exile; by which means all their riches and valuable effects came into the hands of the *Moslems*. Amongst the beautiful arms they left behind them, there were three bows, three lances, two cuirasses and three swords, that the prophet took for his own use. One of the cuirasses, say some of the *Moslems*, *David* had on, when he slew the giant *Goliath*; though the Scripture positively declares, that he was then unarmed, having laid aside the armour that *Saul* had given him. By changing the intended excision of the *Jews* into perpetual banishment, *Mohammed* gratified both his avarice and ambition. His avarice, as this made him master of all the properties of that people; and his ambition, at the same time, as it enabled him to oblige one of the most powerful infidel *Arabs* in *Medina*, and consequently not a little to extend his influence in that city. However, the bloody design he had formed, and from the execution of which he was, with no small difficulty, diverted by the interposition of *Abd'allah Ebn Abu Solâl*, to omit an infinity of other instances to the same purpose that occur, is a sufficient proof of the barbarous and inhuman disposition of this most infamous impostor ^m.

OUR readers will here observe, that we have placed the war between *Mohammed* and the *Banu Kâinokâ* in the third year of the *Hejra*, tho', according to *Abulfeda*, it happened in the second. But as *Ebn Amîd*, or *Elmacinus*, *Al Tabari*, *Al Kodai*, *Al Jannâbi*, and, in fine, almost all the other *Moslem* historians, have asserted that war to have been begun, carried on, and concluded, in the month of *Shawâl*, and the third year of the *Hejra*, we have thought proper to prefer their united authority, in this point, to that of *Abulfeda*; especially as so many remarkable events happened in the preceding year, that it seems more natural to refer this to that wherein it has been fixed by the former historians ⁿ.

IN the month of *Shaabân*, this year, the prophet espoused and *Hafsa*, the daughter of *Omar*, who was the widow of *Hobcish* *esponjes* *Ebn Khodâfa*, the *Sahamite*. She had for her dowry four *Hafsa*. hundred *dirhems*, and lived with her new husband eight years. Her death happened in the month of *Shaabân*, and the year

^m ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 61. AL JANNAB. EBN ISRAK, EBN MACIN. lib. i. c. i. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 61.

ⁿ ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. GEORG. EBN AMID, five ELMACIN, ubi sup. AL TABAR. AL KODAI, AL JANNAB. &c.

of the *Hejra* 45, in the *Khalifat* of *Moâwiyah*, being then about sixty years of age. She was a woman of a fine shape, and has been greatly celebrated by the *Moslem* historians for her singular abstinence. It was to the custody of *Hafsia* that *Abu Becr*, the first *Khalif*, or successor, of *Mohammed*, committed the transcript of the *Korân*, which he had completed by the addition of a great number of passages, that were preserved by *Mohammed*'s followers, and collected not only from the palm-leaves and skins on which they had been written, that were kept between two boards, or covers, but also from the mouths of such as had gotten them by heart. *Othmân*, the third *Khalif*, caused a great number of copies to be taken from this transcript, and dispersed them over all the provinces of the empire; suppressing, at the same time, by an order, the other transcripts that did not in all points agree with this of *Hafsia*. But of this we shall hereafter give a more particular account, when we come to treat of the general design, the peculiarities, and different editions, of the *Korân* °.

The Mos-
lems plun-
der a rich
caravan
of the Ko-
reish.

THE *Koreish*, after the late defeat, in order to avoid *Mohammed*'s parties, resolved not to pass by *Bedr*, which had proved so fatal to them, but to take another route for the future with their caravans. In pursuance of this resolution, the famous *Abu Sofiân*, at the head of a *Meccan* caravan, took a compass, in his next journey to *Syria*, to the east of the province of *Irâk*. The merchants, at this time guarded by *Abu Sofiân*, carried with them a large sum of money, which rendered the caravan they formed more valuable than any of the preceding. Of this *Mohammed* was soon informed by his spies; and, upon his receiving the news, he immediately dispatched *Zeid Ebn Hârathâ*, with 300 horse, to attack the *Meccan* troops under the command of *Abu Sofiân*. *Zeid* executed his orders so well, that he came up with the enemy at *Al Karda*, in the province of *Najd*; and, after defeating the escorte, made himself master of the caravan. With the riches of which he returned triumphantly to *Medina*; and the prophet, in conformity to his late injunction, took the fifth part of the money acquired on this occasion, consisting of 20,000, or, as others say, 25,000, *dirhems*, for his own use, and distributed the rest amongst the troops employed in the expedition P.

CaabEbn In the third year of the *Hejra*, according to *Abulfeda*, *Ashraf* Caab Ebn Al *Ashraf*, a Jew, was assassinated. This unhappy man was pointed at in the third chapter of the *Korân*. Being an inveterate enemy of *Mohammed*, after the battle of ham-

° EBN AMID in vit. Abu Bec. ISM. ABULFED. in vitâ Abu Bec.
P AL JANNAB. ubi supra, p. 101.

Bedr, he went to *Mecca*, and there, to excite the *Korëish* to med's or-revenge themselves, made and recited verses, lamenting the death of those who were slain in that battle, and reflecting very severely on *Mohammed*. Afterwards he returned to *Medina*, and had the boldness to repeat them publicly there also. This so exceedingly provoked *Mohammed*, that he proscribed him, and sent a party of men to kill him; and he was at last slain by *Mohammed Ebn Moflema*, the *Ansâr* of the tribe of *Aws*, who circumvented him, in the year we are now upon. *Salkân Ebn Sakama*, another *Moslem*, greatly contributed to the success of this enterprize, by amusing the *Jew* with some stories relating to the prophet, and afterwards insensibly drawing him to the place where *Mohammed Ebn Moflema* waited for him. Dr. *Prideaux* has confounded this *Caab* with another very different person of the same name, a famous poet, who was no *Jew*, but the son of *Zobair*, a pagan *Arab*. In consequence of which mistake, the Doctor wrongly affirms *Caab* the *Jew* to have prevented, by his future submission, the execution of *Mohammed's* bloody design. In the month of *Ramadân*, this same year, *Mohammed's* daughter *Fâtéma* bore her husband *Ali* a son, to whom he gave the name of *Hafsa*.

THE *Korëish*, to revenge their loss at *Bedr*, the next year, The battle being the third of the *Hejra*, assembled an army of 3,000 of *Ohod*. men, amongst whom there were 200 horse, and 700 armed with coats of mail. These forces marched under the conduct of *Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb*, attended by his wife *Henda Bint Othba*, and sat down at *Dhû'l-haleifa*, a village about six miles from *Medina*. *Mohammed* being much inferior in number to the enemy, at first determined to keep himself within the town, and receive them there. This was also the sentiment of *Abd'allah Ebn Abu Solûl*, and some others. But afterwards the advice of the majority of his companions prevailing, he marched out against them at the head of 1,000 men, or, as some will have it, 1,050, or, according to others, 900 only, of whom 200 were cuirassiers; but he had no more than one horse, belonging to *Abu Barda*, besides his own, in his whole army. He distributed three standards amongst his troops, one of which was assigned to the soldiers of the tribe of *Aws*, another to those of the tribe of *Khazraj*, and the third to the *Mohâjerin*. The grand standard was carried before the prophet by *Mosaab Ebn Omair*. With these forces *Mohammed* formed a camp in a village near *Ohod*, a moun-

¶ AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. iii. ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 64. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 102. AL BRIDAWI, PRID. life of Mahom. p. 59, 60.

tain about four miles to the north of *Medina*, which he contrived to have on his back; and the better to secure his men from being surrounded, he placed 50 archers, the flower of his troops, in the rear, with strict orders not to quit their post. On the other hand, the army of the *Koreish* was drawn up in the form of a crescent, and made a tolerable good appearance. The right wing was commanded by *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, the left by *Acrema Ebn Abu Jahl*, and the center by *Abu Sofiân*. The corps de reserve was headed by the heroine *Henda Bint Otha*, *Abu Sofiân*'s wife, accompanied by fifteen other matrons, acting the part of drummers, and lamenting the fate of their countrymen slain at *Bedr*, in order to animate the troops that attended them. And *Henda*, in particular, cried out with all her might, *Courage, you brave sons of Abd'al Dâr, Courage, fall on with all your swords*. The Meccan forces consisted of some volunteers belonging to the tribe of *Koreish*, and a considerable body of *Arabs*, with which the people of *Mecca* were supplied by the tribe of *Kenâna*, and the inhabitants of the province of *Tehama*. Both armies now facing each other, expected the signal to be given, in order to begin the attack.

THE *Moslems* seeing things in this situation, by *Mohammed*'s command, fell upon the enemy with such fury that they were not able to stand the shock, but immediately began to give way in the center. *Ali*, or, according to *Abulfeda*, *Hamza*, slew *Arta*, the enemies great standard-bearer; which struck them with such terror that they were thrown into confusion, and soon betook themselves to flight, falling foul upon their own corps de reserve. So that the *Moslem* troops had undoubtedly the advantage, notwithstanding their vast inferiority in point of number, in the beginning of the action.

BUT the *Moslem* archers posted in the rear, elated with this first instance of success, and carried away with the avidity of plunder, afterwards left their ranks for the sake of pillage, and quitted the post that had been assigned them. Seeing the enemy fly, contrary to *Mohammed*'s express orders, they so dispersed themselves, that *Abd'allah Ebn Jebair*, their captain, tho' he made the utmost efforts to oblige them to keep their ranks, could not prevail upon ten men out of the fifty to stand firm by him. Whereupon *Khâled Ebn Al Wa-*

* EBN AMID, lib. i. c. 1. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. hist. dynast. p. 163. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. f. xxxi. p. 64—66. SHARIF AL EDRISI, vulg. geogr. Nubienf. clim. ii. par. 5. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 97. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. iii. AL BOKHARI, AL JANNAB. p. 106, 107, &c. JALLALO'DDIN. PRID. ubi supra. * Ibidem ibid. AL BERAI apud AL BOKHÂR. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 64—69.

lid, perceiving *Mohammed's* army to be greatly exposed, as being left intirely unsupported, and destitute of its principal defence, by the dispersion of the archers, immediately made a movement with his cavalry, and attacked the enemies rear with such bravery that he turned the fortune of the day. Not content with putting the troops posted there into disorder, he cried out with a loud voice, *MOHAMMED is slain*: which had such an effect upon the *Moslems*, that they soon took to their heels; nor could the prophet himself, notwithstanding all his endeavours, ever afterwards rally them. He therefore found himself obliged to abandon the field of battle, and was very near losing his life in the action; being struck down by a shower of stones, and wounded in the face with two arrows, which occasioned his two fore-teeth to drop out. He likewise received a contusion in his upper lip, and had even been killed upon the spot, had not *Telha*, one of his companions, *Abu Becr's* nephew, received a blow that was levelled at him. *Telha* received, on this occasion, a wound in his hand, which deprived him of the use of some of his fingers ever after. Of the *Moslems* 70 were slain, amongst whom were *Hamza Ebn Abdal Motaleb*, *Mohammed's* uncle, and *Mosaab Ebn Omair*, his standard-bearer, who was mortally wounded by *Ebn Kamia*, the *Laithite*, and 22 of the *Koreish*. Amongst the wounded, on *Mohammed's* side, there were found *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Othman*; but as soon as they understood that the prophet was safe, for *Ebn Kamia* had given out, when he slew his standard-bearer, that he had killed him, they returned to the charge with a considerable body, and, after an obstinate dispute, carried off *Mohammed* to a neighbouring village. This battle, so fatal to the *Mohammedans*, was fought on *Saturday*, the seventh day of the month *Shawal*, in the third year of the *Hejra*†.

THE good retreat made by *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Othman*, *Abu Sofian* so intimidated the troops of *Abu Sofian*, that they did not pursue the flying enemy, but contented themselves with remaining masters of the field of battle. *Abu Sofian* made no farther advantage of his success, than to give *Mohammed* a challenge to meet him the next year at *Bedr*; which the prophet accepted. Some of the *Moslem* writers inform us, that as the *Koreish* were on their march home, they repented they had not utterly extirpated the *Mohammedans*, and began to

† ABULFED. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. AL JANNAB. GREG. ABUL-FARAJ. AL BOKHAR. ubi sup. AL BEIDAWI, GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. lib. iii. c. 9. p. 359—363. Vide etiam EBN AMID, ubi sup. Disputat. Christian. c. 5. GREG. ABUL-FARAJ. hist. dynast. p. 185.

think of going back to *Medina* for that purpose; but were prevented by a sudden consternation, or panic fear, which God sent upon them. In the mean time, *Mohammed* being informed of their intention, assembled all those who had stood by him in the field of battle, and advanced at the head of them to meet the enemy as far as *Hamrâ Al Asad*, about eight miles from *Medina*. But receiving advice afterwards that they had changed their resolution, he returned to *Medina*; and the *Koreish* continued their march home. However, they seem to have exulted not a little on the field of battle; *Abu Sufiân*, with part of *Hamza's* head fixed on the top or point of a lance, crying aloud, *O HOBAL, thou art now exalted*. It may not be improper here to remark, that there were no less than 360 idols, equalling in number the days of the *Arabian* year, in and about the *Caaba* of *Mecca*; the chief of whom was this *Hobal*, brought from *Belka* in *Syria* into *Arabia* by *Anru Ebn Lobai*, who pretended it would procure them rain when they wanted it. It was the statue of a man made of red agate, which having by some accident lost a hand, the *Koreish* repaired it with one of gold. He held in his hand seven arrows, without heads or feathers, such as the *Arabs* used in divination. But for a full and ample account of the idolatry of the *Arabs*, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the ancient history of that nation, and to our future relation of the principal transactions of the eighth year of the *Hejra*.

A truce
between
Moham-
med and
Abu So-
fiân.

AFTER *Abu Sufiân's* return to *Mecca*, he desired a truce with the *Moslems*; which was granted him by the prophet. In the mean time, *Mohammed* caused the body of *Hamza Ebn Abd'al Motalleb* to be interred, after having decently covered it with a black cloak. Some authors relate, that the *Koreish* abused the dead body of *Hamza*, by taking out his bowels, and cutting off his ears and his nose; which when *Mohammed* saw, he swore that if God granted him success, he would retaliate those cruelties on seventy of the *Koreish*; but he was afterwards, as the same writers infer from the *Korân*, expressly forbidden by God to put his design in execution. According to *Abulfeda*, *Mohammed* prayed for the repose of every *Moslem's* soul who fell in the battle of *Obad*; which demonstrates, continues this author, that *Abu Hanifa* was in the right, when he asserted the expediency of prayers for the martyrs;

⁴ AL BRIDAWI, AL JANNABI, p. 121. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 68. POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 95. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, ubi supra. EBN AL ATHIR, SAPIO'DDIN. Vide etiam JOAN. GAEN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 68. & Univers. Hist. vol. xviii, c. xxi. p. 378—399. Lond. 1748.

tho' the famous *Al Shafei*, a *Moslem* doctor celebrated for his knowledge in all parts of learning, was of a different opinion. The blow at *Obod* had like to have proved the total ruin of *Mohammed's* affairs, and put an end to all his towering projects. For some of his followers pretended, that had he been really a prophet sent by God, he could not have received such an overthrow from the infidel *Korish*; and others were rendered furious by the loss of their friends and relations, who had been slain in the late engagement. But the more effectually to still the murmurs of the former, he attributed the defeat at *Obod* to the sins of some of the *Moslems*, who bore a share in that unfortunate action; and, to pacify the latter, he represented to them, that the time of every man's death is decreed and predetermined by God; and that those who fell in the battle could not have avoided their fate, had they staid at home; whereas they had now obtained the glorious advantage of dying martyrs for the faith, and were consequently translated to the regions of eternal bliss. Which last doctrine *Mohammed* made great use of in the *Koran*; the latter part of the third chapter of which book he pretended was communicated to him to raise the drooping courage of his followers, after the defeat at *Obod*, for the advancement of his designs. For, by the assistance of this, he encouraged his adherents to fight without fear, and even desperately, for the propagation of their faith, by representing to them, that all their caution would not avert their inevitable destiny, or prolong their lives for a moment. By the same means he likewise deterred them from disobeying or rejecting him as an impostor, as setting before them the danger they might thereby incur of being, by the just judgment of God, abandoned to seduction, hardness of heart, and a reprobate mind, as a punishment for their obstinacy. Nor has this doctrine of God's absolute decree and predestination of both good and evil ceased generally to prevail among the *Mohammedans* ever since the time of their prophet; tho' it must be owned, that some of their most celebrated divines, looking upon the notion of such absolute election and reprobation as derogatory to the goodness and justice of God, and even as making him the author of sin, have not scrupled to maintain the contrary opinion w.

w ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 68. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'D-DIN, ERN KHALECAN. Vide etiam Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 294, 295, & alibi. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. i. iii. f. xcviij, & alibi. AL ZAMARSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, RICAUT's hist. of the present state of the Ottoman empire, book ii. c. 8. PRID. life of Mahom, p. 61.

Mohammed *Soon* after the commencement of the fourth year of the *Hijra*, Mohammed received intelligence, that *Taliba* and *Sarrafes the lama*, two chiefs of the *Asadites*, had drawn together a body of men, in order to make an incursion upon the territory of *Medina*. He therefore detached fifty men, under the command of *Abu Salama Ebn Abd'allah*, the *Makhzumite*, to repress the courses of these robbers. *Abu Salama* taking *Walid Ebn Nozeira*, the *Tayite*, with him for his guide, soon entered the district of the *Asadites*, where he committed great depredations; carrying off their shepherds, cattle, &c. without opposition. Some of the former, however, making their escape, informed their masters of what had happened; who thereupon immediately abandoned their habitations, of which the *Moslems* made themselves masters; and having thoroughly pillaged the country, returned loaded with spoil to *Medina*. This the prophet, after he had rewarded the guide for his fidelity, and reserved a fifth part for his own use, in conformity to what he had enjoined in the *Koran*, distributed amongst the persons concerned in the expedition; and it was so considerable, that seven camels, and a great number of sheep, fell to every man's share. This party was absent from *Medina* only ten days *.

and assassinates So-
fian Ebn
Khaled. ABOUT the same time Mohammed was informed, that *Sofian Ebn Khaled*, the *Hodheilite*, was making preparations to attack him; he therefore gave *Abd'allah Ebn Onais*, surnamed *Dhu'l Mahdhrat*, that is, a man fit for any enterprize, a commission to assassinate him. This *Abd'allah* happily executed in the month of *Al Moharram*, at a place called *Batu Arna*, in the valley of *Orsa*; which so pleased Mohammed, that, when *Abd'allah* imparted the news of it to him, he gave him, in token of friendship, the cane he had in his hand; which *Abd'allah* ever afterwards carried about with him, and had it interred with him after his death †.

He sends
missionaries to the
towns of
Edhl and
Al Kara; IN the month of *Safar*, the same year, deputies arrived at *Medina* from the towns of *Edhl* and *Al Kara*; who, in the names of their principals, requested Mohammed to send some missionaries, to instruct them in the principles of the new religion. He therefore ordered the following six missionaries to attend them home: *Thabet Ebn Abu'l Aftah*, *Khobaiib Ebn Ada*, *Morthad Ebn Abu Morthad*, the *Anwite*, *Khaled Al Bekir*, the *Laitbite*, *Zaid Ebn Al Dathmata*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Tarek*. Out of these he selected *Morthad Ebn Abu Morthad* to preside over the rest, and consequently appointed him the superior of the mission ‡.

UPON

* AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 113. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. viii.

† AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 114. ‡ ABUL FED. ubi sup. c. xxxiii. p. 69.

UPON their arrival at a place called *Al Ragi*, a fountain ^{who are} belonging to the *Hodheilites*, the deputies fell upon the *Mos-* murdered *lems*, whom *Mohammed* had sent with them, to instruct their countrymen, and killed three of them upon the spot, making ^{at Al} *Ragji*. at the same time the other three prisoners. One of these last they afterwards stoned to death, because he attempted to make his escape. The other two they sold to the *Koreish*, who put them to death soon after their arrival at *Mecca* ^a.

IN the same month of *Safar*, the prophet sent *Al Mondar*. Others *Ebn Omar*, with seventy missionaries, amongst whom was sent to *Amer Ebn Fohaira*, *Abu Beir*'s servant, to the province of *Najd* meet *Najd*. As soon as they arrived at *Bir Ma'ana*, a place about ^{with the} four days journey distant from *Medina*, they sent the prophet's ^{same fate} letter, directed to *Amer Ebn Al Toseil*, who presided over the *Arabs* of *Najd*, to that prince; who slew the messenger that brought it, and then marched with a body of troops against the missionaries. These he soon came up with, and put all of them to the sword, except *Caab Ebn Zaid*, who afterwards fell in the battle of *the ditch*. After this, *Mohammed* formed a design to assassinate his inveterate and most implacable enemy *Abu Sofian*; but *Amru Ebn Ommeya*, the *Dhamrite*, the person employed on this occasion, was discovered before he could carry it into execution. By such barbarous and inhuman means did the pretended prophet, or rather the infamous impostor, attempt to propagate his religion, when he found that milder methods proved ineffectual. ^b

THE next expedition undertaken by *Mohammed* was that *Moham-* against the *Jews* of the tribe of *Al Nadir*, who dwelt in *Me-* med un- *dina*, and, when *Mohammed* fled thither from *Mecca*, pro- dertakes raised him to stand neuter between him and his opponents, ^{an expedi-} and concluded a treaty with him to that purpose. When he ^{tion} had gained the battle of *Bedr*, they confessed that he was the ^{against} prophet described in the law: but, upon his receiving the ^{the Jewish} grace at *Ohod*, they changed their note; and *Caab Ebn Al* ^{tribe of} *Nadir*. *Abrar*, with forty horse, went and made a league with *Abu Sofian*, which they confirmed by oath. Upon this, *Mohammed* got *Caab* dispatched, and, in the fourth year of the *Hejra*, set forward against *Al Nadir*, and besieged them in their fort-refs, which stood about three miles from *Medina*, for six days; at the end of which they capitulated, and were allowed to depart, on condition that they should intirely quit that

p. 69. ABU HÖREIRA apud Al Bokhâr. in Son. ut & ipse AL BOKHAR. ibid. ^a Iidem ibid. ^b ABULFED. ubi

sup. c. xxxiv. p. 70. AL BOKHAR. ubi sup. EBN ISHAK, AL JANNAB. ubi supra. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 70.

place. They marched out accordingly with drums beating, &c. some of them retiring into *Syria*, and others to *Khairat* and *Hira*. The commentators on the *Korân* pretend, that the fifty-ninth chapter of that book was revealed from heaven on occasion of this war. 'Tis remarkable, that *Mohammed* took the whole booty to himself, and disposed of it as he pleased, after the *Jews* evacuated the territory of *Medina*, because no horses or camels were made use of in this expedition; the reason of which has been already assigned. It ought to be observed here, that the prophet divided the spoil amongst the *Mohâjerin* almost solely, none of the *Ansârs* being allowed to partake of it, except *Sahal Ebn Hasfa* and *Abu Dabana*, who were persons of uncommon merit and integrity, tho' reduced to a necessitous condition. The *Banu Nadir* defended their fortrefs with great bravery, repulsing the besiegers in several attacks, in hopes that they should be succoured by the troops under the command of *Abd'allah Ebn Obba Ebn Abu Salâl*, of the tribe of *Khazraj*; but he could not arrive soon enough with his forces to oblige the *Moslems* to raise the siege.

Mohammed forbids his followers the use of wine, &c. ABOUT this time, according to *Abulfeda*, that passage of the *Korân*, prohibiting the use of wine, and all inebriating liquors, as well as all games of chance, was revealed to *Mohammed*. Both these practices seem to have been forbidden for the same reasons, *viz.* to prevent quarrels and disturbances; as also any neglect, or at least indecencies, in the performance of religious duties. And, indeed, these are assigned as the true reasons of the prohibition in the *Korân*. Had either an indifferency with regard to religion, or any animosities amongst the professors of *Islamism*, at that time, prevailed, the pretended prophet must then have infallibly fallen a sacrifice to the fury of his enraged and implacable enemies, or rather to his own avarice, barbarity, and insatiable ambition. Nay, we are told by some good authors, that several of the leaders of the *Moslems*, being heated with wine, and deeply engaged at play, did, at this time, actually quarrel amongst themselves; which was near proving fatal to the impostor. And this, in reality, seems to have been the immediate cause of the negative precept now before us; tho' Mr. Sale, in opposition to some good authors, with his usual candour, more than insinuates the contrary. So unwilling is he

* ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xxxv. p. 71. ABU SALID AL NAISABURIENS. AL WAKEDI, ABU ZEID SEID. in lib. splendor. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. viii, & f. lix. AL JANNAB. JALALU'DDIN, ERN AMID, AL BEIDAWI, GREG. ABUL-FARAJ. ubi sup. p. 102.

to see any thing crafty or self-interested in his hero's conduct, even tho' by this manifest partiality, in some respect, he seems to weaken the authority of the *Korân* ^a.

Be this as it will, the drinking of wine, under which name *The Mo-* all sorts of strong and inebriating liquors are comprehended, hamme- is more than once forbidden in the *Korân*. Some indeed have ^{dans at} imagined that excess therein is only prohibited; and that the ^{present ab-} moderate use of wine is allowed by two passages in the same ^{stain from} book. But the more received opinion is, that to drink any ^{inebriat-} strong liquors, either in a lesser quantity or a greater, is abso- ^{ing li-} lutely unlawful. Nay, the more conscientious *Mohammedans* ^{quors.} are so strict, especially if they have performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, that they hold it criminal not only to taste wine, but to press grapes for the making of it, to buy or to sell it, or even to maintain themselves with the money arising from the sale of that liquor. *Spanheim* and *Reland* have observed, from a MS. of *Levinus Warnerus*, formerly in the public library at *Leyden*, but now not to be met with there, that the ancient *Arabs* abstained from wine before the birth of *Mohammed* ^c.

In the month called the *former Jamâda*, this year, *Moham-* *Moham-* med marched with a body of 400 men, or, as others say, 700, ^{med sur-} into the province of *Najd*. This expedition he undertook ^{prised a} against the *Banu Mohareb* and *Tha'âiba*, of the tribe of ^{party of} *Ghatfân*; a body of whom he surprised at a place called *Dhâr* ^{the Ghat-} *Al Rekâ*, that is, *the place of infatuation*, because they fled ^{fanites.} at his approach with as much precipitation as if they had been infatuated. About the same time the prophet narrowly escaped being assassinated by one of the *Banu Mohâreb*, according to *Abulfeda* and *Al Jamâbi* ^d.

In the month of *Shaabân*, *Mohammed* marched at the head ^{The second} of a body of infantry to *Bedr*, there to meet *Abu Sofhân*, and ^{expedition} the *Koreish*, according to their challenge the preceding year. ^{of Bedr.} *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* carried the standard before him, and ar-

^a ISM. ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 72. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. ii. v. 219. & f. v. v. 99. JALLAL'ODDIN, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL KODAI, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 175. Fortalit. fidei. lib. iv. conf. 5. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahom. p. 62—64. SALE's prelim. discours. sect. v. p. 122—127. Vide etiam AL KOR. MOHAMMED, ubi sup. f. v. ^e AL KOR. MOHAMMED. ubi supra, f. ii. & f. v. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 696. SMITH, de morib. & instit. Turcar. ep. ii. p. 28, &c. CHARDIN, voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 212. SPANHEM. & LEVIN. WARNER. apud Hadr. Reland. de relig. Mohammed. p. 269, 270, 271, ut & ipse RELAND. ibid. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. de vit Mohammed. p. 72. ^f ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 72. AL JANNAB. ubi supra, p. 139.

rived with him at *Bedr*, where they staid eight days, in expectation of seeing *Abu Sofián*. On the other hand, that commander advanced with the *Koreish* forces as far as *Alfa Al Tarík*, on the road to *Bedr*; but when he arrived there, his heart failed him, and he returned home without facing the prophet. Others say, that he reached *Makhaba*, in the territory of *Thohrán* and *Osfin*; but did not judge it proper to proceed to the place of appointment. *Mohammed* imputed the cowardice of the *Koreish* troops, on this occasion, to their being struck with a terror from God. This expedition the *Arabian* histories call the *second*, or *lesser expedition* of *Bedr* 8.

A second son born to Ali. ACCORDING to *Al Kodai* and *Al Jannábi*, as cited by Mr. *Gagnier*, *Mohammed* contracted an engagement with *Zeinab* and *Omm Salma* this year; tho' others are of a different opinion. This year also *Ali* had a second son born, whom he named *Al Hosein*. With regard to the prophet's wives, our readers may expect a fuller account of them hereafter.

Mohammed possessed himself of Dawmat Al Jandal. SOON after the commencement of the fifth year of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed* marched against a body of wild *Arabs*, seated on the confines of *Syria*, who infested the roads to such a degree, pillaging all the passengers they met with, and committing so many violences in the neighbouring parts of *Arabia*, that commerce suffered greatly from their depredations. Having formed a corps of 1,000 men, he advanced to *Dawmat Al Jandal*, a town belonging to these *Arabs*, which they abandoned at his approach. Having carried off many of their shepherds, and head of cattle, he possessed himself of the town; where he staid some days, to repose himself and his troops. Then he returned to *Medina*, enriched with the enemy's spoils, and extremely pleased with the success of the expedition.

The war of the ditch. BUT in the month of *Shawál*, this same year, that is, the fifth of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed* and his followers were all threatned with utter destruction. The *Koreish* and the tribe of *Ghatsán*, in conjunction with the *Jews* of *Al Nadir* and *Koreidba*, assembled an army of 12,000 men, with which they formed the siege of *Medina*. On the enemies approach, *Mohammed*, by the advice of *Salmán the Persian*, ordered a deep ditch or intrenchment to be dug round *Medina*, for the security of the city, and went out to defend it with 3,000 men. In the mean time, the pagan *Arabs*, under the command of *Yusef*, the brother of *Abu Sofián*, drew near to the

⁸ AL JANNABI, ubi sup. p. 121. AL BEIDAWI, ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. xxxvii. p. 73.

^h AL KODAI, AL JANNABI, ubi supra, p. 124. ISM. ABULFED. ubi supra.

ⁱ AL JANNABI, ubi supra, p. 122.

trenchment with all their forces. The *Ghatfânites* pitched on the east side of the town, on the higher part of the valley; and the *Koreish* on the west side, on the lower part of the same valley. Both sides remained in their respective camps near a month, without any other acts of hostility than shooting of arrows, and slinging of stones; which produced no great effect. During this interval, many illustrious miracles were wrought, or, rather, many prodigies happened, according to the *Moslem* writers; all which *Mohammed's* adherents interpreted in favour of the prophet. The *Koreish* army, before they took post near the intrenchment that covered the town, incamped at *Rawna*, between *Jarf* and *Regaba*, about two miles from *Medina*, where they formed a plan of the military operations; but performed nothing worth relating, either there or before *Medina*, during the time above-mentioned. But at last, say some of the *Arab* writers, GOD sent a piercing cold east wind, which benumbed the limbs of the confederates, blew the dust in their faces, extinguished their fires, overturned their tents, and put their horses in disorder. The angels at the same time, continue our authors, cried, ALLAH ACBAR, GOD IS GREAT, round about their camp; whereupon *Toleiba Ebn Khowailed*, the *Asadite*, said aloud, Mohammed is going to attack you with enchantments; wherefore provide for your safety by flight. This so affected the enemy, that the *Koreish* first, and afterwards the *Ghatfânites*, broke up the siege, and returned home. Which retreat was also not a little owing to the dissensions among the confederate forces; the raising and fomenting whereof the *Mohammedans* also ascribe to GOD; but others, to the crafty conduct of the impostor, who found means to corrupt the leading men in the enemies camp. Immediately after which, *Amru Ebn Abdûd*, one of the principal men of the *Koreish*, and an exceeding good horseman, say these last, rode up to *Mohammed's* trenches, and challenged the best man in the *Moslem* army to fight him in single combat. *Ali*, the prophet's nephew, accepted the challenge, and slew both him and another that came to his assistance. After which, those who had been corrupted by *Mohammed's* agents, so sowed a considerable part of their forces, that they instantly deserted their camp, and put themselves in march for *Mecca*; which obliged all the rest to do the like. Thus was the pretended prophet happily extricated out of the greatest difficulties in which perhaps he had ever been involved ^k.

^k ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xxxviii. p. 73. EBN AMID, & GREG. ABUL-FARAJ. ubi supra. AL JANNABI, ubi sup. p. 124, &c. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xxxiii. AL BEIDAWI, EBN ISHAK.

News of the enemies brought by Hodeifa Ebn Yamûn. EARLY the next morning *Hodeifa Ebn Yamûn*, one of *Mohammed's* spies, arrived from the enemies camp with the news of their precipitate retreat; which so pleased the prophet, that he took him into his more particular confidence, and ever afterwards treated him with uncommon marks of distinction. To him, in conjunction with *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, who was afterwards *Khalif*, or, as *Al Jannâbi* styles him, the *Emir*, or *emperor of the faithful*, he communicated in secret the mysteries and heavenly revelations that were imparted to him; and particularly those that related to the true meaning of several passages in the *Korân*. It is related, that when *Mohammed* heard that his enemies were retired, he said, *I have obtained success by means of the east wind, and Ad perished by the west wind.* The *Arab* writers term this expedition the war *Al Kbandak*, or *Al Ahzâb*, that is, *of the ditch*, or *of the nations*; the former of which appellations alludes to the ditch or intrenchment *Mohammed* caused to be dug round *Medina*, for the security of the place, and the latter, to the number of *Arab* tribes, or petty nations, that entered into a confederacy against him ¹.

Mohammed cuts off the tribe of Koreidha.

THE next morning, after the confederate forces had decamped, *Mohammed* and his troops quitting the intrenchment, returned to *Medina*, and, laying down their arms, began to refresh themselves after their fatigue. Upon which the angel *Gabriel* came to the prophet, as he pretended, having formed a resolution to extirpate the *Koreidhites*, and asked him whether he had suffered his people to lay down their arms, when the angels had not laid down theirs; ordering him, at the same time, to go immediately against the *Koreidhites*, and assuring him that himself would lead the way. *Mohammed*, in obedience to the divine command, having caused public proclamation to be made, that every one should pray that afternoon for success against the sons of *Koreidha*, settled the plan of the military operations with *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, and appointed *Ebn Omm Maârum* commandant of *Medina*, set forward on the expedition without loss of time. He first took post at a place called *Dhâ Enâ*, where he was joined by the remainder of his troops, and then continued his march to the fortrefs of the *Koreidhites*. This he besieged in form, and pushed on the siege with so much vigour, that, though the place seemed impregnable, he obliged the garison to capitulate at the end of twenty-five days; tho' some affirm that he spent the whole month of *Dhu'lkaada* in carrying on his approaches. Be that as it will, the *Koreidhites*, not daring to trust to *Mo-*

¹ AL JANNAB. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. f. xxxix. p. 73. ABU ZEID SEID, in lib. Splendor.

med's mercy, surrendered at the discretion of *Saad Ebn Mo-Adh*; hoping that he, being the prince of the tribe of *Aws*, their old friends and confederates, would have some regard for them. But they found themselves disappointed in their expectations. For, *Saad* being greatly incensed at their breach of faith, they having, at the incessant persuasion of *Caab Ebn Asad*, a principal man amongst them, perfidiously gone over to the *Koreish* in the war of the ditch, tho' they were then in league with *Mohammed*, had begged of GOD that he might not die of the wound he had received in that war, till he saw vengeance taken on the *Koreidhites*. He therefore adjudged, that the men should be put to the sword, the women and children made slaves, and their goods be divided amongst the *Moslems*. Which sentence when *Mohammed* heard, he cried out, that *Saad* had pronounced the sentence of GOD; and, in consequence of this decision, ordered the men, to the number of 6 or 700, amongst whom were *Hoyai Ebn Akhiab*, a great enemy of *Mohammed's*, and *Caab Ebn Asad*, who had been the chief occasion of the revolt of their tribe, to be immediately massacred. The women and children also were carried into captivity. Their immoveable possessions *Mohammed* gave to the *Mohâjerîn*; saying, that the *Ansâr* were in their own houses, but that the others were destitute of habitations. The moveables were divided amongst his followers; but he remitted the fifth part, which was usual to be taken in other cases. The *Moslems* attribute the good success they met with in this war to the assistance of the angel *Gabriel*, who, according to his promise, conducted *Mohammed's* army to the scene of action. They pretend, that *Mohammed*, a little before his arrival at the fortress of the *Koreidhites*, asking some of his men whether any body had passed by them, they answered, that *Dohya Ebn Kholeifa*, the *Calbite*, had just passed by them: to which he replied, that person was the angel *Gabriel*, who is sent to the sons of *Koreidha*, to shake their castles, and to strike their hearts with fear and consternation. We must not omit observing, that *Saad's* wound, which had been skinned over, opening again, he expired soon after judgment had been given against the *Koreidhites*; nor that the *Moslems* lost only six men in the war of the ditch, and no more than one in the expedition against the *Banu Koreidha*, which was undertaken in the month of *Dbu'lkaada*, and the fifth year of the *Hijra* ^m.

THE spoils of the *Koreidhites* consisted principally of 300 The great cuirasses, 1,000 lances, and 1,500 pikes, besides other move-barbarity

^m ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xxxix. p. 77—80. AL JANNAB. p. 130, 137, &c. AL BEIDAWI, AL KOR. MOHAMMED, ubi supra. EBN ISHAK, AL BOKHARI in SENNA.

and impious. able and utensils, which the prophet distributed amongst his troops. As for the prisoners, they were conducted into the province of *Najd* by *Saad Ebn Zeid*, the *Ansar*, who was ordered either to sell them, or change them for horses and arms. But before they were sent away, the prophet took out of them a young lady, called *Rihâna Bint Amru*, the most charming and beautiful of all the female captives, whom, with some difficulty, he prevailed upon to become a *Mohammedan*, and retained her afterwards for his own use. About this time, *Mohammed* formed a design to assassinate a Jew, called *Salâm Ebn Abu'l Hakik*, who, after the war of the ditch, retired to *Khazir*; which, by the assistance of *Abd'allah Ebn Atik*, and four other ruffians of the tribe of *Khazraj*, he was enabled to carry into execution. By such horrid facts as this, and the inhuman butchery of the *Banu Koreidha*, which is most impiously celebrated in the *Korân* as the immediate effect of the divine omnipotence, did *Mohammed* endeavour to propagate amongst the *Arabs* his new religion; a religion worthy of the father of lies, who was himself from the beginning a murderer, of the barbarous means, and most shocking delusions, made use of to introduce it; and, lastly, of that infernal wretch, permitted by Providence, for the sins of the *Christian* world, to be the immediate instrument of the propagation and extension of it ⁿ!

Mohammed takes Zeinab to wife. BEFORE we conclude our relation of the transactions of this remarkable year, our readers will expect a short account of *Mohammed's* marriage with *Zeinab*, which happened towards the close of it; especially as that affair shews the impostor, whose life we are now writing, to have been as much addicted to sensuality, on some occasions, as he was on others to cruelty. *Zeinab*, then, or *Zenobia*, was the daughter of *Jabash*, and wife of *Zeid*, *Mohammed's* freed-man, who was of the tribe of *Calb*, a branch of the *Khodaites*, descended from *Hamyar*, the son of *Saba*. The mother of *Zeinab*, it is said, was *Anima*, the daughter of *Abd'al Motaleb*, and *Mohammed's* aunt. *Zeid* being taken in his childhood by a party of wild *Arabs*, of the *Banu Al Kaïn*, was bought by *Mohammed*, or, according to others, by his wife *Khadijah*, before she married him. Some years after, his father, *Harethah Ebn Shorheil Ebn Abd'al Ozza Ebn Amru Al Kais*, being informed that his son was at *Mecca*, took a journey thither, and offered a considerable sum of money for his ransom. But *Zeid* declaring that he would not leave his master, *Mohammed* took him by the hand, and led him to the black stone

ⁿ AL JANNAD. ubi sup. p. 134—137. ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 79. EBN ISHAK, AL KOR. MOHAMMED, ubi supra.

of the *Caaba*, where he publicly adopted him for his son, and constituted him his heir. From this time *Zeid* was called the son of *Mohammed*; with which his father acquiesced, and returned home well satisfied. After the publication of *Islamism*, the prophet gave him to wife *Zeinab*, the daughter of *Jahash*, with whom he lived happily several years. But *Mohammed* at last going to his house on some affair, and not finding him at home, accidentally cast his eyes on *Zeinab*, who was then in a dress which discovered her beauty to advantage, and was so smitten at the sight, that he could not forbear crying out, *GOD be praised, who turneth the hearts of men as he pleaseth!* He made no other discovery of his passion at that time, but immediately retired.

HOWEVER, *Zeinab* did not want penetration enough to discover that she had made a conquest of *Mohammed*. Nor did she fail to acquaint her husband with what had happened, on his return home. Whereupon *Zeid*, after mature reflection, resolved to part with her, in favour of his benefactor. He therefore gave out publicly, that he did not retain any manner of affection for *Zeinab*; he even endeavoured to conceive a sort of aversion for her, and to heighten this in proportion as he perceived the love of the prophet to increase. In fine, he informed *Mohammed* of the resolution he had taken; who, apprehending the scandal it might raise, offered to dissuade him from it, and endeavoured to stifle the flames which inwardly consumed him. But, at length, his love for her being authorized by a pretended revelation, which is contained in the thirty-third chapter of the *Korân*, he acquiesced; and, after the term of her divorce was expired, finding himself at full liberty to satisfy his passion, he affianced himself to her. This was soon succeeded by marriage, and that by enjoyment. Nothing could exceed the splendour and magnificence of the nuptial banquet given by the prophet on this happy occasion, to which an infinite number of both sexes were invited. All the most costly viands that could be procured, all the most rare and exquisite fruits that *Arabia* and the neighbouring countries produced, all the most elegant dainties that the *Arabs* were capable of furnishing him with, then made their appearance upon the prophet's table. Nor was there wanting either plenty, or variety, of the most delicious liquors. But notwithstanding this superb festin, and the vast numbers of people who came to felicitate *Mohammed* on the day it was prepared, this marriage gave great offence to many of his followers. For the relation between him and

° AL KOR. MOHAMMED. ubi sup. AL JANNABI. p. 194, &c. AL BEIDAWI. JALLALO'DDIN.

Zeid, tho' only fictitious, created an impediment of marriage among the old *Arabs* within the prohibited degrees, 'in the same manner as if it had been real; and therefore *Mohammed's* taking his adopted son's wife, could not but give great uneasiness to many even of the *Moslems* themselves. However, in order to remove all ill impressions conceived against him on this account, he took upon him to abolish an established custom, as he did on this occasion, by an express declaration in the *Korân*, and even to introduce GOD himself as authorizing an illegal action; than which a more profane and impious measure, for the gratification of a turbulent and unruly passion, could not well have been devised.

Defeats a party of the Arabs. The next year, that is, the sixth of the *Hejra*, in the month of *Al Mobarram*, the prophet sent *Mohammed Ebn Salama* with a party of 30 horse against a small detachment of the *Banu Beer Ebn Kelâb*, who had posted themselves at *Al Dharîa*, a place about seven days journey from *Medina*, on the road from *Mecca* to *Bosra*. *Mohammed* departed from *Medina* on the tenth day of the aforesaid month, and marched with so much diligence, that he surprised the enemy, before they had any notice of his approach. Some of them he killed upon the spot, took *Themâma* their commander prisoner, and put the rest to flight. The booty he acquired on this occasion consisted of 50 camels, and 3,000 sheep, with which he returned in triumph to *Medina*. These the prophet distributed amongst the men concerned in the late action, after he had reserved a fifth part of them for himself. *Mohammed Ebn Salama*, with his men, spent only nine days in this expedition.

Themâma makes incursions upon the Koreish. UPON *Themâma's* declaring himself a *Moslem*, he had his liberty given him by the prophet, and immediately returned to the people over whom he presided. In return for *Mohammed's* kindness to him, he made incursions upon the *Koreish*, and frequently intercepted their convoys of corn that came from the province of *Yamâma*. These hostilities reduced the *Koreish* to such straits for want of provisions, that they sent a deputation to the prophet, to desire him to have pity upon them, and put a stop to *Themâma's* depredations. This, says *Al Jannâbi*, he generously did, by writing to that chief to this effect: *Preserve my people, and let their convoys pass without interruption.* Which order was punctually obeyed for the future by *Themâma*.

† *Idem* *ibid.* Vide etiam *GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. liv. iv. c. 3. p. 416—422.* † *AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 139.*
 ‡ *Idem* *ibid.*

IN the month of the former *Jomâda* this year, the prophet ^{The pro-} undertook an expedition against the *Banu Labiân*, to revenge ^{phet un-} the wrongs they had done to the inhabitants of *Rajî*. In or- ^{dertakes} der the more effectually to surprise them, he made a feint as ^{an expedi-} tho' he would have passed towards the borders of *Syria*; but ^{tion} immediately afterwards making a counter-march, he came ^{against the} suddenly upon them. However, he found them upon their ^{Banu La-} guard, and intrenched upon the heights, to which they had ^{hiân.} fled upon the first rumour of his march. Finding that he could not attack them, without too much exposing his troops, he advanced to *Osfan* at the head of 200 horse, to alarm the people of *Mecca*; which having done, he returned without any loss home to *Medina*.

A FEW days after his arrival at *Medina*, *Osna Ebn Hasan*, ^{Defeats} the *Farârite*, with a party of the *Banu Ghatfân*, chiefly horse, ^{the Banu} carried off some of the prophet's camels, that were passing ^{Jhatfan.} through the territory of *Ghâba*. One of the *Banu Ghatfân*, that attended them, they also put to the sword. Of which *Mohammed* having notice given him by *Amru Ebn Al Acwa*, the *Aslamite*, he immediately detached a party of horse in pursuit of the plunderers; who soon coming up with them, killed all that made any resistance, put the rest to flight, and brought off some of the camels that the *Ghatfânites* had seized.

SOME time after, the prophet set out from *Medina*, have- ^{The expe-} ing before constituted *Saad Ebn Abâda* commandant of the ^{dition of} place in his absence, at the head of 500 men, or, as others ^{Dhu} say, 700, and took post at *Dhu Kard*, about two days jour- ^{Kard.} ney distant from *Medina*, on the road to *Khaibar*. Here he was joined by another body of the *Moslem* forces, which enabled him to make an incursion upon the enemies territory, to retake the remainder of his own camels, and to disperse a considerable party of the infidel *Arabs*, that pretended to oppose him. He also pillaged the adjacent country, and carried off such a number of camels, that he regaled his forces with them, killing one camel for every hundred men. After which he returned to *Medina*, having before left in it 300 men, under the command of *Saad*, for the defence of the place.

AFTERWARDS the prophet sent *Acasha Ebn Mohasen*, the *Moham-* *Asadite*, to make a course upon the territory of *Ghemar Mar-* *med* *zûk*, a well or fountain belonging to the *Banu Asad*, two makes an

* ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xl. p. 80. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 140. EBN AMID, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi sup. * ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xli. p. 80. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. * li-dem ibid.

incurſion into the country of the Banu Aſad. days journey from *Keid*, a ſtation of the *Moſlem* pilgrims who viſit *Mecca*. *Acaſha* had only with him 40 men; and yet the enemy fled at the firſt rumour of his march. However, the *Moſlems* entered the infidels country, and carried off 200 camels. But this advantage was more than ballanced by the loſs of a ſmall detachment of ten men, under the conduct of *Mohammed Ebn Salama*, which was cut to pieces by 100 men of the *Banu Thaalba*, who ſurrounded them at *Dhu'l Kaſa*, about twenty-four miles from *Medina*. To revenge which affront, the prophet detached *Abu Obeida Ebn Al Jarrah*, with forty men, to make an irruption into the enemies country; which he did with ſo much ſucceſs, that he obliged a body of them, who waited his approach, to fly into the mountains. They fled with ſo much precipitation, that *Abu Obeida* could only make one priſoner, who regained his liberty, by declaring himſelf a *Moſlem*.

He ſeizes a rich caravan, and ſends an agent to Conſtanti-nople. IN the month of the former *Jumada*, the ſame year, *Mohammed* being apprized that a rich caravan of the *Koreiſh* was on its return from *Syria*, he ſent *Zeid Ebn Haretha* with 70 men to attack it. *Zeid*, in purſuance of his orders, advanced to *Al Ais*, four days journey from *Medina*; where lying in ambuſcade, as ſoon as the caravan came up, he ruſhed out upon it, and made himſelf maſter of it, without the loſs of a man. He alſo ſeized upon a large ſum of money, which belonged to *Safwan Ebn Ommeyya*, and made ſome of the eſcorte priſoners; amongſt which was *Abu'l As*, whom he releaſed, at the requeſt of *Zeinab*, and reſtored all the effects taken from him. About the ſame time, the prophet likewiſe ſent *Dohya Ebn Khaleiſa*, the *Galbiter*, his principal faſtor, in the quality of agent, to *Conſtantineple*, to obtain the emperor *Heraclius*'s permiſſion to trade with his ſubjects; which that prince immediately granted him. On his return home, he was plundered by *Al Honeid Ebn Ardh*, the *Dohaite*, and his ſon *Udh*, in the valley of *Heſma*, belonging to the *Jodhamites*. But the *Dhobaihtes*, a conſiderable family, the iſſue of *Raſa'a Ebn Zeid*, the *Jodhamite*, obliged *Al Honeid* to reſtore every thing he had taken from *Dohya*. After which, the latter continued his journey, without interruption, to *Medina*; and, upon his arrival there, acquainted the prophet with what had happened. This ſo incenſed him, that he ſent *Zeid Ebn Haretha* with a detachment of 300 men againſt *Al Honeid Ebn Ardh*; who coming up with them early in the morning, defeated his troops, put *Al Honeid* and his ſon, together with ſeveral of their men, to the ſword, and diſperſed the reſt. The *Moſlems* alſo carried off the enemies wives and

children, to the number of 200, and all their cattle. But Mohammed restored every thing that his men had taken, at the desire of the *Râsâites*, who had been extremely civil to *Dohya*, and likewise behaved with great generosity to the prophet's troops *.

SOON after this last expedition, eight of the *Oraïnites* came ^{Puts eight} to *Medina*, and embraced *Islamism*. Here they resided for ^{of the O} some time; but finding that the air did not agree with them, ^{raïnites, to} they retired into the country where the prophet kept his cattle; and, by his prescription, drank the milk and the urine of his camels, for a disorder they laboured under, which restored them to their former health. In return for this kindness, they murdered his shepherd, and then seized upon the camels. The prophet being informed of this double crime, detached *Carze Ebn Jâber*, the *Febrite*, with a troop of horse, in pursuit of the robbers; who coming up with them before sun-set, brought them in chains to *Medina*. Upon which, Mohammed ordered their hands and their feet to be cut off, their eyes to be put out with a red hot iron, and their bodies to be fixed to a cross, where they miserably expired. A flagrant instance this of the savage and inhuman disposition of the pretended prophet, and consequently a demonstrative proof, exclusive of an infinity of others which might be produced, that his religion could not come from God †!

IN this same year, that is, the sixth of the *Hejra*, the prophet resolved to make an attempt to bring some of the *Chri-* ^{He at-} ^{tempts to} *stian Arabs* over to the *Mohammedan* religion; however, in ^{convert} this attempt, he seemed determined at first not to employ ^{some of} force, but to have recourse only to methods of persuasion. For which purpose he appointed *Abda'l Rahmân Ebn Awf* superior of this pacific mission; and sent him in that quality to the *Banu Calb*, who inhabited the city of *Dawmat Al Fandal*, where Mohammed had been the preceding year. Here *Abda'l Rahmân* staid three days, and invited the citizens to embrace *Islamism*. His preaching had such an effect upon their prince, named *Asbag Ebn Amru*, the *Calbite*, who was a *Christian*, that he professed himself a *Moslem*; and the greatest part of his subjects followed his example. Those who chose to persevere in their old religion were excused, upon their paying a tribute, in conformity to the *Mohammedan* custom. *Abda'l Rahmân* espoused *Asbag's* daughter; who, after her husband's return to *Medina*, was brought to bed of a son, whom his father named *Abdallah Al Afsar*. He became afterwards one of the great doctors of the *Mohammedan* law in the city of *Medina*, and was of the number of the *Al Tabéites*, or of

* *At JANNAB.* ubi sup. p. 144, &c.

† *Idem ibid.* p. 146.

those

those who immediately succeeded the first companions of the prophet. But of these we shall probably have occasion to speak more fully hereafter *.

The expedition against the Banu Saad ; IN the mean time *Mohammed* received advice, that the *Banu Saad*, who inhabited the town and territory of *Fadac*, situated between *Khaibar* and *Cûfa*, had assembled a body of troops, in order to assist the *Jews* of *Khaibar*. He was no sooner apprized of this than he ordered *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* to march at the head of 100 men, and disperse them. *Ali* executed his orders with great bravery ; and, after he had put the enemy to flight, carried off 500 camels and 1,000 sheep. The flower of these he sent to the prophet, for his own use, and distributed the rest amongst his own troops. After which he returned to *Medina*, without meeting with a single enemy to impede his march *.

and against the Banu Al Mostalek. IN the month of *Shaabân*, the same year, the *Banu Al Mostalek*, a powerful tribe of the *Arabs*, descended from *Cablân*, the son of *Saba*, the son of *Yashhab*, the son of *Yârab*, the son of *Kabtân*, the son of *Eber*, the son of *Salah*, the son of *Arphaxad*, the son of *Shem*, the son of *Noah*, formed a considerable corps, in order to make war upon the *Moslems*. They were commanded by their prince *Al Hâreth Ebn Abu Dharâr*, the father of the beautiful *Jowaira*, who was afterwards married to the prophet. Of this *Mohammed* being informed, he assembled a body of infantry, composed of the pagan *Arabs*, and a troop of 30 horse, consisting of 10 *Mobâjerîn* and 20 *Ansârs* ; with which, attended by his two wives, *Ayesha* and *Oumm Salma*, he marched against the enemy. After several movements, and a formal declaration of war, that preceded them, on the part of the *Moslems*, the two armies faced each other in the plain of *Al Mareiss*, so called from a fountain or well of the same name, belonging to the district of *Kodeid*, about five miles from the sea, and twenty-four from *Osfân*. The prince *Al Hâreth* advancing, at the head of a detachment, to reconnoitre the *Moslem* army, was slain by an arrow, before the beginning of the action ; which, however, did not discourage his troops. For they immediately, notwithstanding this disaster, ranged themselves in order of battle, and the prophet, on his part, did the same. For an hour, the two armies engaged only by discharges of arrows ; but, at last, the prophet having given the signal for the *Moslems* to advance, they fell upon the enemy sword in hand with such bravery, that they killed ten upon the spot, and forced all the rest to cry out for quarter, and surrender themselves prisoners at discretion. This victory was so

complete, that it would have appeared incredible, had it not been attested, as the *Moslems* pretend, by an ancient tradition; according to which, the angel *Gabriel* mounted on a bay horse, and dressed in white, greatly distinguished himself in the action. In the distribution of prisoners, *Joweira* fell to the lot of *Thâbet Ebn Kais*; of whom she was purchased by *Mohammed*, who took her to wife. This produced a sort of alliance between him and the *Mosalekites*, which was of considerable service to him. In consideration of that marriage, he released an hundred of the *Mosalekite* chiefs, who had been taken prisoners; and afterwards favoured that tribe on all occasions. The number of prisoners, including men, women, and children, taken in the battle of *Al Moreisi*, amounted to 200. Besides the captives, 5,000 sheep, and 1,000 camels, as also all the arms and baggage of the enemy, fell into the hands of the victors ^b.

THE loss the *Moslems* sustained in the late action was very inconsiderable; only *Heshâm*, of the *Bani Leith Ebn Becr*, falling in the field of battle; and he was killed by an *Ansâr*, who took him for an infidel, by mistake. However, his brother *Mekias*, an idolater, coming from *Mecca*, pretended to embrace *Islamism*, that he might have an opportunity of revenging *Heshâm's* death; which, after he had done, by destroying the murderer, he returned home, and relapsed to his former idolatry. This so exasperated *Mohammed*, that, after the reduction of *Mecca*, he caused him to be put to death in cold blood. About this time, a dispute arose between *Fahja*, the *Ghasârite*, and *Sonân*, the *Fahanite*, which had like to have produced fatal effects, as it was near involving in a quarrel the *Ansârs* and the *Mohâjerîn*. But *Mohammed* behaved with so much address to both parties, that he composed all differences between them, and prevented the effusion of blood that might otherwise have ensued ^c.

ACCORDING to *Al Wâkedi*, the *Moslem* troops appeared to *Joweira* to be much more numerous than they really were, before the beginning of the action; which the *Mohamedans* consider as a miracle exhibited in favour of their prophet. The same author also relates, that the angel *Gabriel* appeared in a white habit, mounted upon such a horse as had

^b ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xlii. p. 80—82. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 150, &c. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. lxiii. v. 1—8, &c. GOL. lex. Arab. in *Al Mortaf*, &c. AL WALKEDI apud AL NAÏFABUR. ut & ipse NAÏFABUR, ibid. JALLALO'DDIN, EBN AMID. & GREG. ABYL-FARAJ. ubi supra. POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 42.

^c ABULFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi supra.

never before been seen, the moment *Mohammed* gave the signal of battle to his troops d.

The prophet married Joweira. IMMEDIATELY after the prophet's arrival at *Medina*, he celebrated his nuptials with *Joweira*; who, according to *Al Jannâbi*, had before been married to one of her cousin-germans. She was a lady of such wit and beauty, that *Mohammed*, notwithstanding the number of wives he already enjoyed, found it impossible to resist her charms; and therefore he resolved to marry her. She lived with him five, and survived him forty-five years, dying in the fifty-sixth year of the *Hejra*. After her death, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, who was commandant of *Medina* for the *Khalif Moawiyah*, performed the funeral service at the time of her interment. She died at the age of sixty-three years; so that she must have been only thirteen years old at the battle of *Moraisi*, immediately after which the prophet espoused her. There are several traditions that go under her name in the pieces of *Al Bokhâri*, of *Moslem*, and others, which we have not time at present to touch upon e.

Ayesha accused of adultery. DURING the preceding expedition an accident happened, that caused great inquietude to *Mohammed*, and no small uneasiness in his family. When the prophet entered upon any war, it was usual, before he began his march, for his wives to cast lots, to know which of them should attend him into the field. At this time the lot fell upon *Ayesha*; and she accordingly accompanied him in the expedition. The army being on its return home, and removing by night, *Ayesha*, on the road, not far from *Medina*, alighted from her camel, and stepped aside, on a private occasion. But, before she remounted her beast, perceiving she had dropped her necklace, which was of onyxes of *Dhafâr*, she went back to look for it. In the mean time, her attendants taking it for granted, that she was got into her pavilion, or little tent surrounded with curtains, wherein women are carried in the east, set it again on the camel, and carried it away. When she returned to the road, and found her camel gone, she walked to the next station of the army, but met with no living soul there. Upon which she resolved to take her repose in that place; imagining, that, when she was missed, some would be sent back to fetch her. In a little time, therefore, she fell asleep, and remained there all night. But early in the morning, *Safwân Ebn Al Moattel*, one of *Mohammed's* general officers, who had staid behind to rest himself, coming by, and perceiving some body asleep, went to see who it was, and im-

d AL WALKEDI apud Al Naïfabur. ubi sup: ut & ipse AL NAISABUR. ibid. e AL JANNABI, ubi sup. p. 150.

mediately knew her to be *Ayesha*. Upon which, he waked her, by twice pronouncing with a low voice these words, *We are God's, and unto him we must return*. *Ayesha* then immediately covered herself with her vail; and *Safwân*, after he had dismounted his camel, set her thereon, walked on foot, and conducted her safely to the army, which they rejoined about noon, tho' greatly fatigued. This is the substance of *Ayesha's* relation of the whole affair, which has been transmitted down to us, amongst many other pretended authentic traditions in the *Sonna*, by *Al Bokhâri* †.

THIS accident made a great noise, and had like to have proved the ruin of *Ayesha*. For *Meslab Ebn Athâtha*, *Hasân Ebn Thâbet*, *Abd'allah Ebn Obba Ebn Solûl*, of the tribe of *Khazraj*, and *Omm Hafsa Bint Hajjah*, being greatly surprised at the circumstances of the affair, loudly exclaimed against *Ayesha*, and directly accused her of adultery with *Safwân*. But the person *Ayesha* the most bitterly complained of, as he who the most cruelly pushed the accusation, gave it the most malicious turn, and coloured his story in the most artificial manner, in fine, who the most laboured the point, in order to chagrin the prophet, was *Abd'allah*. Nor did *Mohammed* himself know what to think of the affair, when he reflected upon all the circumstances of it, so suspicious and well-grounded did they appear to him. Neither could he get rid of his perplexity, nor stop the mouths of the censorious, notwithstanding his wife's protestations of her innocence. However, considering that if this accusation was generally believed, it might be looked upon by many of his enemies, who were then very numerous in *Arabia*, as an aspersion upon his own character, and contribute to the diminution of his authority; he took upon him, about a month after, to disculpate his wife, and intirely clear her reputation, by a pretended revelation from heaven, which is contained in the twenty-fourth chapter of the *Korân*. This effectually silenced all her accusers, by declaring the accusation to be unjust, and brought down infamy upon them. For one of them, by *Mohammed's* order, was severely whipped, having had eighty stripes given him, in conformity to what we find enjoined in this very chapter of the *Korân*. But as for *Abd'allah Ebn Obba*, tho' more obnoxious than any of the rest, and more hated by *Ayesha*, he had so much power and interest amongst the *Arabs*, that the pretended prophet did not at this time think fit to inflict any punishment upon him ‡.

† AL BOKHARI in *Sonna*. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xliii. p. 82—84. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xxiv.

‡ *Ibidem* ibid. Vide etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. liv. iv. c. 7.

The injunction of Tayammum.

WE shall conclude what we have to say of the preceding war, with observing, that whilst the *Moslems* were engaged in it, *Mohammed* pretended to an order from heaven for the injunction of the *Tayammum*, or purification by rubbing, which is performed with dust, sand, or gravel, and supplies the place of the *Wudu*, called by the *Persians* *Abdest*, or ordinary ablution, in common cases, when no water is to be had. For the *Moslem* army having been obliged to traverse dry sandy deserts, in this war, in order to keep up some appearance of cleanliness and decency amongst his troops, the prophet found it necessary to publish such an injunction. This *Mohammed* seems to have borrowed either of the *Jews*, or the pagan *Arabs*, who, long before his time, used such lustrations. But of this, and other positive precepts or institutions of the *Korân*, relating to faith and religious duties, we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter ^b.

The expedition of Al Hodeibiya.

IN the sixth year of the *Hejra*, and the month of *Dhu'l-kaada*, the prophet set out with 1,400 men to visit the temple of *Mecca*; not with any intent of committing hostilities, but in a peaceable manner. This is what we find given out by the *Moslem* writers; but that his views were not quite so pacific as they pretend, seems to appear from hence, that he summoned the tribes of *Aslam*, *Jokainab*, *Mozainab*, and *Ghifâr*, who, with the troops he commanded, would have formed a very considerable force, to attend him in this expedition. But they excusing themselves, by saying their families must suffer in their absence, and would be robbed of the little they had, staid behind; which probably induced the prophet to lay aside all outward appearances of an invasion; tho' even this might be with a view to attempt something by surprize. However, the *Koreish* were jealous, and not without good reason, as appears from the whole tenour of his conduct, of the prophet's designs; so that when he came to *Al Hodeibiya*, a place situated partly within, and partly without, the sacred territory, they sent to let him know, that they would not permit him to enter *Mecca*, unless he forced his way. Whereupon he called his troops about him, and they all took a solemn oath of fealty or homage to him, and he resolved to attack the city. Of which the *Koreish* being informed by *Arwa Ebn Masûd*, whom they had dispatched to *Mohammed*, to acquaint him that they had put on their leopards skins, and

^b ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 83. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. v. v. 7, & alibi. COD. BEZACHOTH. c. ii. in Gemar. fol. 15. 1. POC. not. miscel ad portam Moſis, p. 356, 389, &c. HADR. RELAND. de relig. Moham. lib. i. c. 8. HERODOT. lib. iii. c. 198. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 150.

sworn that he should never make a peaceable entry into Mecca; they began to alter their note, and even to sue for peace. Mohammed, therefore, sent Othman Ebn Affan to facilitate an accommodation; but, instead of listening to his proposals, they imprisoned him, and a report ran at first that he was slain. In the mean time, according to Jalalo'ddin, eighty Meccans came privately to Mohammed's camp, with an intent to surprize some of his men, or rather, as should seem, to reconnoitre the force he had with him; but they were taken, and brought before the prophet, who pardoned them, and ordered them to be set at liberty. Hereupon the Koriish sent Sobail Ebn Amru, and some others, to treat of peace; who were very stiff in wording the treaty that they afterwards concluded with Mohammed. For when the prophet ordered Ali to begin with the form, *In the name of the most merciful GOD*, they objected to it, and insisted, that he should begin with this, *In thy name, O GOD*; which Mohammed submitted to, and proceeded to dictate, *These are the conditions on which Mohammed the apostle of GOD has made peace with those of Mecca*: to this Sobail again objected, saying, *If we had acknowledged thee to be the apostle of GOD, we had not given thee any opposition*. Whereupon Mohammed commanded Ali to write, as Sobail desired, *These are the conditions which Mohammed the son of Abd'allah, &c.* This so disgusted the Moslems, that they were upon the point of breaking off the treaty. However, they at last acquiesced in what had been done; being prevented, say the Arab writers, by GOD from pursuing violent measures; who appeased and calmed their minds, as is intimated by the *Korân*. The terms of this pacification were, that there should be a truce for ten years; that any person might enter into a league with Mohammed, or with the Koriish, as he should think fit; and that Mohammed should have the liberty to visit the temple of Mecca the next year, for three days. After the signing of the treaty, the prophet remained about twenty days at *Al Hodeibiya*, and then the Moslem army decamped from that place, in order to begin its march for *Medina*; where it arrived in the month of *Dhu'lhajja*. We must not omit observing, that, according to *Al Bidari*, some hostilities were committed in this expedition; since this author assures us, that Khâled Ebn Al Walid, whom Mohammed sent with a detachment against the Koriish, drove a body of 500 men, under the conduct of *Acrema Ebn Abi Jabl*, who had advanced to *Al Hodeibiya*, to surprize the Moslems, back into the interior part of Mecca. But as this action has been passed over in silence by *Abulfeda*, whom we consider as an Arab historian of the best authority,

we leave our readers to believe as much, or as little, of it as they please¹.

The spontaneous inauguration.

THE oath of fealty above-mentioned, or, as it is styled by the *Arabs*, the spontaneous inauguration, is taken notice of in the *Korân*. During this ceremony, the prophet sat under a tree, called by the *Arabs* *Hodba*, from whence the place where *Mohammed* encamped received its appellation, which some suppose to have been an *Egyptian* thorn, and others a kind of lote-tree. The word *Hodba* properly signifies, in *Arabic*, crooked, bent, vaulted, &c. and seems to have been applied to this tree, because its boughs were crooked, and extended in the form of a bow, for the sake of a more convenient shade. *Al Makin*, or *Elmacinus*, remarks, that, after this event, it soon died, and was at last carried away by an inundation of waters².

The expedition against Omm Forka ;

BESIDES the expedition of *Al Hudeibiya*, several other transactions, less interesting and important, have been mentioned, as happening this year, by *Al Jannâbi*, tho' passed over in silence by *Abulfeda*; some of which we shall beg leave here just to touch upon. *Zeid Ebn Hâretba*, one of *Mohammed's* generals, was attacked on his return from *Syria*, where he had been on affairs of commerce, and plundered of many valuable effects, by a party of the *Banu Fazara*, as he passed through the territory of *Wadi'l-Kora*, a town about seven days journey from *Medina*. As this district belonged to *Omm Forka*, the wife of *Malec Ebn Hodeifa Ebn Bedr*, who held her residence in a fortified castle near *Wadi'l Kora*, *Zeid*, after his arrival at *Medina*, obtained of the prophet a body of troops, with which he soon invested that castle, and carried it by assault; killing part of the garison, and making the rest prisoners of war. *Kais Ebn Mojafer*, the commandant, he loaded with irons, put *Omm Forka* herself to a cruel death, carried off with him all that lady's riches, which were immense, together with her daughter, then very young, and such a vast quantity of booty, that for the loss he had before sustained he made himself ample amends in this expedition¹.

and against the Banu Ghatfan.

IN the month *Shawâl*, the prophet received advice, that the *Banu Ghatfan*, in conjunction with some other *Arab* tribes, had assembled a body of troops, in order to commit hostilities against him. His spies at the same time informed him, that the *Jews* of *Khaibar* had reinforced that body; and that they

¹ *ABULFED.* ubi sup. p. 84—87. *AL ZAMAKHSHARI*, *AL BEIDAWI*, *AL JANNABI*, ubi sup. p. 155—164. *AL TABAR.* *JALLAB'ODDIN*, *AL KOR.* *MOHAMMED.* l. xlvij. *EBN AMID.*

² *AL KOR.* *MOHAMMED.* ubi sup. *EBN AMID*, five *AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. *FRID.* life of Mahom. p. 66. ¹ *AL JANNAB.* ubi sup. p. 152.

had chosen for their chief one *Osair Ebn Râzem*, a turbulent and ambitious fellow, in the room of *Salâm Ebn Abû'l Hakik*, whom he had caused to be assassinated the year before by some of the tribe of *Khazraj*. In order to get rid of this dangerous enemy, as well as all apprehensions on the part of the *Benû Ghatfân*, *Mohammed* sent a party of 30 men, under the command of *Abd'allah Ebn Rawâha*, towards *Khaibar*, to draw him into an ambuscade, and then destroy him. This *Abd'allah* at last effected, after having cut to pieces the escorte, consisting of 30 men, that attended him. *Osair* himself was killed by *Abd'allah Ebn Onais*, with a sword that he had hid under his garment for that purpose. The action happened at *Korka*, a place not far from *Khaibar*; after which *Ebn Rawâha* returned to *Medina*, without the loss of a single man on this occasion ^m.

At the same time, the prophet sent *Zeid Ebn Hâretha*, *Zeid Ebn Hâretha* with a detachment of his troops, to make an incursion upon the territory of *Madian*. This tract belongs to *Syria*, being opposite to *Gaza*, and is mentioned both in the *Mosaic* history and the *Korân*. *Abulfeda* represents *Madian*, or *Midian*, as a ruined village on the coast of the *Red Sea*,^a about six days journey from *Tabûc*. It was formerly a city of *Hedjâz*, and the habitation of a tribe of the same name. The ancient inhabitants were the descendants of *Midian*, the son of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, who afterwards, as it seems, coalesced with the *Ismaelites*; *Moses* naming the same merchants who sold *Joseph* to *Potiphar*, in one place *Ismaelites*, and in another *Midianites*. This city, which stood to the south-east of mount *Sinai*, is doubtless the same with the *Madiana* of *Ptolemy*. There are eight stations between it and the frontiers of *Egypt*. What was remaining of it in *Mohammed's* time, was soon after demolished in the succeeding wars, and it remains desolate to this day. The people of the country pretend to shew the well whence *Moses* watered *Israhel's* flocks. *Zeid* being arrived at this place, met with a body of *Arabs*, that came from *Naba*, a town situated on the sea *Al Kolkum*, whom he immediately attacked. His men behaved with so much bravery on this occasion, that they soon dispersed them, killed some, and brought many prisoners to *Medina*. They also carried off a vast number of women and children, whom they sold for slaves, and a very considerable booty that they acquired in this expedition ⁿ.

^m Idem ibid. p. 153. ^a AL JANKABI, ubi sup. p. 154. AL KOR. MOHAMM. s. vii. v. 86, &c. ABULFED. geogr. Arab. p. 42, 47. GEN. xxv. 2. xxxvii. 36. xxxix. 1. GOLII. not. ad Alfraganum, p. 143. SHARIF AL EDRISI, p. 109.

The great
respect
shown
Moham-
med by
his fol-
lowers.

BEFORE we conclude our account of the transactions in which *Mohammed* was concerned this year, it may not be improper, to shew the inconceivable veneration and respect the *Mosslems* by this time had for their prophet, to mention the relation which *Arwa Ebn Masūd*, the *Thakifite*, whom the *Koreish* sent with an actual defiance to *Mohammed's* camp at *Al Hodeibiya*, gave the *Meccans*, at his return, of their behaviour. He said he had been at the courts both of the *Roman* emperor and of the king of *Persia*, and never saw any prince so highly respected by his subjects as *Mohammed* was by his companions. For whenever he made the ablution, in order to say his prayers, they ran and caught the water that he had used; and whenever he spit, they immediately licked it up, and gathered up every hair that fell from him with great superstition. This account had probably a considerable effect upon the *Koreish*, as it gave them sufficiently to understand with what ardour the prophet's followers would fight for him; and therefore, in all likelihood, did not a little contribute to the pacification that ensued.

Moham-
med in-
vites so-
vereign
princes to
embrace
his reli-
gion.

IN the seventh year of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed* began to think of propagating his religion beyond the bounds of *Arabia*, and sent messengers to the neighbouring princes, with letters to invite them to *Mohammedism*. But before he wrote these letters, he ordered a silver seal to be made, on which were engraved, in three lines, the following words, MOHAMMED THE APOSTLE OF GOD. This seal, he believed, would procure the letters to which it was affixed a more favourable and easy reception at the courts of those princes whose conversion he intended first to attempt. Nor was this project without some success. *Khoṣrū Parvīz*, then king of *Persia*, the first monarch to whom he wrote, received the prophet's letter from the prince of *Bahrain*, to whom *Abd'allah Ebn Hodhāfa* had delivered it for that purpose. But when, upon the interpreter's reading it, he found that *Mohammed* had placed his own name before that of *Khoṣrū*, he fell into a violent passion, tore the letter to pieces, and sent away the messenger very abruptly; which when *Mohammed* heard, he said, *God shall tear his kingdom, in the same manner that he has torn my letter*. Soon after a messenger came to the prophet from *Badbān*, king of *Yaman*, who was a dependent on the *Persians*, to acquaint him, that he had orders to send him, an audacious slave, to *Khoṣrū*. *Mohammed* put off his answer till the next morning, and then told the messenger it had been revealed to him by *Gabriel* that night, that *Khoṣrū* was slain by his son *Shirāzēh*, about seven o'clock the evening before.

To which he thought fit to add, "Go and carry this news to *Badhân*, your master." He also farther assured him, says *Al Jannâbi*, that he was not at all afraid of the *Persians*, as he was very well assured; that his new religion and empire should rise to as great a heighth as that of *Khosrû*; and therefore bid him advise his master to embrace *Mohammedism*. The messenger being returned, *Badhân*, in a few days, received a letter from *Shirûzeh*, informing him of his father's death, and ordering him to give the prophet no further disturbance. Whereupon *Badhân* turned *Mohammedan*, and all the *Persians* with him followed his example. Of this *Badhân* sent the prophet news by an express; and, in consideration of such eminent service, he was afterwards continued viceroy of *Yaman* to his death, which happened about four months before that of *Mohammed* ^p.

THE messenger, or minister, the prophet sent to the emperor *Heraclius*, was *Dohya Ebn Kboleisa*, the *Calbite*; who found that prince at *Hems*, or *Emesa*, according to *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, in *Syria*. *Dohya*, being introduced by the governor of *Bosra*, presented the letter he had brought with him to the emperor, who, says the same author, treated it with great respect, laying it on his pillow, and dismissed the bearer honourably. *Abulfeda* relates, that *Dohya* carried with him many rich presents from *Heraclius* to his master at *Medina*; which, however, is not extremely probable. *Ahmed Ebn Yusef* has handed down to us a copy of the letter, said to be brought by *Dohya* to the emperor; but as it by no means appears to be genuine, having been omitted by *Abulfeda*, our readers will not expect an insertion of it here ^q.

ANOTHER author, however, asserts, that *Dohya* only delivered the prophet's letter to the governor of *Bosra*, as *Abd'allab Ebn Hodhâfa* had the former to the prince of *Babrein*, who presented it to *Heraclius*. *Al Jannâbi* pretends, that the emperor would have professed the new faith, had he not been afraid of losing his crown ^r.

THE third person *Mohammed* invited to the profession of *Islamism*, was *Mokawkas*, governor of *Egypt*, or, as he stiled

^p ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xlv. p. 92—95. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 165, 166. EBN AMID, GEORG. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 419. AL BOKHAR. in SONNA. AL NAISABUR. POCCOCK. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 65. Vide etiam ABULFED. in vit. *Parviz*. & JOAN. GAON. not. ad Abulfed. de vit. Moham. p. 93, 94.

^q AHMED EBN YUSEF, in hist. gen. sect. liv. c. 9. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 94. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 154. ^r ABU SOFIAN apud Abu Zeid Seid Abda'l Rahmân, in lib. Splendor. ut & ipse ABU ZEID SEID ABDA'L RAHMÂN. ibid. AL JANNAB. ubi sup.

himself, prince of the *Copts*. He had been sent to *Egypt* by the emperor *Heraclius*, in quality of intendant of the imposts there. He was of the *Jacobite* communion, and therefore hated the *Greeks*; but durst not declare this openly. From the time that the *Persians* had besieged *Constantinople*, he had stopped the revènués of *Egypt*, and for that reason was afraid of falling into the hands of *Heraclius*. *Mohammed* sent to him *Hâteb Ebn Abu Balta'a*, who delivered his letter, conceived in the same terms as that before dispatched to the emperor. *Mokaukas* received *Hâteb* with great respect; and, after he had read the prophet's letter, applied it with the utmost reverence to his breast, and then put it into an ivory box, where he kept his signet. He also ordered his secretary to write an answer to it in *Greek*, which was afterwards translated into *Arabic*. Of this *Ebn Yusef* has likewise preserved a copy in his general history, which no one versed in *Oriental* literature will allow to be genuine. In the year of the *Hejra* 19, when *Egypt* was subdued by the *Khalif Omar*, he, with his *Copts*, perfidiously deserted the *Greeks*, and concluded a treaty with *Amrû Ebn Al As*, the *Khalif's* lieutenant; by virtue of which, upon payment of tribute, he was permitted to profess the *Christian* religion. He died in the *Jacobite* persuasion, and, before his death, desired that his body might be interred in the church of *St. John* at *Alexandria*. We are told by *Abulfeda*, that he gave *Hâteb* four gems of great value for *Mohammed*, and two *Coptic* girls, one of which brought the prophet a son, named *Ibrahim*; as also a mule called *Daldal*, and an ass, whose name was *Ya'sûr*.*

THE fourth prince invited by *Mohammed* to declare himself a *Moslem*, was the *Najâshi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, named *Ashama*, or *Atzam*, to whom he wrote a much longer epistle than any of the former. This prince, according to the *Arab* writers, received the prophet's letter with marks of the most profound reverence, submission, and humility. As soon as it was brought him, he put it to his eyes, descended from his throne, and sat down upon the bare ground. Then, say they, he professed *Islamism* a second time, put the letter up in an ivory box, and ordered an answer to be drawn up in the most obliging and submissive terms. But neither the copies of the letters here mentioned, preserved by *Mohammed Ebn Abda'l Bâki*, nor the relation of the *Najâshi's* pretended conversion, nor, in short, any accounts of the propagation of

* ISM. ABULFED. AHMED EBN YUSEF, & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. EBN Batrik, aliàs EUTYCHUS, hist. tom. ii. p. 302. edit. Pocock.

Mohammedism, in these early times of it, in *Ethiopia*, as has already been observed, can at all be depended upon ¹.

He also wrote a letter of the like purport, in the fifth place, to *Al Hâreth Ebn Abi Shamer*, king of *Ghassân*, whose territories extended to the frontiers of *Syria*. The person employed by him on this occasion was *Shajâ Ebn Wabeh*, the *Asadite*. After the letter had been read to *Al Hâreth*, he returned for answer, that he would go to *Mohammed* himself; which when the prophet heard, he said, *May his kingdom perish*. As the prince here mentioned was surnamed *Ebn Abi Shamer*, as well as the first of his predecessors, we may infer from thence, that the surname applied to him here was common to all the kings of *Ghassân* ².

THE sixth prince to whom *Mohammed* applied was *Hawdha Ebn Ali*, king of *Yamâma*, who received the prophet's letter from his minister, *Soleit Ebn Amru*. *Hawdha* was a *Christian*, and having some time before professed *Islamism*, had lately returned to his former faith. He threatened to make war upon the prophet, and gave out, that he had associated with him in his pretended apostolic function the false prophet *Moseilama*. This so irritated *Mohammed*, that he cursed him; upon which, say the *Moslem* writers, he died soon after ³.

THE seventh and last letter he wrote was carried to *Al Mondar Ebn Sâwa*, king of *Babrein*, by *Al Ola*, the *Hadbra-mite*. This prince, upon the receipt of it, embraced *Mohammedism*, and all the *Arabs* of that country followed his example. He afterwards gained a signal victory over the *Persians*. As to the embassy sent to *Al Hâreth Ebn Abd Colâl*, one of the kings of *Hamyar*, in which *Al Mohâjer Ebn Abu Ommeya* was employed, and the answer returned by that prince to *Mohammed*, which some place here, these have likewise been by others referred to the beginning of the tenth year of the *Hejra* ⁴.

SOME of the *Moslem* authors pretend, that, about this time, *Mohammed* was bewitched by *Lobeid Ebn Al Asam*, a *Jew*, ^{med bewitched.} with the assistance of his daughters, who were extremely well versed in the magic art, by tying eleven knots on a cord, which they hid in a well, called *Dharwân*. Whereupon *Mohammed* falling ill, GOD revealed the 113th and 114th chapters of the

¹ MOHAMMED. EBN ABDA'L BAKI in lib. de excellent. Habesfinor. par. ii. c. 2. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 95, 96. BAGAWI, AL WAKEDI, &c. apud Moham. Abd'al Bak. ubi supra.

² ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup: p. 97. ³ Idem ibid. ⁴ ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. Vid. etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. sec. liv. v. c. 4. p. 42.

Korân; and *Gabriel* acquainted him with the use he was to make of them, and of the place where the cord was hidden. Then the prophet, according to the directions the angel gave him, sent *Ali* to fetch the cord; and the same being brought, he repeated the two chapters over it, and at every verse (for they consist of eleven) a knot was loosed, till, on finishing the last words, he was intirely freed from the charm. 'Tis probable this fiction was invented by *Mohammed*, to render the *Jews*, who were then his most implacable enemies, the more odious to his followers. For he seems to have made this pretended conduct of *Lobeid*, as may be inferred from what Mr. *Gagnier* observes, a pretext for coming to an open rupture with the *Jews* of *Khaibar* v.

The expedition to
Khaibar.

ABOUT the middle of the month *Al Moharram*, in the seventh year of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed* having drawn together a body of 1,400 foot, and 200 horse, begun his march for *Khaibar*. He was attended by his wife *Omm Salma* in this expedition. The *Jews*, notwithstanding the great losses they had lately sustained, were grown very numerous there. They had retrenched and fortified themselves in several castles or forts, that were rendered almost impregnable; and therefore thought themselves in no danger of being attacked by the *Moslems*. However, *Mohammed* had before so animated his troops, that they thought themselves certain of success. He gave out the preceding year, before he set out for *Al Hodeibiya*, that he seemed, in a dream, to enter *Mecca* at the head of his companions, with their heads shaven, and their hair cut. This dream being imparted by the prophet to his followers, it occasioned a great deal of joy amongst them; they supposing it would be fulfilled the same year. But when they saw the truce concluded, which frustrated their expectations for that time, they were deeply concerned. Whereupon a passage of the forty-eighth chapter of the *Korân* was pretended to be revealed for their consolation, confirming the vision, which was not to be fulfilled till the year after, when *Mohammed* performed the visitation distinguished in the *Korân* by the addition of *Al Kadû*, or *completion*, because he then completed the visitation of the former year. For the *Koreish* then did not permit him to enter *Mecca*; so that he was obliged to kill his victims, and to shave himself, at *Al Hodeibiya*; and it was then that his companions had the promise of their being made amends for their missing at that time of the plunder of *Alecca*, by giving them that of *Khaibar* in lieu thereof.

v AL KOR. MOHAMMED. c. cxiii, cxiv. AL BEIDAWI, AL JAL-
ALO'DDIN, AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 166, &c. GAGN. la-vie de
Mahom. ubi sup. c. v. p. 43—49.

'Tis no wonder, therefore, that they should attend the prospect with so much courage and alacrity in this expedition ².

As *Khaibar*, according to *Abulfeda*, was but six stations, *What was* or, as *Sharif Al Edrisi* will have it, only four, from *Medina*, *the ancient* *Mohammed* soon arrived before the town with all his forces. *name of* The place itself was extremely strong, as the name sufficiently implies; קָבָר, *Cabar*, denoting, in *Hebrew*, *great, strong, and* *robust*, &c. from whence it seems much more natural to deduce it, than from קָבֵר, *Chaber*, a *companion, confederate,* &c. as *M. D'Herbelot* supposes, on account of the emigration of the *Nadirites* and *Koreidhites*, who were confederates, to *Khaibar*. For to this notion two very material objections may be offered: in the first place, the remains of the *Jewish* tribe of *Koreidha*, almost extirpated by *Mohammed*, as has been already observed, did not retire to *Khaibar*, till after the war of the ditch; and, secondly, if *Abulfeda* may be credited, this was a town of great antiquity, and *Khaibar* its original name; since he assures us, that *Moses* took the city of *Khaibar* from the *Amalekites* immediately after his passage of the *Red Sea*. Which if we admit, it can by no means appear probable, that the name of *Khaibar*, used for many ages before, was derived from an accident that happened in the time of *Mohammed*. Nor was the place only strong in itself, but likewise fortified with four or five castles, according to *Abulfeda*, or nine at least, if we will believe *Al Jannâbi*, and others, that seemed to render it almost impregnable. Some part of the adjacent country abounds with palm-trees, and is capable of cultivation. *Khaibar* was the seat of the *Banu Anzab*, descended from *Maud*, or *Moad*, the son of *Adnân*, and stood to the north-east of *Medina*. As the language of the ancient *Amalekites* was very nearly related to the *Hebrew*, if not altogether the same with it, there can be no impropriety in deducing the name of this town from an *Hebrew* original. The *Arabic* word corresponding with the *Hebrew* name *Cabar*, or *Khaibar*, is *Hesn*, or *Hîsn*, bearing no manner of resemblance in sound to *Khaibar*; which is an additional proof in support of our present opinion ³.

MOHAMMED having taken post before the town, made the *Moham-* proper dispositions for laying siege to the castles; the reduction *med takes* of which he knew would make him absolute master of the *Naem*

² ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 84—87. ³ AL JANNAB. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi sup. p. 163. AL BEIDAWI, JAL-LALO'DDIN, ABU'L RABI, in lib. Splendor. ABULFED. in descript. Arab. p. 43, & in gen. hist. par. i. cap. de *Amalecit*. EBN AMID, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. in voc. *Khaibar*, p. 983. ABULFED. in vit. Mohammed. p. 87—92. AL JANNAB. ubi sup.

and Al
Kamus ;

place. The *Jews of Khaibar*, having not had the least intelligence of his march, were struck with terror, when they understood that his troops were advanced to *Mansela*, a post in a stony tract at a small distance from *Khaibar*; for till then they were absolute strangers to his motions. The first castle he attacked was called *Naem*, which he carried sword in hand, without meeting with any considerable opposition. This first instance of success encouraged the prophet to besiege in form the citadel of *Khaibar*, named *Al Kamus*, a place so strong by its situation, being built upon a rock, that it was almost inaccessible. The Jewish garrison here was commanded by *Kenâna Ebn Al Rabi*, the richest and most powerful person of the whole nation, who was dignified with the title of *king of the Jews*. As the greatest part of the treasure belonging to the people of *Khaibar* was deposited in this place, *Kenâna* had caused it lately to be strengthened by many additional works, which seemed to render it impregnable. Notwithstanding which, *Mohammed* opened trenches before it; and, after battering the wall some days with his rams, and other military engines, he made a breach therein, that enabled him to give several assaults to the place, in which he was vigorously repulsed by the besieged. Nay, tho' by reiterated attacks he endeavoured to carry the citadel, they were always attended with ill success. Since, therefore, the prophet often narrowly escaped being killed, by too much exposing his person, in order to animate his men, and the siege was drawn out to an unforeseen length, by the gallant behaviour of the besieged, he resolved to give a little relaxation to his troops, and therefore discontinued the attacks for one or two days ^b.

DURING this interval, *Abu Becr*, being desirous of distinguishing himself, mounted the breach, and was followed by some of his brave companions; but they were driven from thence with loss. *Omar* also made a more vigorous effort to storm the castle *Al Kamus*; but without effect, he likewise being constrained to retire. But the next morning *Ali*, who had laboured under a disorder in his eyes, of which he is said to have been cured by applying some of the prophet's spittle to them, advanced at the head of a choice detachment to the attack; and having, in single combat, slain *Marhab*, a giant of an enormous size, and the champion of *Khaibar*, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the besieged, carried the place by assault. Some of the *Moslem* authors pretend, that, in the heat of the pursuit, after he had driven the enemy

^b ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 87, 88. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 172. EBN ISHAK.

from the breach, *Ali* tore one of the castle-gates off the hinges, and used it for a shield, his own having before been struck out of his hand by a Jew that encountered him, tho' it was so heavy that eight lusty men could not lift it up from the ground. But this seems to be an *Arab* hyperbole, meriting little regard. *Marhab*, according to *Abulfeda*, was the lord of the castle *Al Kamus*; from whence we may infer, that it was either his proper seat, or else that he commanded the garison in it. The last of which notions is repugnant to what we find advanced by *Al Jannâbi*, who makes *Marhab* to have acted under the orders of *Kenâna*, as has been already observed. Be that as it will, we are assured, that *Ali* cleft his head in two with the famous sword *Dhu'l-Fakâr*, or the piercing, given him by *Mohammed* for this purpose, when scarce any other weapon would have done execution; his head being secured by a weighty helmet, lined with a double turbant. Amongst the female captives taken on this occasion, *Abulfeda* reckons the beautiful *Safiya Bint Hoyai Ebn Akhtab*, whom the prophet took to wife, having presented her with her liberty for a dower. We are informed by *Al Beidawi*, that this *Safiya Bint Hoyai Ebn Akhtab* once came to her husband, and complained that the women said to her, *O thou Jewess, the daughter of a Jew and a Jewess: to which he answered, Canst thou not say, Aaron is my father, Moses is my uncle, and Mohammed is my husband?* Part of the treasures, deposited in the citadel, fell into *Mohammed's* hands; tho', rather than discover the rest, *Kenâna* suffered the most exquisite torture, and at last death itself, with a most surprising constancy, or rather an obstinacy peculiar to that nation to which he belonged.

AFTER this, the prophet caused the castle of *Al Asab Ebn and the Moâd*, called *Nata'a*, to be first invested, and then formally besieged. The *Moslem* troops had scarce reached the place, when some workmen came out of the town with spades, pick-axes, baskets, and other instruments, in order to finish a certain part of the fortifications, who had like to have fallen into the hands of one of *Mohammed's* detachments. But as soon as they perceived the *Moslems*, they gave the alarm, by crying out, *Mohammed is here with all his army*; and then immediately retired within their retrenchments, leaving their tools behind them, that they might make the greater haste. Upon which, *Mohammed*, in his turn, said aloud, ALLAH ACBAR, GOD

^c ISM. ABULFED. AL JANNAB. & EBN ISHAK, ubi sup. AL BOKHARI in SONNA. Aut. lib. dict. MO'ALEM AL TANZIL, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi sup. GAGN, la vie de Mahom. ubi sup. p. 53 . 56.

IS GREAT; adding, *Khaibar shall be desolate; and since our enemies themselves have supplied us with tools, one of these mornings shall prove fatal to those who first gave the alarm.* In short, he considered the acquisition of these tools as a sure preface of their ruining and destroying the city^d.

HOWEVER, as the *Jews* of *Khaibar* had cut down 400 palm-trees, and ruined all the flat country for some miles round the fortress, the *Moslems* found themselves reduced to great straits for want of provisions. But at last they surmounted all difficulties, and entered the place, where they met with a vast quantity of corn, dates, oil, honey, flesh, &c. as also an infinite number of sheep, oxen, asses, military engines, and arms of all kinds. To which *Al Wakedi* adds a large camel's hide, or skin, filled with collars, necklaces, bracelets, ear-rings, buckles, &c. all of gold, besides emeralds and golden seals in great abundance. In fine, if *Abulfeda* merits any regard, this fort, or castle, of *Al Asab Ebn Moâd* was as well replenished with corn and other provisions, all which came into the possession of the *Moslems*, as any other in the district of *Khaibar*^e.

He is poisoned by
Zeinab
Bint Hâreth.

WE must not omit informing our readers, that, after the reduction of *Al Kamus*, during the prophet's residence there, he was poisoned by *Zeinab Bint Al Hâreth*, the sister of *Marahab*, who had been slain in single combat by *Ali*; which horrid fact she committed, in order to revenge her brother's death. The manner of her effecting this was, by communicating some poison to a shoulder of mutton, which, upon inquiry, she was told by his domestics, *Mohammed* loved better than any other part of the sheep; or, as *Abulfeda* seems to intimate, by dressing a shoulder of a sheep that had itself been poisoned. Having invited the prophet to supper, she set this joint roasted before him and his companions; one of whom, named *Bashar Ebn Al Bara*, eating heartily of it, was almost instantly seized with convulsions, and expired upon the spot. Nor did *Mohammed* himself, tho' he escaped for the present, by spitting some of the meat out of his mouth, survive this disaster much above three years. Some writers pretend, that the shoulder of mutton spoke to *Mohammed*, and discovered itself to be poisoned; but this is too absurd to merit any regard. The prophet having ordered the whole carcass to be burnt, demanded of *Zeinab* what could induce her to perpetrate so black a crime; to whom she is said to have made the following answer: "I thought if you had been really
" a prophet, you would have easily discovered the poi-

^d ISM. ABULFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup.
EBN ISHAK, & AL WAKEDI, ubi sup.

^e Idem ibid.

“son; and if not, that it would have delivered us from your tyranny.” However, some relate, that *Mohammed* pardoned her; tho’ others affirm, that he delivered her up to the parents of *Bashar*, who put her to death; which seems more agreeable to the bloody and vindictive disposition of the impostor. Be that as it will, we are told by some *Moslem* writers, that when *Bashar*’s mother visited him in his last sickness, he said to her, *O mother of Bashar, the poison of Khaibar, so fatal to your son, has not ceased to visit me from time to time ever since I received it; but now the veins of my heart are broke and dissolved by the violence of it* ^f.

AFTER the reduction of the preceding castles, *Mohammed* The other easily made himself master of all the rest; the principal of castles of which were *Kala’at Al Zabeir*, *Hesn Obba*, *Hesn Al Bará*, *Khaibar Al Watib*, and *Al Salálem*. The garisons of the two last of surrender which finding themselves not in a condition to defend the to him. places long, and being threatened with inevitable destruction, surrendered upon the first summons to *Mohammed*, at discretion ^g.

The town of *Khaibar* itself being now destitute of its chief He makes supports, was incapable of standing a long siege; and there- himself fore, at the end of ten days, it was forced to capitulate; after which *Ali* took possession of it. The terms of the capitulation were, that the inhabitants of *Khaibar* should continue to cultivate their lands, as heretofore; that their present effects, and the future produce of their lands, should be divided between them and the *Moslems*; and that the prophet should have the liberty of transplanting them whenever he pleased. By virtue of which capitulation, the *Jews* of *Khaibar* remained in the peaceable possession of their country several years; but at last they were expelled from thence in the *Khalifat* of *Omar* (1), who obliged them to depart out of *Arabia*, and city itself.

^f ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 92. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 174. EBN ISHAK, EBN ALATHIR, EBN FARES, AL KODAI, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 189. ^g ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 91. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 173. EBN AMID, hist. Sar. p. 8.

(1) The *Khalif* recollecting, At least this was the pretext he that one of *Mohammed*’s last orders to the *Ansárs* was, not to tolerate any false religion in *Arabia*, he came to a resolution to expel the *Jews* of *Khaibar* from that country, in compliance with that command. made use of, for the vindication of his conduct, on that occasion; which undoubtedly had the desired effect, and satisfied the minds of all his *Moslem* subjects, as to the justice and legality of it (33).

assigned them, as an equivalent for their land, an equal extent of territory in *Syria* ⁵.

Fadac
and Wadi'l Korâ
likewise
submit to
him.

AT the same time that *Khaibar* surrendered, the citizens of *Fadac* likewise opened their gates, and made their submission to the prophet. In consideration of which submission, he allowed them a moiety both of their lands and effects. That moiety assigned the *Moslems* the prophet took to himself, in conformity to the law contained in the fifty-ninth chapter of the *Korân*, no cavalry having been made use of in the reduction of that place. As for the spoils taken at *Khaibar*, *Mohammed* distributed part of them amongst the troops employed in the expedition; assigning to every foot-soldier a single portion, and to every horseman a double one. From *Khaibar* the prophet marched to *Wadi'l Korâ*, a Jewish town, about two days journey from thence, towards the borders of *Syria*; which he took after a few days siege, and then returned to *Medina*. Soon after his arrival there, he met with *Jaafar Ebn Abu-Taleb*, and his companions, who, in the fifth year of the prophet's mission, had fled into *Ethiopia*. As *Mohammed* had before wrote to the *Najâshi* to send them back to *Medina*, this interview was very agreeable to him; inasmuch, that, at the first sight of them, he said, *I cannot determine whether I am better pleased with the return of Jaafar, or the expedition to Khaibar*. That expedition was finished in a month's time, the town surrendering in the month of *Safar*, ten days of which were spent in the siege of the citadel. About this time, according to *Mohammed Ebn Abda'l Bâki*, and *Abulfeda*, the prophet espoused by proxy *Omm Habiba*, the daughter of *Abu Sufiân*, in *Ethiopia*, her cousin *Khâled Ebn Said Ebn Al As Ebn Ommeya* personating *Mohammed* on this occasion. The *Najâshi* himself, if we will believe *Ebn Abda'l Bâki*, performed the ceremony of the espousals, and then pronounced an oration; the substance of which is given us by that author. He moreover made the lady a present of 400 *dinârs*, for a dower, out of the profound esteem and veneration that he had long entertained for the prophet; the news of which being brought to *Abu Sufiân*, he could not forbear saying, *This stallion, meaning Mohammed, will never be bridled*. *Omm Habiba* was then about thirty years of age, and lived three years and some months with *Mohammed*. She died at *Medina* in the 42d, or the 43d, year of the *Hejra*, and the *Khalifat* of *Moâwiyah*; and, after her death, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem* said the usual prayers for her at her interment. Some authors, however, relate, that she died in *Syria*. *Sharafeddin Ali*, *Timur Begh's* historian, says he saw her tomb,

⁵ *Iidem* *ibid.* GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. *hist. dynast.* p. 163.

together with that of *Omm Salma*, at *Damascus*; and, in his life of that prince, he has inserted a description of them. When *Mohammed* espoused her, she was a widow, having before been married to *Abd'allah Ebn Jahash*, who died at the court of the *Najâshi*. Before his death, he became a convert to the *Christian* faith; which is of itself a sufficient proof, exclusive of the arguments already offered, that *Islamism* was not then, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by the *Moslem* writers, the prevailing religion in *Ethiopia* ^b.

THE *Jewish* war being thus happily terminated, *Moham-* *Mohammed* divided the spoils taken at *Khaibar*, and some of the med *di-* neighbouring towns, into thirty-six equal portions; half of *wides the* which he applied partly to his own use, and partly towards *spoils taken at* defraying the expence of the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, which he was to perform the approaching *Dhu'lkaada*, by virtue of *Khaibar*: the treaty concluded at *Al Hodeibiya* with the *Koreish*. The other half he distributed amongst the troops employed in the expedition, and the refugees lately arrived from *Ethiopia*. The latter he put upon the same foot with the former, out of regard to his new spouse *Omm Habiba Bint Abu Sofân*. As for the spoils of *Fadac*, that is to say, half of the effects of the inhabitants, and half of the revenue of their possessions, of these he made no division at all, but considered them intirely as his own property; no *Moslem* horse having advanced against that city, the people of which he brought solely by his own address to a capitulation ⁱ.

WE must not forget to acquaint our readers, that *Moham-* *and cele-* *med* celebrated his nuptials with *Safiya Bint Hoyaï* at a place *brates his* called *Al Sabbâ*, where he encamped in his march to *Medina*. *nuptials* This marriage he also consummated the following night in his pavilion, and the next day he provided a sumptuous entertainment; where, amongst other elegant dishes, was served up one called *Al Hais*, composed of dates, honey, and whipt cream, all mixed together. He invited none to this banquet but his most intimate friends, who then all had the honour to dine with him. *Safiya* lived with the prophet three years and some months; and at last died either in the fiftieth, or fifty-second, year of the *Hejra* ^{*}.

^b ISM. ABULFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. Al Kor. MOHAMMED. f. lix. EBN HAWKAL, SHARIF AL EDRISI, ABULFED. descript. Arab. p. 43. MOHAMMED EBN ABDA'L BAKI, ubi sup. par. ii. c. 3, & alib. SHARAFEDDIN ALI in vit. Timur Begh, lib. v. c. 26. p. 333. AL BEIDAWI, PRID. life of Mahom. p. 85. Univers. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 330, 331. ⁱ ABULFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. AL BEIDAWI, Al Kor. MOHAM. f. lix. ^{*} AL JANNAB. ubi supra. p. 176. Disputat. Christian. c. 6.

He reduces IT must be observed here, that, in the expedition to *Khai-*
Yetama. *bar*, Mohammed made a considerable city, inhabited by Jews,
 tributary to him, that has not been mentioned by *Abulfeda*.
 The name of this city was *Yetama*. Its inhabitants being
 struck with terror, when they were informed that *Mohammed*
 had defeated a considerable body of the Jewish forces near
Wadi'l Korá, and made himself master of that place in four
 days time after he had opened trenches before it, sent deputies
 to him to desire peace, offering at the same time to pay him
 an annual tribute. This offer the prophet accepted, and then
 began his march for *Medina*. The Moslems are said not to
 have lost above twenty men in the whole foregoing expedi-
 tion ¹.

Omar SOON after the prophet's arrival at *Medina*, he sent *Omar*
makes an with a party of 30 men to make an incursion upon the territory
incursion of the *Hawanites*, who seem to have committed some hosti-
upon the lities against the Moslems. *Omar*, at the head of his men, ad-
territory vanced to *Torba*, a place within the dependencies of *Mecca*,
of the Ha- inhabited by the *Banu Hawan*. But the enemy fled with so
wanites. much precipitation at his approach, that he could not come
 up with them ^m.

Abu Becr IN the month of *Shaabán*, *Abu Becr* marched with a de-
marches tachment against the *Banu Keláb*, seated in the district of *Fa-*
against *zara*; and took his measures so well, that he surprised a body
the Banu of them. Of these he killed some, wounded others, and put
Keláb. the rest to flight ⁿ.

as does IN the same month, *Bashar Ebn Saad*, the *Anfár*, set out
Bashar from *Medina* with 30 men to attack the *Banu Morrah*, in the
Ebn Saad territory of *Fadac*; but falling into an ambuscade, he was
against forced to retire, with the loss of the greatest part of his men ^o.

the Banu IN the month of *Ramadán*, the prophet sent *Gáleb Ebn Ab-*
Morrah. *d'allah*, the *Leithite*, with 130 men, to *Monia*, in the terri-
Gáleb tory of *Najd*, about thirty-six parasangs from *Medina*. This
Ebn Ab- expedition was undertaken against the *Banu Awál*, who had
d'allah incurred the prophet's displeasure. *Gáleb* made an irruption
undertakes into their habitations, killed some of the principal of them,
an expedi- carried off a great number of their camels and sheep, and
tion then returned to *Medina*, without the loss of a single man on
against this occasion ^p.

Awál. BASHAR EBN SAAD, the *Anfár*, made another incursion,
Bashar more lucky than his former, into the kingdom of *Yaman*, and
Ebn Saad the country of *Jafár*, with 300 men. This happened in the
makes an month of *Shawál*. Being informed, that a body of the ene-

¹ AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 177, 178.

180.
ibid.

^a Idem ibid.

^m Idem ibid. p.

^o AL JANNAB. ubi sup.

^p Idem

my were upon the point of making an irruption into the territory of *Medina*, he advanced to attack them; but they retired at his approach. He, therefore, ravaged the country through which he moved, and seized upon many of their camels. He also took two prisoners, who both, at the prophet's request, embraced the *Mohammedan* religion ⁹.

ABOUT this time, *Mohammed* wrote a letter to *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham*, the last king of *Ghassân*, who reigned at *Tadmor*, and invited him to embrace *Islamism*. That prince, upon this invitation, became a *Moslem*; and, in answer to his letter, assured the prophet of the reality of his conversion. He persisted for some time in the profession of the new religion; but having struck a certain *Fazarite* at *Mecca*, whither he was come to perform the pilgrimage commanded in the *Korân*, who had affronted him, he was ordered by the *Khalif Omar* either to ask pardon of the *Fazarite* for the offence, or to suffer himself to be treated in the same manner; which so disgusted him, that he returned to his former faith, and retired to *Constantinople*. This year died *Shirâzêh*, or *Syrazes*, king of *Persia*, who had massacred his father *Khosrû Parvîz*, as has been already observed, and sixteen brothers. He was a prince of most abandoned morals, and guilty of the most execrable crimes. Being attacked by various maladies, he expired in exquisite torture, after six months reign ^r.

WE are told by some of the *Moslem* writers, whose authority, therefore, in the point before us is unexceptionable, that, before the conclusion of this year, their holy prophet was guilty of fornication; tho' this enormity has been palliated, if not indirectly vindicated, with his usual candour and piety, by Mr. Sale. *Mohammed* was so charmed with the beauty of *Mary*, a girl of *Coptic* extraction, who, together with three other female slaves, and a eunuch named *Maiudh*, had been sent him as a present by *Al Mokowkas*, governor of *Egypt*, that he was tempted to lie with her; tho' he had before expressly forbidden fornication in the twenty-fourth chapter of the *Korân*. As this was done on the day which was due to *Aysha*, or to *Hafsa*, and, as some say, on *Hafsa's* own bed, while she was absent at her father *Omar's*; it soon came to both those ladies knowledge, notwithstanding all the precautions taken by *Mohammed* to keep it concealed. Nay, some relate, that *Hafsa* caught the prophet and his maid, if not in the fact, yet at least upon the bed together. This she took extremely ill, and reproached her husband so sharply, that, to pacify her, he promised, with an oath, never to touch *Mary*.

⁹ AL JANNAB. ubi sup. ^r Idem ibid. Vide etiam Pœc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 77, 78.

again; and, in order to sooth her vanity, and to induce her to keep the whole affair a secret, foretold to her, as a piece of news, that *Abu Becr* and *Omar* should succeed him in the government of his people. *Hafsa*, however, could not conceal this from *Ayesha*, with whom she lived in strict friendship, but acquainted her with the whole matter. Whereupon the prophet, perceiving probably by *Ayesha*'s behaviour, or rather that of her father *Abu Becr*, to whom she had discovered her husband's incontinence, and of *Omar*, to whom his daughter *Hafsa* had made great complaints upon the same subject, that his secret had been discovered, upbraided the latter with her betraying him; telling her, that GOD had revealed it to him. He, therefore, for her indiscretion, not only divorced her, but separated himself from all his other wives for a whole month; which time he spent in amorous diversions with *Mary*; and this in direct contradiction to the *Korân*, and in open violation of the oath he had taken to *Hafsa*. However, dreading, as 'tis probable, the resentment of *Omar*, in a short time, he took *Hafsa* again, by the direction, as he gave out, of the angel *Gabriel*; who commended her for her frequent fasting, and other exercises of devotion; assuring him likewise, that she should be one of his wives in paradise. To free himself from the obligation of his promise and oath to *Hafsa*, he pretended, that the sixty-sixth chapter of the *Korân* was revealed, which allows the *Moslems* the dissolution of their oaths. In order, therefore, totally to abandon himself to his sensuality, the pretended prophet makes GOD to deliver a contradictory revelation, and to permit a practice than which nothing can be more inconsistent with the moral fitnesses of things, or more shocking and pernicious to human society; and consequently endeavours, as much as in him lies, notwithstanding his assertion of the unity of the Divine Nature, the great fundamental article of faith of the *Moslems*, to overturn the foundations of all natural as well as revealed religion *.

He performs the sacred visitation called *Al Kada*.

IN the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, this same year, *Mohammed* performed the sacred visitation called *Al Kada*, or the completion. This was distinguished by the addition of *Al Kada*, because *Mohammed* then completed the visitation of the former year, when the *Koreish* not permitting him to enter *Mecca*, he

* JALLALO'DDIN, AHMED EBN YAHYA, AL ZAMAKHSHARI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xvii, xxiv, lxvi. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 165. JOANNES ANDREAS, c. 8. BELLONIUS, l. iii. c. 8. RICHARDI confutat. c. 12. CANTACUZEN. orat. ii. f. 8. GUADAGN. tract. ii. c. 10. sect. 2. FORTALIT. FID. lib. iv. conf. 2. SALE's notes on the KOR. c. 66. p. 456, 457.

was obliged to kill his victims, and to shave himself, in order to correspond with his dream, at *Al Hodeibiya*. All the people who had accompanied the prophet the last year, attended him on the present occasion, together with seventy camels, designed for victims upon their arrival at the *Caaba*. They had also an hundred horses, and moreover carried with them a large quantity of arms. They came first to *Dhu'lhoteifa*, six miles from *Medina*, where they solemnly vowed to observe all the rites and ceremonies of the sacred visitation. From thence they advanced to *Batn Yajaj*, some few miles distant from *Mecca*, where the prophet deposited all his baggage and arms, and left *Awis Ebn Khuf*, with 200 men, to guard them. Before he reached that city, most of the *Koreish* retired to the summits of the neighbouring mountains; so that it was in a manner deserted by its inhabitants; only some few of them remaining upon the top of the town-hall, or council-house, to observe the prophet's procession, and the motions of the *Moslems*†.

MOHAMMED having ascended the hill of *Cadda*, which was part of the mountain called *Al Hajun*, where the heights of *Mecca* begin, and afterwards entered the plain of the little pebbles, mounted his camel, named *Kaswa*, and began his solemn march, or procession, towards the city. He was surrounded on all sides by the *Moslems*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Rawâba* marched before him on foot, holding the bridle of his camel. This *Abd'allah* and *Omar* insulted the *Koreish*, and menaced them, at their entry into the city, without the least provocation given; which shewed the ferity of their disposition. *Mohammed*, being arrived at *Mecca*, immediately visited the temple, and entered upon the prescribed ceremonies. After which, he came to the corner where the *black stone* is fixed, which he kissed with great devotion. From thence he and his companions proceeded to compass the *Caaba*; which they did seven times, using a short quick pace the three first, and a grave ordinary one the four last. This, it is said, was ordered by *Mohammed*, that his followers might shew themselves strong and active, to cut off the hopes of the infidels, who gave out that the immoderate heats of *Medina* had rendered them weak; and, at the same time, to spare his men, who were already pretty much fatigued. Which custom, in

† ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xlviii. p. 97, 98, 99. AL BOKHARI in *Sonna*. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 182, &c. JALLALO'D-DIN, EBN AL ATHIR, *Al Kor. MOHAMMED*. f. ii. v. 160. Vide etiam BOBOV. de peregr. Meccan. p. 11, &c. CHARDIN, voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 440, &c. PITT's account of the religion, &c. of the Mohammedans, p. 92, &c. HADR. RELAND. de rel. Moham. p. 113, &c.

some measure, prevails even at this day ; tho' the pilgrims are not obliged to use the aforesaid quick pace every time they perform this piece of devotion, but only at certain particular seasons. So often as the *Moslems* passed by the *black stone*, they either kissed it, after the example of their prophet, or touched it with their hand, and kissed that ; which is likewise the present practice of the *Mohammedans*. The seven circuits round the *Caaba* being finished, *Mohammed* ordered *Belâl*, his crier, to give notice of the time of prayer without the *Caaba* ; which being likewise done, the prophet mounted his camel, and ran seven times between the mountains of *Safâ* and *Merwâ*, partly with a slow pace, and partly running, for the reasons above assigned. This ceremony his followers at first made a scruple of performing, because there were on those mountains two idols, named *Asâf* and *Nayelah*, to which the *Koreish* used to pay a superstitious veneration. But, in order to remove this scruple, the prophet pretended that, at this juncture, GOD revealed to him the following passage of the *Korân* : " Moreover, SAFA and MERWA are two of the monuments of GOD : whoever, therefore, goeth on pilgrimage to the temple of MECCA, or visiteth it, it shall be no crime in him, if he compass them both." This ceremony is said to be as ancient as the time of *Hagar*, the mother of *Ishmael*. Lastly, he sacrificed the camels, brought with him for that purpose, in the valley of *Mina*, and the *Moslems* shaved their heads, according to custom ; which having done, the prophet sent some of his men to relieve the troops composing the detachment left at *Bain Yajaj*, to guard the arms and baggage. This gave them likewise an opportunity of coming to *Mecca*, and performing their devotions there. All which being finished, the prophet, after four days residence in *Mecca*, retired to *Shorf*. Here he consummated his marriage with *Maimûna Bint Al Hâreth*, the *Helâlite*, the widow of *Raham Ebn Abda'l Ozza*, whom he had before espoused at *Mecca*, when he was in the habit of a pilgrim there ; GOD having granted him, as he pretended, the peculiar privilege of doing this, or, in other words, of breaking through those rules and customs held as sacred by the other *Arabs*, and even recommended as such by himself to all his followers. His uncle *Al Abbâs* performed the nuptial ceremony. This *Maimûna* was the last of *Mohammed's* wives, according to *Al Jannâbi*, and survived all the rest. When she was taken ill at *Mecca*, she was, at her own request, carried to *Shorf*, because the prophet had, as she said, foretold that she should not depart this life in the former place. Here, therefore, she died in a pavilion erected under that tree under which *Mohammed* first lay with her. Her tomb was still

still remaining in the sixteenth century, having been visited by *Abu Mohammed Mostafa Ebn Al Sayyad Hasan Al Jannabi*, the Arab historian, in his return to *Medina* from *Mecca*, where he had been to pay his devotions at the tomb of the impostor, in the year of the *Hijra* 963, which answers nearly to the year of our LORD 1556 ^u.

THE eighth year of the *Hijra* was ushered in by the con-^{Three of} version of *Khâled Ebn Walid*, *Amru Ebn Al As*, the *Saba-*^{the most} *mite*, and *Othmân Ebn Telha Ebn Abda'l Dâr*, the three^{consider-} most considerable persons amongst the *Koreish*, who, soon^{able per-} after the prophet's departure from *Mecca*, left that place, and^{sons a-} arrived at *Medina*, where they made public profession of Mo-^{mong the} *ammedism*. This proved a great accession of power to the *Koreish* ^{embrace} impostor, and soon enabled him to make himself master of ^{Islamism.} the whole peninsula of the *Arabs*. For *Khâled Ebn Al Walid* was one of the greatest warriors of his time; having put to flight *Mohammed's* rear, which occasioned the defeat of all his forces, at the battle of *Obod*; *Amru* was the ambassador sent by the *Koreish* to the *Najûshi*, to demand the *Moslem* fugitives who had taken refuge in *Ethiopia*, and a man of very considerable abilities; and as for *Othmân Ebn Telha*, he was the guardian, or intendant, of the *Caaba*, and consequently a person of the most extensive influence of any in *Arabia*. 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that, after these had declared themselves in his favour, he should so soon find himself in a condition to give laws to the *Koreish*, and of course to raise himself to the supreme government of his country ^v.

IN the month of *Safar* this year, the eighth of the *Hijra*, ^{Two suc-} *Gâleb Ebn Abd'allah*, the *Leithite*, one of *Mohammed's* com-^{cessful in-} manders, made two very successful incursions. In the first of^{curfions} which, he plundered the *Banu Al Malah*, a very considerable^{made by} Arab family seated at *Al Cadia*; and, in the second, he took ^{Gâleb} vengeance of the *Banu Morrah* at *Fadac*, for the massacre of ^{Ebn Ab-} *Bashar's* companions, in the month of *Shaabân*, the preced-^{d'allah.} ing year. He no sooner arrived at *Fadac*, with a body of 200 men, than the enemy made a vigorous sally upon him; but they were repulsed with so much bravery, that the greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and all the rest taken prisoners. After the action, the *Moslems* pillaged the adjacent district, and brought off with them a considerable number of camels to *Medina* ^x.

^u *Iidem* *ibid.* Vide etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. sec. liv. v. c. 10. p. 78—83. ABULFED. de vit. Moham. p. 97, 98, 99, & AL JANNAB. ubi supra, p. 184, &c. ^v *IEM.* ABULFED. ubi sup. c. xlviii. p. 99, 100. EBN ISHAK in lib. Splendor. ABU'L RABI apud Al Wâked. in relat. ut & ipse AL WAKED. *ibid.*
^x AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 188.

A descrip-
tion of
Moham-
med's
pulpit.

WE are told by *Al Fannâbi*, that, about this time, the prophet caused a chair, or pulpit, to be built for him by a Greek carpenter, called *Nakum*, who was domestic to a *Christian* lady, named *Ayesha*. This he ascended by three steps, the highest of which he sat upon, and placed his feet upon the second, when he preached, as he constantly did, to the people. After his decease, *Abu Becr* sat on the second step, and put his feet upon the third. Afterwards *Omar* sat upon the lowest step, and placed his feet upon the ground. When *Othmân* was *Khalif*, he did the same, during the first years of his reign; but afterwards he thought fit to seat himself on the highest step, as *Mohammed* had done, to the end of his *Khalifat*. *Moâwiyah* raised this pulpit to six steps, and none of his successors ever altered it. *Othmân* was the first who covered it with tapestry; of which a certain woman having stripped it, she had her hands cut off, in conformity to an injunction of the *Korân*. In the fiftieth year of the *Hejre*, *Moâwiyah* had an intention to remove this pulpit to *Damascus*. But the very moment this was attempted, as some of the *Moslems* pretend, there happened a most surprising solar eclipse; which, together with the remonstrances made by *Abu Hareira*, induced the *Khalif* to desist from his design. Before the construction of this pulpit, the prophet, immediately after his arrival at *Medina*, officiated on a piece of a beam, or the trunk of a palm-tree driven into the ground, on the top of which he leaned, when he preached to the people. The first time *Mohammed* ascended the new machine, a dismal sound came from this trunk, that represented the lowing or bellowing of a camel, and seemed to express the grief of the beam for its being deserted by the prophet. This, says *Al Fhazâli*, so affected him, that he immediately came down out of the pulpit, embraced the trunk, caressing it, and giving it the most endearing language, till he had brought it to good humour †.

WE must not omit informing our readers, that Dr. *Prideaux* seems to be mistaken, when he asserts, that *Mohammed* ordered this pulpit to be made by the advice of one of his wives; that circumstance not being attested, or even mentioned, by any of the *Eastern* writers. But this mistake, if it be really such, may perhaps be accounted for, by observing, that the carpenter, who framed this machine, was a domestic of one *Ayesha*, a *Christian* lady, whom our author

† Idem ibid. AL GHAZALI apud Pocockium in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 183. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. EBN AMID. hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. 7. EUTYCHIUS, tom. ii. p. 360. GREG. ABUL-FARAJ. p. 104.

seems to have confounded with *Ayesha*, the wife of *Mohammed*. For had this domestic belonged to the latter lady, or been in any manner concerned with her, it would have been natural enough to suppose, that she persuaded the prophet to make use of him on the preceding occasion, and even at first to have suggested the expediency of such a machine to him. The identity, therefore, of names here has probably introduced a confusion of two different persons, and consequently induced the Doctor to publish an assertion that has not the least shadow of authority, either *Christian* or *Mohammedan*, to support it ².

IN the month called the *former Rabi*, *Shaja Ebn Wa-* ^{The Mos-}
hab plundered the *Banu Amer*, and carried off many of their ^{lems con-}
camels. But *Caab Ebn Omar*, the *Ghafurite*, did not meet ^{tinue their}
with the same success, in that month, on a similar occasion. ^{incurfions.}
Having advanced, at the head of a small detachment, as far as *Dhat Al Talâh*, situate behind *Dhat Al Kora*, he was attacked by a superior force. However, he defended himself with so much bravery, that he fought his way through the enemy, and at last made his escape grievously wounded, tho' all his men were cut to pieces in the action ².

BUT, notwithstanding this, the eighth year of the *Hejra* ^{Moham-}
was a very fortunate one to *Mohammed*. In the beginning of ^{med's}
it, *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, and *Amru Ebn Al As*, both ex- ^{ambassa-}
cellent soldiers, the first of whom afterwards conquered *Sy-* ^{dor assas-}
ria, and other countries, and the latter *Egypt*, became con- ^{finated.}
verts to *Islamism*, as has been already observed. Soon after
which remarkable event, the prophet received advice, that
the ambassador he had sent to the governor of *Besra*, on the
same errand as those who went to the princes above-men-
tioned, was assassinated by *Amru Ebn Shorheil*, an Arab of
the tribe of *Ghassân*, who was commandant of the place for
the emperor *Heraclius*, at *Mûta*, a town in the territory of
Balkâ, in *Syria*, about three days journey eastward from *Jeru-*
salem. The prophet was sensibly touched with this tragical
accident, and resolved to be revenged of the governor of
Mûta, for the affront offered him, and the loss he had sustain-
ed, by the death of his ambassador. For this purpose, he as-
sembled an army of 3,000 men, all chosen troops, and gave
the command of it to *Zeid Ebn Al Hâretha*, his freed-man,
with orders to advance to *Mûta*, the place where the murder
of *Al Hâreth Ebn Omair*, the *Azdite*, *Mohammed's* ambassa-
dor, was committed, without delay. This brought on a ge-
neral action between the *Christian* and *Moslem* forces, which

² PRID. life of Mahom. p. 70. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 187.

* AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 188. AL MOGHOLTAI.

ended in the defeat of the former, notwithstanding the vast disparity of numbers, as will soon more fully appear ^b.

Zeïd, ZEID, having received his instructions, began his march for *Mûta*; but being apprized that the emperor's army, composed of *Greeks* and auxiliary *Arabs*, amounting to 100,000 effective men, was likewise on its march to attack him, he thought proper to halt. In a council of war held on this occasion, it was at first proposed to send to the prophet for a reinforcement, to enable them to make head against so formidable a power, to which their diminutive forces bore no manner of proportion. But at last, by the persuasion of *Abd'allah Ebn Kawâba*, it was carried, that they should march directly against the enemy, and engage them, notwithstanding their inferiority in point of numbers. As they were to fight for their religion, and every thing dear to them lay now at stake, they were determined either to conquer or die ^c.

and ad- IN the mean time, the *Greeks* advanced to *Amsbâref*, a town
vances to on the confines of the territory of *Balka*, with a full resolution
that place. to offer the *Moslems* battle. But the latter, in pursuance of the prophet's orders, pushed their march with so much vigour, that they penetrated to *Mûta*, before the enemy reached that place, and immediately made the proper dispositions for an engagement ^d.

The battle THE imperial army being likewise arrived at *Mûta*, the
of Mûta battle immediately began. *Zeïd*, who carried the standard of *Islamism*, and fought in the first ranks, was killed in the beginning of the action; as was also *Jaafar Ebn Abu Tâleb*, who succeeded him in his post. *Abd'allah Ebn Rawâba*, who took upon him the command of the *Moslem* forces after the death of *Jaafar*, fell next; which occasioned such a consternation amongst the *Moslem* troops, that they instantly betook themselves to flight. However, *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, who succeeded to the command, rallying the fugitives, returned with the bravest of them to the charge, and fell with such fury upon a body of the enemy, that he broke them, and had cut them all to pieces, had not the approach of the night favoured their retreat. The next day, say the *Mohammedan* writers, *Khâled*, like a skilful warrior, made several movements with his army, in order to amuse the *Greeks*. He commanded the vanguard and the right wing to change places with the rear and the left, at the same time contracting some of his ranks, and dilating others of them, in such a manner as to make his troops appear much more numerous to the

^b ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 100, 101. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 100. SHARIF AL EDRISI. ^c ABULFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. ^d AL JANNAB. ubi sup.

enemy than they really were. This disposition, continue the same authors, had the desired effect; insomuch that the *Greeks*, being persuaded that the *Moslems* had received a strong reinforcement the preceding night, could not be prevailed upon to stand their ground, but fled with so much precipitation that they could never afterwards be rallied. *Khâled*, therefore, pursuing them with his victorious troops, made a great carnage of them, possessed himself of their camp, and carried away with him abundance of rich spoil. When a particular account of this action, of the success of which *Al Bokhâri* pretends he was apprized by revelation, was brought to *Mohammed*, he was so transported with joy, that he gave *Khâled* the honourable title of *Seif Min Soyûf Allah*, one of the swords of GOD ^e.

THAT the advantage gained by the *Moslems* on this occasion has been greatly amplified by their historians, we have little reason to doubt. The very genius of the *Arabs*, especially of the hot-headed enthusiasts amongst them, so inclinable to fiction and romance, particularly in relations of this nature, is of itself a sufficient proof of it. But this is likewise farther evinced by the testimony of *Theophanes*, a *Christian* chronographer of good authority, who represents the battle of *Mûta*, or, according to him, *Mothus*, as an action of no great importance, neither in itself nor its consequences, either to the *Moslems* or the *Greeks*. He only intimates, that the former lost three *Emirs* in it; and that *Khâled*, the fourth, made his escape; that the *Christian* army consisted only of a body of troops, drawn together in haste, solely with a view to make a sudden incursion upon the *Arab* territories. Nor is it in any degree probable, that 3,000 undisciplined barbarians should overthrow an army of 100,000 men, a considerable part of which, at least, must have consisted of regular troops. However, that the *Arabs*, in their own opinion, if not in fact and reality, had the advantage in this action, seems to be allowed by *Theophanes*, when he tells us, that *Khâled*, the surviving *Emir*, was honoured with the appellation of the *Sword of GOD*, in agreement with what has been advanced by the *Moslem* writers; and that the *Arabs*, when inured to war, and improved by military discipline, were more than a match for the *Greeks*, will hereafter appear, in our history of the empire of that people, under *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Othmân*, the three first *Khalifs*, or immediate successors of *Mohammed* ^f.

^e ABULFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. AL BOKHARI in Sonna.

^f THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 278, 279. Parisiis, 1655. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 429. AL BOKHARI in Sonna.

Character
of the
worthies
killed in
the pre-
ceding
battle.

WITH regard to the *Moslem* worthies who fell in the battle of *Mûta*, we shall only beg leave to observe, that the loss of them more than balanced the advantage gained in that action. *Jaafar Ebn Abu Tâleb* had always persisted, without the least variation, in his fidelity to the prophet, and had been very instrumental in bringing the *Najâshî* into his measures, during his residence in *Ethiopia*. *Zeid Ebn Hârethâ*, *Mohammed's* freed-man, and adopted son, had an uncommon affection for him, and was a person of great conduct and bravery, as appeared from his behaviour in the preceding memorable battle. And as for *Abd'allah Ebn Rawâba*, that he was a man of determined courage and resolution, besides an excellent military genius, and consequently such a one as *Mohammed* could not at that time very well spare, may be inferred from the advice he gave the *Moslems* before they advanced to *Mûta*. That town stood opposite to *Al Carac*, or, as it was afterwards called by the *Christian* historians, *Crac de Montréal*, one of the strongest fortresses in those parts, and not a little celebrated in the times of the *Crusades*. The battle, that rendered *Mûta* famous to succeeding ages, was fought, according to *Abulfeda*, in the month of the former *Jomâda*, and the eighth year of the *Hejra* 8.

Moham-
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troops ob-
tain an
advan-
tage over
the Ko-
daites.

In the following month, the prophet received advice, that the *Kodaites*, having assembled a considerable body of troops, were upon the point of making an irruption into the territory of *Medina*. Against these robbers he sent *Amru Ebn Al As* with a detachment of 430 men, 400 of whom were foot, and 30 horse; but being informed that they were not strong enough to face the enemy, he sent them a reinforcement of 200 men, under the command of *Abu Obeidah*. This enabled *Amru* to go in quest of the *Kodaites*, and to attack them at *Dhat Al Solâsel*; where, after a very brisk action, he intirely defeated them, and put several of them to the sword. In the month of *Rajeb*, the prophet perceiving that the *Koreish* were inclinable to come to a rupture with him, in defiance of the treaty lately concluded with them, ordered *Abu Obeidah Ebn Jarah* to march towards the sea-coast, with a body of 300 men, to observe their motions. Here *Abu Obeidah* staid so long, without being able to undertake any thing, that his provisions failed him; insomuch that he was forced to live upon the leaves of trees, which proved very pernicious and destructive to his men. But, at last, they seized upon a sea-monster, that had been thrown upon the shore by the tide, called *Anbar*, and fed upon it fifteen days; by which means they

* ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. AL BOKHARI in Sonna, EBN AMID in continuat. historiæ ejus inedit.

were

were cured of the ulcers and scorbutic eruptions they had been afflicted with, and had their health perfectly restored ^h.

THE following month, *Abu Kottâda Ebn Rabi*, the *Anfâr*, ^{Another of} advanced, at the head of a party of only 15 men, to *Kofra*, ^{his parties} a town of the province of *Najd*. Having entered the place ^{plunders} without opposition, he slew some of the principal inhabitants, ^{Kofra, a} took others of them prisoners, and brought away with him ^{town of} 100 camels, and 1,000 sheep, after having spent fifteen days ^{Najd.} in the expedition ⁱ.

ON the twenty-first day of the month *Ramadân*, this year, ^{The Ko-} *Mohammed* took the city of *Mecca*; the citizens whereof had ^{reish vio-} broken the truce concluded on two years before. For the ^{late the} tribe of *Beer*, who were confederates of the *Koreish*, attack- ^{late trea-} ing those of *Khozâab*, seated at *Al Wathir* in the plain of ^{ty} *Mecca*, who were allies of *Mohammed*, massacred twenty of them, and afterwards retired, being supported in the action by a party of the *Koreish* themselves. The consequence of this violation was soon apprehended; and *Abu Sa'ân* himself made a journey to *Medina*, on purpose to heal the breach, and renew the truce; but in vain. For *Mohammed*, glad of this opportunity, refused to see him. Whereupon he applied to *Abu Beer*, *Ali*, *Omar*, and *Fâtema*, to intercede for their countrymen with the prophet; but some of these giving him rough answers, and others none at all, he was obliged to remount his camel, and return to *Mecca* as he came ^k.

MOHAMMED immediately gave orders for preparations to *Moham-* be made, that he might surprize the *Meccans* while they were ^{med} unprovided to receive him. But *Hâteb Ebn Abu Baltaa*, one ^{makes pre-} of his hitherto faithful servants, having been bribed by the ^{parations} *Koreish*, attempted to give the people of *Mecca* notice of the ^{to attack} impending danger, tho' without effect. For the letter he would have sent to them, on this occasion, by one *Sarah*, a maid servant of the *Hâshemites*, having been intercepted at *Rawdat Al Khâb*, about twelve miles from *Medina*, was brought to *Mohammed*, to whom, as he pretended, the angel *Gabriel* had discovered the whole affair. *Mohammed* afterwards sending for *Hâteb*, asked him how he came to be guilty of such an action? To which he replied, that it was not out of infidelity, or a desire to return to idolatry, but merely to induce the *Koreish* to treat his family, which was still at *Mecca*, with some kindness; adding, that he was well assured his intelligence would be of no service at all to the *Meccans*, because he was well assured GOD would take vengeance on them. Whereupon *Omar*, who was present, desired the prophet's

^h AL JANNABI, ubi sup.
ABULFED. ubi sup. c. l. p. 102.

ⁱ Idem ibid.

^k I: M.

leave to strike off his head, as a proper reward for his hypocrisy and infidelity. But *Mohammed* received his excuse, and pardoned him, as he had greatly distinguished himself at the battle of *Bedr*; however, the prophet thought fit to forbid any such practices for the future. Which having done, he made all the necessary dispositions for immediately entering upon the intended expedition ^l.

Mohammed begins his march for Mecca. ON the tenth day of the month of *Ramadân*, according to *Al Jannâbi*, *Mohammed* began his march for *Mecca*, attended by an army composed of *Mohâjerîn*, *Ansârs*, and other *Arabs*, who had lately become converts to *Islamism*. These last were drawn principally out of the tribes of *Solaim*, *Ghâsar*, *Aslam*, *Mahzen*, *Yamim*, *Khozâa*; and *Asad*, which supplied the prophet with a very formidable body of troops. The *Moslems*, in their march, observed the fast of *Ramadân* till they arrived at *Cadid*, between *Kodaid* and *Osfân*, a place about 70 miles from *Mecca*, and five from the sea, according to *Sharîf Al Edrisi*. But here they were allowed to refresh themselves, that they might be in a better condition to sustain the fatigues of their march, and to look the enemy in the face when they drew near to *Mecca*. At *Cadaid*, the prophet also set up his standards, assigning to each tribe its particular colours, and from thence advanced in order of battle to *Mar Al Dhahrân*, four parasangs from *Mecca*, where the whole army encamped. Here the prophet ordered 10,000 fires to be lighted, and committed the defence of the camp to *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, who cut off all communication with the town, insomuch that the *Koreish* could receive no certain advice of their approach. Amongst others, that came from *Mecca* to reconnoitre the *Moslem* camp, *Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb*, *Hakim Ebn Hazâm*, and *Rodail Ebn Warka*, fell into *Omar's* hands, and, being conducted to *Mohammed*, were obliged to embrace *Islamism*, in order to save their lives. Upon a review of his army at this place, the prophet found it to consist of 10,000 effective men ^m.

Makes the proper dispositions for attacking that place. THE first rumour of this expedition had not a little terrified the *Koreish*, though they were not then apprized that the prophet had resolved upon a war; but perceiving now, by the report of *Abu Sofiân*, who had been sent back to them, that the enemy was at their gates, they were thrown into the utmost consternation. Of this *Mohammed* being soon informed, he was determined to take immediate advantage of the confusion that then reigned amongst them. He, therefore,

^l ABULFED. ubi sup. c. li. p. 102, 103. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 201. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. ^m ABULFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. SHARIF AL EDRISI:

first dispatched *Hakim* and *Bodail* to the *Meccans*, to invite them to take an oath of allegiance to him, and to become converts to his religion; and then made the following disposition of his forces. *Al Zobeir Ebn Al Auhm* he ordered to advance with a detachment towards the town, on the side of mount *Cadâ*. *Saad Ebn Obad*, prince of the tribe of *Khazraj*, marched, by his order, with another detachment, towards the height of *Coda*, which commands the plain of *Mecca*. *Ali* conducted the left wing of the army, composed of the *Ansârs* and *Mohâjerin*. The prophet put into his hands the great standard of *Islamism*, with orders to post himself upon mount *Al Hajun*, and to plant the standard there; strictly enjoining him not to stir from thence till he himself arrived, and till a proper signal from *Saad Ebn Obad* should be given him for that purpose. *Khâled* led the right wing, consisting of the *Arabs* lately converted to *Islamism*, with which he was to possess himself of the plain of *Mecca*. *Abu Obeidah Ebn Al Jarah* commanded in the centre, that was occupied by the *corps de bataille*, consisting intirely of infantry. As for the prophet, he placed himself in the rear, from whence he could the most easily dispatch his orders to all the general officers, as occasion should require. He expressly prohibited *Khâled*, and all his other generals, to act offensively, except they were first attackedⁿ.

THINGS being in this situation, the army, upon a signal given, and takes immediately put itself in motion. The prophet mounted his camel with great alacrity, and was that day clothed in red. He stopped at *Dhu Tava*, in order to perform his devotions, and was surrounded by an infinite number of people, who crouded in from all parts to see him. In the mean time, *Al Zobeir* pursued the route assigned him, without meeting with the least opposition; nor did *Saad Ebn Obad*, in his march, discover the faintest traces of an enemy. As for *Ali*, he took possession of the post assigned him without the least effusion of blood; and *Abu Obeidah* seized upon the suburbs, without the loss of a single man. But *Khâled*, in his march to the plain of *Mecca*, met with a large body of the *Koreish*, sustained by the *Banu Becr* and the *Al Ababishites*, their confederates, whom he immediately attacked; and, after a sharp dispute, dispersed them, putting 28 of them to the sword. Not content with this, he pursued them into the town, and massacred a great number of the inhabitants; which so terrified the rest, that some of them shut themselves up in their houses, others fled to the mountains, others to the sea-coast, and others,

ⁿ ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 104, 105. AL JANNABI, ubi supra, p. 207, 208, &c. AL FIRAUZABAD. in Al Kam,

lastly, made their escape to *Yaman*, to avoid the fury of that most impious and merciless barbarian, who had now made himself master of their city^o.

He makes his public entry into Mecca. MECCA being thus reduced, *Mohammed* made his public entry into that town, exactly at the time the sun first appeared upon the horizon. He was mounted on his camel *Al Kafiwa*, having on his right hand *Abu Becr*, on his left *Osaid Ebn Hodhair*, and *Osama Ebn Zeid* walked behind him. 'Tis said, that, on this occasion, he repeated aloud the who'e forty-eighth chapter of the *Korán*, intituled, THE VICTORY, which, as he pretended, was revealed to him two years before the commencement of this expedition^p.

Mohammed loses only two men in the expedition of Mecca. ACCORDING to one of the *Moslem* doctors, the *Meccans*, at *Mohammed's* approach, thought fit to surrender at discretion; so that he possessed himself of their city without any effusion of blood; tho' another, of equal authority, asserts, that he took the town by force, and exercised great cruelties upon the inhabitants. But neither of these accounts seems to be strictly true, as appears from the preceding narrative. For the *Koreish* seem to have made their submission to him, before they were rendered absolutely incapable of resisting him, tho' *Kháled* put a considerable number of them to the sword. Be that, however, as it will, according to *Abulfeda*, he lost only two men on this occasion^q.

Destroys the idols of the Koreish; ALL tumults being now appeased, and the public tranquility restored, *Mohammed* went seven times in procession round the *Caaba*, touching the corner of the black stone with the staff in his hand, as often as he passed by it, with great devotion. Then he entered the *Caaba*, where observing several idols in the form of angels, and the statues of *Abraham* and *Ishmael*, with the arrows of divination in their hands, he caused them all to be destroyed. He also broke to pieces, with his own hands, a wooden pigeon, that had long been esteemed as one of their deities by the idolatrous *Koreish*. Afterwards entering into the interior part of the *Caaba*, he repeated, with a loud voice, the form used at this day by the *Mohammedans*, ALLAH ACBAR, GOD IS GREAT, &c. turning towards every part of the temple. Then he prayed between the two pillars there, with two inclinations, as well as without the *Caaba*; saying to those that attended him, *This is your Kebra, or the place towards which you are to turn your*

^o ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 106, 107. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 208, 209. MOSLEM, EBN AMID, lib. i. c. i. ALTABAR. GREG. ARU'L-FARAJ. hist. dynast. p. 164. P ABULFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi supra.

^q AL SHAFEI & ABU HANIFA apud ISM. Abulfed ubi sup. c. li. p. 107. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid.

faces in prayer; and then entering the temple a second time, he preached to the people. He likewise, at this time, purged the *Caaba* of 360 idols, equalling in number the days of the *Arabian* year; the chief of which was that of *Hebal*, brought originally out of *Syria*; whose name seems to have been deduced from *הבל*, *Hebel*, *vanity*. After which, the prophet compassed the *Caaba* again seven times, and then visited the well *Zemzem*, so celebrated among the *Mohammedans*. He also performed the *Wadû*, or ordinary ablution used in common cases, with all the proper ceremonies, and all his followers did the like; which not a little excited the admiration of the idolaters. Then *Ali*, by his order, broke to pieces the great idol of the *Khozâites*, who held the angels to be the daughters of GOD, placed on the top of the *Caaba*, which was a composition of glass and melted or cast brass. It may not be improper to remark, on this occasion, that *Mohammed* entered the *Caaba* four times after the *Hejra*; first, when he performed the visitation of *Al Kadâ*, or the completion; secondly, the day he took *Mecca*; thirdly, the day after that exploit; and, lastly, when he performed the peregrination, or pilgrimage, of *valediction*. But the most solemn entry of all was that here described, which happened immediately after the reduction of *Mecca*.

THE prophet having thus subdued the *Koraisb*, in order to and after-
prevent effectually all future commotions, and consequently wards en-
to render them the more subservient to the accomplishment of his designs, he resolved now to ingratiate himself with them. Sending, therefore, for some of the principal of them, he said, *What treatment do you expect to meet with from me, now I have subdued you?* To which they replied, *None but what is favourable, O generous brother! O son of a generous brother!* Then he dismissed them with these words, *Go your way, you are from this moment a free people.* After this, to preserve peace and tranquility amongst his followers, he pretended, that a passage in the fourth chapter of the *Korân* had been revealed to him, the primary design of which was, to direct him to return the keys of the *Caaba* to *Othmân Ebn Telha*, who had then the honour to be keeper of that holy place, and not to deliver them to his uncle *Al Abbâs*, who, having already the custody of the well *Zemzem*, would fain have had also that of the *Caaba*. The prophet obeying the

† ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 107, 108. EBN ABBAS apud AL Bokhar. in Son. ut & ipse AL Bokhar. ibid. Lib. SHAFAO'L GAR-AM, i. e. *Medicin. Morbor.* AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 211, 212. ABD'ALLAH EBN OMAR apud AL Bokhar. in Son. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocock. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 95, ut & ipse POC, ibid. EBN AL ATHIR. See also SALE's prelim. disc. p. 20. pre-

pretended divine order, *Othmán* was so affected with the justice of the action, notwithstanding he had at first refused him entrance, that he immediately professed a second time *Mohammedism*; whereupon the guardianship of the *Caaba* was confirmed to this *Othmán* and his heirs for ever. The day the prophet took *Mecca*, when he entered the temple, he ordered *Belál*, his crier, to get upon the top of the *Caaba* at noon, and to call the people to prayer, from thence, for the first time; which custom has ever since been religiously observed, the criers giving the people notice of prayer from the *Minárets*, or steeples, of the mosques, as well as the top of the *Caaba*, in the same manner, and the very same form of words, at this day *.

Some pretended proofs of his mission.

AT this time, as some of the *Moslem* writers pretend, *Mohammed* gave two or three signal proofs of the reality of his mission, and intercourse with the Supreme Being, by discovering, tho' at a considerable distance, several secret reflections, thrown out by *Atáb Ebn Hosaid*, *Al Háreth Ebn Hesbám*, *Jomeiretba Bint Abu Jabl*, and some of the *Ansárs* assembled on the hill *Al Safá*, against him. But this being to be considered only as a low and groveling imitation of two or three particulars related of our Saviour in the Gospels, and favouring perfectly of the *Arab* genius, so extremely addicted to fable, romance, and rhodomontade, it is sufficient just to have mentioned it here; especially as, like a thousand other chimæras of the *Mohammedans*, believed by no body but the most bigotted and ignorant part of themselves, it merits not the least attention †.

He professes several of the Arabs.

THE day after the taking of *Mecca*, the *Khozaites*, elated with the prophet's success, massacred one *Al Anxa*, of the tribe of *Hodhail*, an idolater. Nor did their insolence stop here; one of them, named *Kherasb Ebn Omuneya*, killing *Abmar*, a *Moslem*, and a man of great bravery and resolution. This induced *Mohammed* to declare *Mecca* an asylum, and to give out publicly, that he would maintain, to the utmost of his power, the inviolable security of that place. However, after he had been solemnly inaugurated on the hill *Al Safá*, by the people assembled for that purpose, and they all, and particularly *Henda Bint Otha*, the wife of *Abu Sofián*, had taken the oath of allegiance to him, he thought fit to proscribe several persons who had rendered themselves the most obnoxious by their former conduct. The persons so

* ISM. ABULFEN. ubi sup. p. 107. Autor. lib. dict. AL EC-TEFA, AL BEIDAWI. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 220, 221. † AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 213. MATT. c. ix. v. 4. LUK. c. ix. v. 46, 47. JOH. c. xvi. v. 30. xxi. 17.

proscribed amounted to no more than six men and four women, according to *Abulfeda*; tho', if we will believe *Al-Bokhârî*, in the *Sonâ*, eleven men and six women were excepted out of the general amnesty. As the *Sonâ* is of the highest authority with the *Mohammedans*, we shall beg leave to follow it in this particular, and insert a short account of those unhappy wretches here; tho' only three men and one woman were put to death, the rest obtaining pardon on their embracing *Islamism*, and one of the women making her escape *.

1. THE first man, solemnly proscribed by the prophet, was *Acremah Ebn Abu Jahl*, who fled to the sea-side, the day *Mohammed* made his public entry into *Mecca*. But *Omm Hakim Bint Al Hâreth Ebn Heshâm*, to whom he had been newly married, procured him his pardon. After which, *Mohammed* conferred upon him, as a mark of his favour, the post of colonel of a regiment of *Hawâzenites*; and he always behaved extremely well in the service. He was at last killed, fighting valiantly, at the battle of *Yermouk*, in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*, after he had received no less than seventy wounds *.

2. THE second was *Hobâr Ebn Al Asjudd*, who, by repeated ill treatment, had grievously offended the prophet. He had, conscious of his crimes, concealed himself in such a manner, the day *Mecca* was taken, that none of the *Moslems* could find him. However, he afterwards obtained a pardon, by discovering all the marks of a sincere penitent, embracing *Islamism*, and making a double profession of it *.

3. THE third person who had incurred the prophet's highest displeasure, was *Abd'allah Ebn Saad Ebn Abu Sarah*, father-brother to *Othmân Ebn Affân*, who, with great difficulty, procured him a pardon. His crimes were of a very heinous nature. He was, for some time, the prophet's amanuensis; and, when these words were dictated to him as revealed, *viz. We created man of a purer kind of clay, &c.* cried out, by way of admiration, *Blessed be GOD, the best Creator!* and being order'd by *Mohammed* to write these words down also, as part of the inspired passage, he began to think himself as great a prophet as his master. Whereupon he took upon himself to corrupt and alter the *Korân*, according to his own fancy, and even to ridicule *Mohammed*, by declaring every-where, that *he knew not what he said*. Nay, retiring afterwards to *Mecca*, he associated with the *Kireish*, and even at length absolutely apostatized. He had rendered himself so extremely disagreeable

* AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 215. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. lii. p. 108—111. AL BOKHAR. in SONNâ.

* ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 109. ut & Lib. SHAFAD'L GARAM, Aut. lib. SAFWA, AL BOKHAR. ubi sup.

* ABULFED. & AL BOKHAR. ubi sup.

to *Mohammed*, that a passage in the sixth chapter of the *Korân* is thought by the commentators to have been levelled at him. However, *Othmân*, by his reiterated instances, at last prevailed upon the prophet to lay aside his resentment, and pardon him; and he was afterwards looked upon as one of the most considerable, the most prudent, and the most honourable; of the *Koreish*. He was a most excellent horseman, and so extremely fond of horses, that, when he was at the point of death, he repeated the 100th chapter of the *Korân*, intituled, THE WAR-HORSES WHICH RUN SWIFTLY. He died at *Ascalon*, or, as others will have it, at *Ramla*, in *Palestine*, whither he was sent by the *Khalif Othmân*, who had made him governor of *Egypt*, in the 36th or the 37th year of the *Hejra* 1.

4. THE fourth man proscribed was *Mekias Ebn Sabâba*, the *Kendite*, who had killed an *Ansar*, that had slain his brother, by mistake. He also apostatized, associated with the idolaters, and drank wine. He was at last cut off by *Tamila Ebn Abd'allah*, the *Leithite*, one of his companions *.

5. THE fifth person doomed to destruction, was *Abd'allah Ebn Khatal*, descended from the *Banu Taim*. He had killed a *Moslem*, associated with two comedians, named *Fariata* and *Kariba*, who had sung satirical verses upon *Mohammed*. For all which crimes the prophet thought fit to proscribe him. Being found in a private part of the *Caaba*, where he lay concealed, on the day *Mecca* was taken, the prophet ordered him to be slain there, in contempt and violation of the privileges of that sacred place. But finding afterwards that this barbarous, as well as impious, action shocked even his own most bloody and abandoned followers, he gave out, that he had a peculiar licence from heaven to violate the immunities of the *Caaba* for one hour only. In this manner did the impostor trample upon every thing held sacred by the other *Arabs*, and even acknowledged to be so by himself, when it stood in the way of his insatiable ambition; and this, to use his own expression, by *forging a lie concerning GOD*, than which nothing can be more superlatively wicked, as he has himself expressly allowed in the sixth chapter of the *Korân* *.

6. THE sixth man proscribed, was *Al Howaireth Ebn Nakaid Ebn Wahab Ebn Abd Ebn Kafa*, and consequently a member of the most illustrious tribe of *Koreish*. He had reviled the pro-

* Idem ibid. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 217. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. vi. AL BEIDAWI. * ABULFED. & AL BOKHAR. ubi sup. Aut. Lib. MOALEMO'L TANZIL, AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 219.

* ABULFED. & AL BOKHARI, ubi sup. Aut. Lib. SHAFAO'L GARAM, AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 216. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. vi.

phet, and insulted his daughters *Fâtema* and *Omm Calthûm*, or, as others will have it, *Zeinab*, who happened at that time to be with child, in the rudest and most outrageous manner. This was a most atrocious and even unpardonable crime; so that *Mohammed* first proscribed him, and afterwards ordered *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* to slay him ^b.

7. THE seventh, according to *Al Jannâbi*, was *Safwân Ebn Ommeyya*, a very rich man, and one who had maltreated the prophet. He was at *Jodda*, when *Mecca* was taken, and, with his valet *Yesar*, upon the point of making his escape to *Yaman*, when *Omaïr Ebn Wabar* arrived with his pardon from *Mohammed*. Being a person of great influence and authority, he had his liberty given him, and was even not obliged to turn *Mohammedan* ^c.

8. THE eighth was *Hâreth Ebn Talâtala*, who had used *Mohammed* ill on several occasions. He was dispatched by *Ali*, who cut off his head at the prophet's command ^d.

9. THE ninth was *Caab Ebn Zohair Ebn Abu Salama*, the *Mazenite*, who had been very satirical upon the prophet. The day *Mecca* was taken, he retired, and returned the next year. We shall speak farther of him hereafter ^e.

10. THE tenth was *Wahsha Ebn Harb*, an *Ethiopian*, who had killed *Hamza*, the prophet's uncle, at the battle of *Obod*. He was mortally hated by the *Mosslems* for that action. He likewise fled, when *Mecca* was taken, but returned the next year. We shall see what became of him hereafter ^f.

11. THE eleventh man proscribed by *Mohammed* was *Adâhab Ebn Zabara*, one of the most celebrated poets of the *Arabs*. He had ridiculed the prophet, and his companions, in his verses, and excited the idolaters to fall upon them. He also fled, when *Mecca* was taken, apprehending that he should be proscribed. But returning afterwards, and professing *Islamism*, he easily obtained his pardon ^g.

1. OF the women proscribed by *Mohammed*, the first was *Henda Bint Otba*, the wife of *Abu Sofiân*. She had frequently use the prophet ill, and treated the body of *Hamza*, after the above-mentioned *Ethiopian* had dispatched him, with great inhumanity. She was disguised, and covered with a veil, when she appeared before *Mohammed*; who, notwith-

^b ABULFED. & AL BOKHAR. ubi sup. EBN HESHAM apud Aut. Lib. SHAFAR'OL GARAM, AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 219. ^c AL BOKHAR. ubi sup. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 220. ABULFED. geogr. Arab. p. 50.

^d AL BOKHAR. & AL JANNAB. ubi supra. ^e Idem ibid.

^f ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 65. AL BOKHAR. cap. de prælio Obodensi.

^g ABULFED. geogr. Arab. p. 52. AL BOKHAR. in Sonna.

standing her former savage and iniquitous conduct, was prevailed upon to pardon her ^l.

2. The second was *Fariata*, one of the comedians above-mentioned, who, in their songs and verses, had been very satirical upon the prophet. She was the maid-servant of *Abd'allah Ebn Khatal*, who had been butcher'd by *Mohammed* for the same affront. However, she obtained her pardon, by becoming a proselyte to *Islamism* ^k.

3. THE third was *Kariba*, or, as others call her, *Kainata*, the other comedian, employed by *Abd'allah Ebn Khatal*. She was taken, and fixed to a cross, upon which she expired in exquisite torture ^l.

4. THE fourth was another maid-servant of the aforesaid *Abd'alla*, who likewise suffered death ^m.

5. THE fifth was *Sarah*, the maid-servant belonging to the family of *Hâshem*, who had been employed by *Hâteb Ebn Abu Baltaa*, to carry the letter he wrote to the *Koreish*, to inform them of *Mohammed's* intention to besiege *Mecca*. She was pardoned, and died in the *Khalifat* of *Omar* ⁿ.

6. THE sixth and last was one *Omm Saud Arnab*, of whom we know nothing more than that she was butcher'd, for some ill offices done the prophet, that have not been specified by any of the *Moslem* historians ^o.

Mohammed remained at *Mecca*, after the surrender of that place, which happened on *Friday* the 21st of *Ramadân*, only fifteen days. This short time was spent in regulating the affairs of the government, and sending his generals upon several military expeditions, whose chief objects were the destruction of idolatry, and the extension of his new conquests. As he was wholly taken up with affairs of the highest consequence, he curtailed his prayers, and instead of four formerly in vogue, used now only two inclinations. Having settled every thing to his satisfaction at *Mecca*, he set out from thence on the sixth of the month of *Shawâl*, at the head of his forces, for *Hmein*, where he arrived the same day ^p.

He sends However, before his departure from *Mecca*, he detached *Khâled* to his most famous general, *Khâled Ebn Walid*, with a body of troops to *Nakhla*, a city about a day's journey from *Mecca*, in the neighbourhood of *Al Tâyes*, with orders to destroy the idol *Al Ozza*, made of the trunk of a tree, and adored by the *Banu Kenânab*. *Khâled* executed his orders so effectually,

^l ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 110. AL BOKHAR. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. ^k AL BOKHAR. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. ^l Ibidem.

^m Ibidem. ⁿ ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 103. AL BOKHAR. ubi sup. ^o AL BOKHAR. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup.

^p ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 106. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 215, 216.

that, after he had pierced *Al Ozza*, or *Al Uzza*, with an arrow discharged at her, as a mark of his respect, for that purpose, he slew two ugly she-demons, or rather two of *Al Uzza*'s priestesses, that appeared. The first of these sallied out after the arrow was discharged, and the other after the idol was burnt, and the temple belonging to it demolished. The adoration of *Al Uzza* was not confined to the *Banu Kenānah*, that goddess having been also worshipped by the *Banu Salim* and the *Koreish* 9.

AT the same time that *Khāled* destroyed the idol *Al Uzza*, and *Amru Amru Ebn Al As* broke to pieces the idol *Sawa*, belonging to *Ebn Al* the tribe of *Hodhail*, at *Rohāt*, about three miles distant *As to de-* from *Mecca*; and *Saad Ebn Zeid* did the same by *Manah*, *stroy that* an idol of the tribes of *Aws* and *Khazraj*, and the other *of Sawa*. inhabitants of the district of *Medina*. The former of these idols was supposed to have been older than the deluge, to have been discovered by the devil, and to have had pilgrimages instituted to it; and the latter, that was a large stone, was placed on the top of an eminence not far from the sea, by the foot of which ran the river *Codaïd*. Here the tribes of *Hodhail*, *Khozaah*, *Thakif*, *Aws*, and *Khazraj*, frequently assembled, and offered their sacrifices. We are told by some of the *Moslem* writers, that *Saad* killed a she-fiend, or an ugly black priestess, as well as *Khāled*, that seemed by no means inclinable to survive the idol with which she had so long had a most close and inseparable connexion 1.

IN order to give our readers some idea of the origin of this *The origin* sort of idols amongst the *Arabs*, we must beg leave to *of idolatry* serve, that, according to the *Moslem* doctors, the *Caaba* was *amongst* held in the highest veneration by that people from the *the Arabs*. remotest antiquity. They pretend, that this temple was built by *Abraham*; tho' 'tis more probable, that either *Ishmael*, or some of his descendants, erected it. The city of *Mecca* itself, which is extremely ancient, had at first, according to *Golius*, the name of *Caba*, or *Caaba*; tho' afterwards it was called *Mecca*, or *Becca*, which words are synonymous, and signify a place of great contourse, from the infinity of strangers that resorted to it, in the months of *Al Moharram* and *Dhu'l-hajja*, from all parts of the *Mohammedan* dominions. The posterity of *Ishmael*, according to the *Moslem* writers, remained in the worship of the true GOD, as long as they confined themselves to this place. But the inhabitants of *Mecca*, in process of time, multiplied to such a degree, that they were obliged to seek for new habitations, and plant colonies, in the

9 AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 226.
RAUZABADI in lexic. Al Kam.

1 Idem ibid. AL FR-

neighbouring parts; when, in order to preserve the veneration and respect they had always for the *Caaba*, they carried with them some stones taken from thence, and fixed them in the places of their residence, compassing them, when they performed their devotions, in the same manner as they formerly had done the *Caaba*. This religious ceremony insensibly degenerated into the worst kind of superstition, by the *Arabs* converting these stones into idols, and adorning them with a great variety of decorations. So that the religion and primitive institutions of their great ancestors *Abraham* and *Ishmael* being at last totally forgotten, they became gross and multifarious idolaters. However, there were always some amongst them who adhered to the religion of *Abraham*, in its ancient purity, and regularly performed the pilgrimage to the *Caaba*, going in procession round that sacred place with the most fervent devotion. For a more particular account of the idols destroyed by *Mohammed's* order in *Arabia*, and the religion, or rather superstition, of the ancient *Arabs*, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to our history of that people before the time of *Mohammed*, to which it more properly belongs *.

*Khâled's
expedition
against
the Jadhî-
mites.*

IN the month of *Shawâl*, after *Khâled* had finished his expedition against *Al Uzza*, he was dispatched with a body of 350 men to propagate *Islamism*; but was ordered by the prophet not to act offensively any-where, except he should be first attacked. Having received his instructions, he marched directly against the *Jadhîmites*, a tribe who, before the establishment of the new religion, had assassinated *Auf Abdal Rahmân's* father, and *Khâled's* uncle, when those two persons were on their return from *Yaman*; and carried off all their effects. *Khâled*, therefore, was resolved to take vengeance on them for so inhuman and iniquitous an action. In order to which, having incamped near a water, or well, that belonged to them, he waited their approach; and, upon their appearing armed, he ordered them to lay down their arms, and to profess *Islamism*. This, according to *Abulfeda*, they readily complied with. But *Khâled*, far from being satisfied with so prompt and quick a submission, commanded their hands to be tied behind their backs, and then, in a most brutal manner, put the greatest part of them to the sword. Which cruel, as well as cowardly, action was highly disapproved of by *Mohammed*. However, *Al Bakhârî*, in order to palliate *Khâled's* conduct, tells us, that the *Jadhîmites* would not cry out, *We embrace Islamism*, as *Khâled* ordered

* GOLIY notæ ad Alfragan. p. 99. EBN HESHAM, AL JANNAB. ubi sup. Univers. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 378—392. Lond. 1748.

them to do ; but, on the contrary, loudly declared, that *they* *professed* Sabaism ; upon which, *Khâled* fell upon them, killed many of them, and took the rest prisoners. To which he adds, that *Khâled* could not prevail upon his men to massacre their captives ; and that the prophet himself afterwards applauded their conduct on this occasion. But we must beg leave to observe, that *Abulfeda*, for the most part a fair and candid writer, seems to have given us the most dispassionate and impartial relation of this affair, and withal such a one as must be allowed perfectly agreeable to *Khâled*'s character. Nay, that historian positively affirms, that *Mohammed* sent *Ali* to distribute a sum of money amongst the surviving *Jadhîmites*, to make them some amends for the blood *Khâled* had spilt ; as also, that *Abda'l Rahmân*, whose father's death *Khâled* pretended to revenge, upbraided him with his cruelty. In fine, if this author may be depended upon, *Mohammed*, with great indignation, said to this butcher, *O Khâled, cease to molest my followers. If you possessed a heap of gold as large as mount Ohod, and expended it all in God's cause, your merit would not be equal to that of one of those persons whom you have so inhumanely destroyed* †.

THE prophet having received advice, that his enemies were *Moham-* making great warlike preparations, resolved to march against med's ex- them with all his forces. Before his departure, he constituted *pedition* *Otâb Ebn Osaid Ebn Abu'l Ais Ebn Ommeya Ebn Abd Shems* against commandant of *Mecca*, and nominated *Moadb Ebn Jabal*, *the tribes* *Imâm*, or supreme director of every thing relating to religion. *of Hawâ-* The *Arabs*, that opposed him in this war, were the tribes of *Thakif*. *Hawâzen* and *Thakif*, who were joined by the *Saandites*, a branch of the *Banu Bacr*. The generals, who commanded the troops formed out of these tribes, amounting to about 4,000 men, were *Mâlec Ebn Awf*, the *Nadirite*, *Doraid Ebn Al Semma*, the *Jeshmite*, at that time above an hundred years of age, whose body was reduced to a mere skeleton, and *Kenânah Abd Yâkil*, the *Thakifite*. These infidels, says *Al Fannâbi*, being closely attached to their idols, could not bring themselves to submit to *Mohammed*'s institutions ; and therefore resolved to make a vigorous effort to re-establish their idolatrous worship. In order to this, the aforesaid *Arab* generals, having assembled all their forces, advanced to the plain of *Awâtis*, between *Dhât Irk* and *Amra*, and at a small distance from the valley of *Honein*, situated between *Mecca* and *Tâyes*, about three miles from the former city. Here they

† ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. liii. p. 111, 112. SALEM & AL ZOHAR. apud Al Bokhâr. in Sonna, ut & ipse AL BOKHAR. ibid. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 227.

incamped, with a resolution to wait for the *Moslem* army, and made all the necessary dispositions for entering immediately upon action ^u.

*The battle
of Ho-
nein.*

IN the mean time, *Mohammed* being informed by *Abd'al-lah Ebn Abu Yaddad*, the *Assamite*, one of his spies, who had penetrated *Mâlec's* designs, of all the enemy's motions, set out from *Mecca* on the sixth day of the month *Shawâl*, with an army of 12,000 men, in order to attack the infidel *Arabs*. The *Moslems* arrived at *Honein* in the evening, and found the enemy drawn up in order of battle, having chosen a spot of ground very commodious for their horse. To the advantageous situation of the place *Mâlec*, the enemy's general, added a stratagem, which proved of considerable service to him. By favour of the night, he extended his army on two eminences that commanded the plain, and posted a body of troops at the straits of the valley, ordering them to form an ambuscade, and in the morning, immediately after break of day, to discharge their arrows from all parts upon the enemy, to throw them into confusion, and then to fall upon them sword in hand with the greatest impetuosity, without giving them time to recover themselves. In the mean time, *Mohammed* having put his army in battle-array, and mounted his white mule *Daldal*, gave the signal to his troops to advance, and begin the attack ^w.

THE *Moslems* seeing themselves so greatly superior to the enemy, whom they held in the utmost contempt, made themselves sure of the victory; insomuch that a certain person, whom some suppose to have been *Abu Beccr*, others *Salema Ebn Salâma*, others *Al Abbâs*, and, lastly, others the prophet himself, cried out, 'Tis impossible these should be overcome by so few. But GOD, says some of the *Moslem* writers, was so highly displeased with this confidence, that he suffered the apostle and his followers to be not a little mortified on this occasion. For the *Mohammedan* troops were scarce entered the valley, when they found themselves overwhelmed by a shower of arrows, discharged from all parts, in pursuance of *Mâlec's* orders, by the idolaters, who occupied the heights both on the right hand and on the left. This, with the brisk attack that followed, as *Mâlec* had foreseen, threw the *Moslems* into such confusion, that they immediately betook themselves to flight, some of them running away quite to *Mecca*. In the mean time, the prophet did his utmost, both by words and actions, to animate his troops, and persuade them to return

^u ABULFED. ubi sup. c. liv. p. 112—115. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 27. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, EBN ISHAK, EBN AMID, lib. i. c. 1. ^w Idem ibid.

to the charge; but, for some time, without effect, scarce any of them standing by him, except *Abu Becr, Omar, Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb, Al Abbâs, Abu Sofîân Ebn Al Hâreth*, with his son *Jaafar, Al Fadhl Ebn Al Abbâs, Rabia Ebn Al Hâreth*, and *Osâma Ebn Zeid*. Nay, for some time, the prophet himself was in extreme danger, *Aiman Ebn Obaid* dropping down dead at his feet. However, according to some of the *Arab* writers, *Mohammed* distinguished himself on this occasion, his courage being so great, that his uncle *Al Abbâs*, and his cousin *Abu Sofîân Ebn Al Hâreth*, had much ado to prevent his spurring his mule into the midst of the enemy, by laying hold on the bridle and stirrup. In this extremity, he had recourse to a stratagem, which did him signal service; addressing himself to his mule *Daldal, Lie down on the ground*, said he, *lie down on the ground*; which the mule accordingly did, and thereby infused fresh vigour into his troops. Then he ordered *Al Abbâs*, who had the voice of a *Stentor*, to recall his flying battalions; upon which they rallied, and the prophet throwing a handful of dust against the enemy, they attacked them a second time, and, by the divine assistance, gained a complete victory *.

At the beginning of the action, when the *Moslems* deserted their prophet, some of the new converts, particularly *Abu Sofîân Ebn Harb, Calda, and Safwân Ebn Ommeya*, could not conceal their joy for the disaster that had befallen him. They openly discovered their abhorrence both of him and his religion, tho' they had so lately declared themselves proselytes to it, at this juncture. And in the same manner will all future new converts to any religion; party, or political scheme, who become so purely out of a mercenary motive, or solely with a view to forward their own interest, probably act upon all future similar occasions †.

AFTER the *Hawâzenites* gave ground, the *Thakîfites* defended themselves with so much bravery, that they chose to be cut in pieces rather than turn their backs. Seventy of them were found dead under their colours, after the end of the action. However, at last the defeat was general, and all the plain was covered with dead bodies ‡.

MALEC, the enemy's general, with his principal officers, *Mâlec* retired to the castle of *Al Tayef*; and most of the others that *tires to* escaped fled to *Nakbla*. But *Deraid Ebn Al Semma*, by reason *the castle* of his great age and infirmities, was obliged to stay at *Awîq*. of *Al Tayef*.

* ABULFED. AL JANNAB. AL BEIDÂWÎ, JALLALO'DDIN, ERN ISH. ubi sup. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. in f. ix. Al Kor. Moham. ut & ipse Al Kor. MOHAMMED. ibid. † ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 114. ‡ AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 231.

This occasioned another general action, of which we shall soon give our readers a particular account ^a.

Al Shima THE principal of the prisoners taken at the battle of *Honein* was *Al Shima Bint Al Hareth*, whose mother was *Hali-ma*, of the tribe of *Saad*. She had been foster-sister to the apostle, who had formerly bit her in the back, and the scar of the wound still remained. Upon her shewing him this, he gave her her liberty, and sent her back to her friends, as she desired ^b.

The battle of Awtas. **MOHAMMED**, after the preceding engagement, receiving advice, that *Doraid Ebn Al Semma* was at *Awtas*, with the *Joshmite* troops, sent *Obaid*, surnamed *Abu Amer*, with a large detachment to reduce him. *Obaid* coming up with the enemy in the plain of *Awtas*, fell upon them with such fury, that, after a sharp dispute, he intirely defeated them; though he himself lost his life in the action. However, *Abu Musa*, who succeeded *Obaid* in the command of the detachment, pursued the flying enemy, who had taken the route of *Nakbla*; and *Rabia Ebn Rast*, one of *Abu Musa*'s men, put *Doraid Ebn Al Semma* himself to the sword in the pursuit. *Obaid*'s death greatly affected *Mohammed*, who, in compliance with his dying request, after having purified himself with the ablution called *Wudu*, offered up his prayers both for *Obaid* and his successor *Abu Musa*. Whence it appears, that the *Moslems* considered their prophet as capable of performing the function of a mediator or intercessor. As some of *Mohammed*'s men had a scruple of conscience relating to their enjoyment of the female captives taken at *Honein* and *Awtas*, in order to remove this, the prophet had recourse to his usual impious artifice, of pretending to have had a divine revelation, by which the matter was ultimately settled. It was therefore declared, by a passage of the *Koran*, that it is lawful to marry those who are slaves, or taken in war, after they shall have gone through the proper purifications; tho' their husbands be living. Yet, according to the decision of *Abu Hanifa*, it is not lawful to marry such whose husbands shall be taken, or in actual slavery with them. We are moreover assured by the *Koran*, that the *Moslems* were assisted by troops of angels at the battle of *Honein*, tho' neither *Mohammed*, nor any of his men perceived them. As to the precise number of these celestial auxiliaries, the commentators differ: some say they were 5,000, some 8,000, and others 16,000. A great number of proselytes were gained by that battle, and the action at *Awtas*. After which, *Mohammed*, at their desire, was so generous as to restore the captives to their friends, and offered to make amends

^a Idem ibid.

^b *ABULFED.* ubi sup. p. 115.

himself to any of his men who should not be willing to part with his prisoners; but they all conformed to the will of their prophet in this, as well as every other particular c.

THE prophet being informed, that *Mâlec*, with the shattered remains of his army, was fled to *Al Tâyesf*, resolved to put an end to this bloody and expensive war, by the reduction of that place. As he knew the importance of the city, that was fortified with a castle, and had foreseen all the difficulties that would attend the siege of so strong a fortress, he had provided himself with battering rams, catapults, and all other military machines employed in such operations, together with the most skilful engineers to play them, with which he was supplied by the tribe of *Daws*, the most famous of all the *Arabs* for such artificers, and, in fine, with every thing requisite to bring so hazardous an enterprize to a happy conclusion. For this purpose, he dispatched *Al Tefail Ebn Amru*, the *Dawfite*, to invite his brethren to embrace *Islamism*, and to furnish the prophet with a body of troops. He also at the same time commanded him, in his way, to destroy the idol called *Dhu'l-Caffain*, or the two-handed idol, made of wood, and belonging to one *Amru Ebn Jamaa*. After the execution of which commissions, he was ordered to rejoin the army before *Al Tâyesf*, of which place the prophet proposed immediately to form the siege d.

AL TAFAIL having reduced the idol *Dhu'l-Caffain* to and forms ashes, and brought the tribe of *Daws* over to *Islamism*, in the siege pursuance of his orders, returned to *Mohammed*, with a body of of that *Dawfite* auxiliaries, amounting to 400 men, together with a place. great number of military machines, spades, pick-axes, and other instruments proper for removing the earth, and sapping the walls of cities. He arrived in the camp before *Al Tâyesf* four days after the commencement of the siege e.

AL TAYEF was a city of no very large extent, about sixty miles, or three stations, to the east of *Mecca*. It was situated, says *Abulfeda*, in a fruitful territory, to the east of mount *Ghazwân*, which the *Arabs* commonly pronounce *Af-wân*. That mountain is the coldest spot in the province of *Hejaz*, the water there being frozen in the clefts of the rocks. It produces excellent raisins, and is blessed with a very salubrious air. *Al Jannâbi* adds, that its territory is spacious, capable of cultivation, and abounding with fountains. The

* ABULFED. in descript. Arab. p. 15. ABU MUSA & ABU BORDA apud Al Bokhâr. in Sonna, ut & ipse AL BOKHARI ibid. AL BEIDAWI, Al KOR. MOHAMMED. f. ix.

d ABULFED. ubi sup. c. lvi. p. 117. AL JANNABI, ubi sup. p. 233. e AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 234.

word *Táyef* signifies *turning in a round*, and was applied to this city, according to *Abulfeda*, because, at the time of the deluge, the spot on which it stands was detached from *Syria*, and, after having been continually turned in a round, by the violence of the waters, was at last fixed in the place where it still remains. But the inhabitants, if we will believe *Al Jan-nábi*; relate, that *Gabriel* transported the ground, on which it now is seated, as well as the city itself, from the neighbourhood of *Sanaa*, the capital of *Yaman*, to the place where it at present stands. From whence comes the name *Al Táyef*. It was anciently, whilst distant only two parasangs from *Sanaa*, says the same author, called *Veja*, or *Waj*†.

The siege
of that
place.

MOHAMMED departed from *Honein* on the tenth of *Shawál*, to form the siege of *Al Tayef*; having sent *Kháled Ebn Al Walid* before with the van-guard of the army, to invest the place. With the rest of the troops he marched directly to *Nakhla*, and made himself master of that town. From thence he advanced to *Karne*, afterwards to *Al Malih*, and then to the tree called *Roga*, belonging to *Labba*, where he erected a mosque. After this, leaving the great road, he ruined a castle belonging to *Málec*; from whence turning to the left, he encamped at *Alisier*, which is likewise called *Sadera*. Afterwards he pillaged and destroyed several castles of the *Thakifites*; and last of all sat down before *Al Táyef*, taking his quarters on a spot directly opposite to the castle. But as his camp was so near the fortifications, being within bow-shot of them, the garison discharged a shower of arrows upon his men, by which several of them were slain. This obliged him to change his post, and retire to a farm, called at this day *Salama*, at a greater distance from the town, where he encamped. Here he caused two tents to be pitched, one for his wife *Omm Salma*, and the other for *Zeinab*, who attended him in this expedition. As long as the siege continued, he constantly said his prayers between these two tents; and, after the *Thakifites* embraced *Islamism*, *Amru Ebn Ommeya Ebn Wahab Ebn Matab Ebn Málec* built a mosque upon the place where *Mohammed* had prayed. This mosque was so enlarged by the *Khalif Al Mo'tasem Billah*, that it was rendered capable of containing a very numerous congregation. He also erected a magnificent mausoleum upon the tomb of *Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbás*, his uncle, and two stately domes of fine cut stone on the places where *Omm Salma's* and *Zeinab's* tents had stood. This mosque was also repaired and beautified by *Al Náser Ledinillah* and *Al Mostanjed Bil-*

† AL JANNAH. ubi sup. p. 234. ABULFED. geogr. Arab. p. 56. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 99, 100.

lah, two of the later *Khalifs*. The *Moslem* historian *Abu Mohammed Mostafa Ebn Al Sayyad Hasan Al Hoseini Al Hashemi Al Koraishi* said his prayers in this mosque, and saw the two domes, in the year of the *Hejra* 973, or of CHRIST 1565, when they were all in good condition &c.

THE prophet having thus secured himself from the insults of the garison, he besieged the place in form. He opened the trenches regularly before it, planted his rams, and disposed all his other engines of battery in such a manner, that they might play incessantly upon the town. This he continued to do without intermission; and, at last, with the assistance of forty military machines, opened such large breaches in the wall, as enabled the *Moslems* to make a general assault; which they did with surprising courage and resolution, but were vigorously repulsed by the besieged, who terribly galled them with their arrows. This great resistance so shocked the prophet, that he began to doubt of the success of the siege; and therefore, in order to intimidate the garison, he ordered all the vines belonging to the town to be destroyed. He also offered a public manumission to all the slaves that made up part of the garison, to induce them to desert. But neither of these expedients produced the desired effect, the *Thakifites* still defending themselves with unparalleled bravery. So that having spent twenty days in fruitless attacks, and seeing not the least probability of carrying the place by force, he found himself obliged, tho' with the greatest reluctance and concern, at last to abandon the siege ^b.

IN the last attack, *Abu Sofian Ebn Harb* lost one of his eyes, as he did the other in the battle of *Yermouk*. In his return, the prophet took his route by *Waba*. That town was filled with riches that belonged to the inhabitants of *Al Tayef*. All which *Mohammed* seized upon, and carried off, besides a vast number of camels, oxen, sheep, &c. that he found also in the place. The treasure he gave all to *Safwan*, who had presented him with a very considerable quantity of arms, and attended him in the expeditions of *Honein*, *Awtas*, and the siege of *Al Tayef*. From *Waba* the prophet marched to *Karn Al Manzal*, repassed by *Nakbla*, from whence he arrived with his army at *Al Jarana*, on the fifth of the month *Dhu'l-kada*. Here he had left all the spoils and slaves taken from the *Hawazenites* after the battles of *Honein* and *Awtas*. This town is situated between *Al Tayef* and *Mecca*, tho' nearer the latter of those cities, on the road to *Irak* and *Bagdad*. Having halted here thirteen days, the prophet took an inventory of the spoils, pillage, slaves, &c. that had fallen into his

^a ABULFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup.

^b Idem ibid.

hands during the siege of *Al Táyeſ*, and the courſe of his excuſions in the territory of that city. Whereupon he found that he had made 6,000 men, women, and children, priſoners; and had moreover brought away with him 24,000 camels, 40,000 ſheep, and above 4,000 ounces of ſilver¹.

The tribe
of Hawā
zen em-
brace Mo-
hammed-
iſm.

DURING the prophet's reſidence at *Al Jarāna*, the deputies from the tribe of *Hawāzen* arrived in his camp, where they met with a moſt gracious reception. This ſo exceedingly pleaſed them, that they immediately declared themſelves converts to *Mohammediſm*. After which, they deſired *Mohammed* to reſtore them their families, that had been made ſlaves, and all their moſt valuable effects. But the prophet aſſuring them, that he could not comply with both their requeſts, offered them a reſtitution either of the priſoners, or the ſpoils he had acquired; and they chooſing the former, their wives and children were inſtantly delivered up into their hands².

Mālec
baraffes
the Tha-
kiſites.

THIS grand affair being terminated to the mutual ſatisfaction of both parties, *Mohammed* offered *Mālec* not only a reſtitution of his effects, as well as his family, but likewiſe a preſent of an hundred camels, if he would forſake his idolatrous worſhip. *Mālec*, not able to withſtand ſuch advantageous conditions, immediately turned *Mohammedan*. This induced the prophet to conſtitute him commandant of all his brethren that ſhould embrace the new religion. At the head of theſe he afterwards committed frequent hoſtilities againſt the *Thakiſites*, plundering their territory, and carrying off their beaſts in ſuch numbers, that he is ſaid to have reduced them to the laſt extremity³.

The pro-
phet di-
vides the
ſpoils
amongſt
the new
converts;

IN order the more effectually to conciliate the affections of the new converts to him, *Mohammed* divided the remaining part of the ſpoils amongſt them. The principal of theſe were *Abu Seſiān Ebn Harb*, with his two ſons *Yezid* and *Moāwiyah*, the latter of which was afterwards *Khalif*, *Sahail Ebn Amru*, *Acrema Ebn Abu Jabl*, *Safwān Ebn Ommeyah*, *Al Hāreth Ebn Heſhām*, all of the tribe of *Kereiſh*. *Abu Seſiān* received, for his ſhare, 300 camels and 20 ounces of ſilver, and all the others in proportion. By this means he hoped to attach them more cloſely to his intereſts; at leaſt, to prevent their caballing againſt him, and, in ſome meaſure, to bridle their licentious tongues. But, beſides theſe, ſeveral ſtrangers belonging to other *Arab* tribes likewiſe partook of his liberality; of whom the moſt conſiderable were *Al Akra' Ebn Hābes*, the *Tamīmīte*,

¹ AL JANNAB. ubi ſup. p. 237, 238. Aut. lib. diſt. AL ECTE-
FA, ABULFED. ubi ſup. p. 118.

² ABULFED. & AL. JAN-
NAB. ubi ſup. AL BOKHAR. in Sonna,
³ AL JANNAB. &
AL BOKHAR. ubi ſup.

Oiaina Ebn Hasan Ebn Hadna' Ebn Bedr, the *Dhaibanite*, and *Mâlec Ebn Awf*, the *Hawâzenite* general. *Al Abbâs Ebn Mardâs*, the *Salemite*, taking offence at *Mohammed's* superabundant kindness to *Oiaina* and *Al Akra'*, at first made great complaints; but he was soon pacified by the prophet's uncommon generosity to him. The *Ansârs* also expressed some uneasiness at *Mohammed's* conduct on this occasion, as he had intirely forgotten them in the distribution of the spoils; but, by his address and winning behaviour, he soon likewise calmed the minds of that faithful body. As for *Dhu'l Khowaisfara*, one of the *Banu Tamim*, he reviled *Mohammed* to his face, for the division he had made; which so incensed *Omar*, that he would have struck off his head, had he not been expressly prohibited by the prophet. From this *Dhu'l Khowaisfara*, according to *Abulfeda*, descended *Harkudh Ebn Zohair*, the *Nahalite*, surnamed *Dhu'l Madma*, that is, *the author of rebuke*, because he was the author of the heretical sect of the *Khârejites*, who revolted from *Ali* in the 37th year of the *Hegira*. These *Khârejites* maintained heterodox opinions concerning predestination, and the ascribing of good and evil unto God; as also concerning the power and authority of the *Imâm*, or supreme director of ecclesiastical affairs. *Dhu'l Madma's* defection from *Ali* is said to have been predicted by *Mohammed* at this juncture. *Dhu'l Khowaisfara*, that is, *the author of detraction*, was only a surname, or rather a nick-name, applied to the person who bore it, either by the prophet himself, or some of his followers, at the same time. For a farther account of the heretics here mentioned, we must beg leave to refer our curious reader to our future history of the *Khalîfs*, or great successors of *Mohammed* ^m.

ON the 18th of the month *Dhu'lkaada*, after the division and ar- of the spoils, *Mohammed* left the camp at *Al Jarâna*, with a *rives at* few attendants, in order to visit the sacred places before his *Medina*. return to *Medina*. For this purpose, he entered *Mecca* in a pilgrim's habit, made seven circuits round the *Caaba*, performed the running between *Safâ* and *Merwâ* seven times, and shaved his head, according to custom, on such solemn occasions. Then he continued *Osâb* and *Moâdh* in their respective posts of governor and *Imâm*; and at night returned to *Al Jarâna*. The next morning he decamped from thence, and began his march for *Medina*. He had not moved far before he met with *Sorâka Ebn Mâlec*, a principal person of the tribe of *Koreish*, who had so closely pursued him in his flight from *Mecca* to *Medina*, and who was now become a zealous

^m ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 118, 119. AL JANNAB. ubi supra, p. 239, 240. AL BOKHAR. ubi sup.

Moslem. This did not retard his march; so that he arrived at *Medina* towards the latter end of the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, and made his public entry into that place amidst the acclamations of all the people. The public joy was the greater on this occasion, as the inhabitants of *Medina* had been apprehensive, that, after the reduction of *Mecca*, the prophet would make that city the seat of his empire ^a.

The Sadâites submit to him. SOME days after his arrival at *Mecca*, *Mohammed* received a letter from *Mondar Ebn Sâwa*, king of *Babrein*, to whom he had sent *Al Ola*, the *Hadhramite*, to invite him to *Islamism*, with advice of his having embraced *Mahammedism*, together with a good part of his subjects. He also farther informed him, that many people in his dominions still professed the *Magian* religion; desiring, at the same time, the prophet to direct him how he was to behave to them. To which *Mohammed* replied in terms to this effect: *Those who are attached to the Magian superstition must pay tribute; but the Moslems must neither contract alliances with them by marriage, nor eat of their sacrifices.* Soon after this, *Mohammed* detached a body of 400 men, under the command of *Kais Ebn Saad*, to attack the *Sadâites*, on the side of *Yaman*. Of which *Zyâd Ebn Al Hâreth*, the *Sadâite*, being apprized, he submitted, in the name of his countrymen, to the prophet, desiring him to revoke the orders he had given. *Mahammed*, therefore, recalled his troops, that had already advanced to *Kanât*, fifteen days after the *Sadâites* had made their submission ^o.

His son Ibrahim born. TOWARDS the close of the eighth year of the *Hejra*, the prophet's daughter *Zeinab*, the wife of *Abu'l As*, departed this life; and in the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, the same year, *Mary* the *Copt*, that *Mohammed* had been so fond of, bare him a son, whom he named *Ibrahim*. The birth of this son gave him so much pleasure, that he caused two lambs to be killed, when the child was seven days old, for an entertainment that he prepared on the occasion; distributing at the same time as much silver amongst the poor as the hair of the infant, that was then shaved, weighed. *Omm Borda Bint Al Mondar Ebn Zeid*, *Al Bard's* wife, he appointed nurse to the child, sometimes eating and drinking with her, that he might have an opportunity of seeing it; which caused no small jealousy amongst his wives. About the same time died the famous *Hâtem Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Saad*, of the posterity of *Tay*. He had always professed the *Christian* faith, in which he persevered to the end of his life. The *Tayites*, in general, were of the same persuasion, tho' they had some few idolaters amongst

^a ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 120. AL JANNABI, ubi sup. p. 240.

^o AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 241. EBN AMID, sive ELMACIN. ubi sup. GAON la vic de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 193.

them. *Hâtem* resided in the province of *Najd*, at a place called *Khâdber*, situated between the mountains *Asjâ* and *Salma*, named by some the mountains of *Tay*. He was the most generous and hospitable man in the whole peninsula of the *Arabs*, killing ten camels every day through the month of *Rajeb*, for the refreshment of strangers. Hence the *Arab* proverb, *More liberal than Hâtem*. He was likewise a most celebrated poet, as also a person of superior strength and bravery. His countrymen sometimes called him *Abu Sofâna*, that is, the father of *Sofâna*, which surname he derived from his daughter's name *Sofâna*, in conformity to a custom that prevailed amongst the *Arabs*. *Sofâna Bint Hâtem* and *Adi Ebn Hâtem*, the only children he is supposed to have left behind him, became profelytes to *Islamism*, after their father's death. We are told, that *Adi* lived to be 120 years of age, and died in the 68th of the *Hejra*.

THE next year, being the ninth of the *Hejra*, the *Mohammedans* call the year of *embassies*, or *legations*. For the *Arabs* had been hitherto expecting the issue of the war between *Mohammed* and the *K-reish*. But so soon as that tribe, the principal of the whole nation, and the genuine descendents of *Ishmael*, whose prerogative none offered to dispute, had submitted, they were satisfied that it was not in their power to oppose *Mohammed*; and therefore they began to come in to him in great numbers, and to send embassies to make their submissions to him, both to *Mecca* while he staid there, and also to *Medina*, whither he returned the preceding year. Among the rest, *Arwa Ebn Masûd*, chief of the tribe of *Thakif*, who was not at *Al Tayef* when the prophet formed the siege of that place, came and professed *Mohammedism*; but was afterwards slain by an arrow shot from the walls of that city, when he went thither with a design to draw the inhabitants from their idolatrous worship. We are likewise told, that *Al Hâreth Ebn Abd Colâl*, *Naïm Ebn Abd Colâl*, *Al Noomân*, surnamed *Dbu Roain*, *Hamdân*, and *Moâfer*, five kings of *Hamyar*, about this time sent ambassadors to *Mohammed*, to notify their conversion to *Islamism*. *Ebn Ishâk* relates, that the first of those princes, to whom *Mohammed* had before sent a minister, named *Al Mohâjer Ebn Abu Ommeya*, wrote to the prophet, after the expedition of *Tabûc*, intimating, that he and his subjects were become converts to the true religion; and that *Mohammed* sent him an answer to that letter,

The Arab tribes in general come in to Mohammed.

P AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 242, 243. AL MEIDAN, in proverb. Arab. ABU ISHAK & ERN AL HOBAR, poet. Arab. apud Pocockium, in not. ad carmen Tograi, p. 107. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. ISM. ABWLFED. ubi sup. p. 120. Pocock. not in spec. hist. Arab. p. 72, 73. EBN ISHAK.

in which he congratulated him upon his conversion, and explained to him several passages of the *Korân*. However, according to *Abulfeda*, the aforesaid kings of *Yamar* did not embrace *Islamism*, or at least did not openly profess it, before the beginning of the tenth year of the *Hejra* 9.

He punishes the Caabites.

ABOUT this time, *Mohammed* sent *Bashir Ebn Sofiân* to the *Caabites*, a branch of the *Khozâites*, to receive the legal contribution of alms, or duty, required of them in common with the other *Mohammedans*. But so far were they from obeying the prophet's order in this particular, that, at the instigation of the *Tamimites*, they had immediately recourse to arms, and obliged the collector employed by *Bashir* to take to his heels. This so exasperated *Mohammed*, that he sent *Oiaina Ebn Hasan*, at the head of five hundred horse, all new converts, to chastize the *Tamimites*; who coming up with a body of them at *Sohara*, soon dispersed them, taking eleven men, as many women, and thirty children, prisoners, whom they conducted to *Medina*. Whereupon ten of the principal *Tamimites*, among whom were *Kais Ebn Afem*, *Osâred Ebn Hâgheb*, *Al Zerbekân Ebn Bedr*, and *Al Akra Ebn Hâbes*, four great orators and excellent poets, came to make satisfaction for the late affront, and to demand a restitution of the prisoners. *Mohammed*, as the aforesaid *Tamimites* produced some excellent compositions both in prose and verse, tho' the prophet's orator and poet exhibited others that excelled them, did not only comply with their request, but likewise distributed amongst them rich presents, and even such as are usually made to the ambassadors of crowned heads 1.

A LITTLE after, *Mohammed* sent *Al Walid Ebn Okba*, in quality of collector of the alms, to the *Banu Al Mostalek*, another branch of the *Khozâites*, who received him with great marks of affection, congratulated him upon the happy situation of the prophet's affairs, and brought him in great abundance of all kinds of refreshments. Notwithstanding which, *Al Walid*, taking it into his head that they had a design to assassinate him, was seized with a sudden panic, and returned very precipitately, without executing his commission, to *Medina*, where he gave them to the prophet a very ill character. This induced *Mohammed*, who was greatly incensed at the supposed disaffection of the *Banu Al Mostalek*, to send *Khâled Ebn Al Walid* with a body of troops, to punish them. But that general, upon his arrival among them, finding that

1 ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 121, 122, 128, &c. ABU ZEID SEID; in lib. Splendor. EBN ISHAK, EBN HESHAM, Aut. Lib. AL ECTEFA. Vide etiam GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. 128. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 243.

Al Walid, who had been intirely governed by his fears, had entertained wrong sentiments of this people, made quite a different report of their disposition to the prophet. *Obâda Ebn Basfar*, therefore, was dispatched to receive the contributions they had raised, to instruct them more fully in the law, and the rites of *Islamism*, and to explain to them in the clearest manner the most difficult passages of the *Korân* *.

ABOUT this time, *Kotba Ebn Amer* made an incursion, *Kotba Ebn Amer makes an incursion upon the territory of the Khathâa-mites*; and falling in with one of the enemy's parties, after a sharp dispute, defeated it. Then he made himself master of so many sheep and camels, that every one of his foldiers, which were about twenty in number, had twenty sheep and four camels assigned him for his share †.

AFTERWARDS the prophet detached *Dhohak Ebn Sofân* to invite the *Banu Kelâb* to *Islamism*. But they shut themselves up in the town of *Al Dhabina*, and would come to no interview with him. The *Moslems*, therefore, dislodged them from thence, and carried off all their effects. At the same time, *Mohammed* receiving advice, that the *Ethiopians* had made a descent near *Jodda*, a maritime city, where they committed great depredations, he sent *Olkam Ebn Mabraz*, with a body of 300 men, to oppose them. But they retiring at his approach, *Olkam* returned to *Medina*, without having been able to come up with them †.

MOHAMMED, acted by his zeal for the extirpation of idolatry, sent *Ali* to destroy the idol *Al Fatas*, that belonged to the tribe of *Tay*. But foreseeing that this tribe, which was very powerful, might give *Ali* great obstruction in the execution of his orders, he assigned him a detachment of 150 foot, all *Ansârs*, together with 100 camels and 50 horses, to support him in the enterprize. With this force he attacked the enemy, defeated them, destroyed the idol, and took a considerable number of prisoners, among whom was *Sofâna Bint Hâtem*, her brother *Adi Ebn Hâtem*, chief of the tribe, being then in *Syria*. This lady was conducted, with the other captives, to *Medina*, where she met with so gracious a reception from the prophet; that she turned *Mohammedan*; and her brother *Adi*, charmed likewise with his polite and generous behaviour, soon after followed her example. As for *Ali*, he acquired immense riches in this expedition, and particularly three swords of great value, named *Al Rosoub*, *Al Mokhazzem*, and *Al Yamâni*, that belonged to the idol *Al Fatas*. The two best of the swords he made a present of

* Idem ibid.
ubi supra, p. 246.

† Idem ibid.

▪ AL JANNAB.

to the prophet, and kept the third for himself. He also distributed the plunder amongst his troops that had attended him in the expedition w.

Mohammed receives the foreign ministers with great civility,

THE prophet received all the ambassadors sent to him this year with great marks of affection and benevolence; and treated every one of them in a manner suitable to his rank and dignity. The *Moslem* historians have given us a long detail of these embassies and legations. Besides those already mentioned, there were many others; one of the most remarkable of which was the deputation of the *Banu Honeifa*, who inhabited two famous cities, called *Al Yamâma* and *Al Hajr*; from the former of which the province in which they stood derived its name. These deputies had at their head the famous *Moseilama*, *Mohammed's* competitor, the prince and lord of *Al Yamâma*, who at that time made public profession of *Islamism*, tho' he afterwards apostatized. By a piece of impudence not to be paralleled, says a *Moslem* writer, he arrogated to himself the prophetic function, and pretended to partake of that honour with *Mohammed*. We shall give a larger account of this impostor, and the miserable end he came to, in our history of the *Khalîfat of Abu Becr* x.

The poet Caab Ebn Zohair Ebn Abu Salama pardoned by Mohammed.

ABOUT this time, *Caab Ebn Zohair Ebn Abu Salama*, the famous poet, who had been proscribed by *Mohammed* the preceding year, returned to *Mecca*, and afterwards waited upon the prophet at *Medina*. He took the opportunity of repeating aloud the profession of faith, and the declaration of his being a *Moslem*, when *Mohammed* was in the mosque. In order to soften him, he also celebrated his praises in a fine *Arabic* poem, that he had lately composed, before the whole congregation; of which a full and ample account has been handed down to us by *Al Jannâbi*. This so pleased the prophet, that he not only pardoned him, but likewise made him a present of his cloak, which the *Khalîf Moâwiyah* purchased afterwards of his family for the sum of (K) 40,000 *dirhems*. This, by a sort of hereditary right, descended to all

w AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 246, 247. x ABULFED. in descript. Arab. p. 60. & vit. Mohammed. p. 160. Vide etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 206.

(K) These *dirhems* were a small silver coin of the *Arabs*, about the same weight, though much broader and thinner, as the *Greek drachms*; from whence they apparently derived their name. Several of them are still preserved in the cabinets of the curious, and particularly a pretty ancient one in the *Bodleian* collection of medals at *Oxford* (34).

(34) *Kid. numm. antiquor. scrip. Bodleian. recondit. catal. &c.* p. 311—315. Oxon. 1750.

the

the succeeding *Khalifs*, who never failed wearing it on festivals, in public processions, and, in fine, upon all the most solemn occasions. *Al Mosta'sem Billah*, the last *Khalif* of the house of *Abbās*, had this cloak on, as also the prophet's staff in his hand, when he made his appearance before *Holagu*, the *Tartar*, after the loss of *Baghdād*. But that conqueror took them from him, burnt them both, and threw their ashes into the *Tigris*. This happened on the 28th day of the month *Al Mobarran*, and the 656th year of the *Hejra*.

ON the sixth day of the month *Rajeb*, this year, *Mohammed* signified his intention of coming to a rupture with the *Greeks*, who looked with a jealous eye upon his conquests, and seemed determined to attack him. As their forces grew very numerous on the frontiers, and they had a strong camp at *Balka*, the prophet assembled an army of 30,000 men, in order to undertake an expedition against them. The *Moslems* set out on this expedition with great reluctance, as they were to march in the midst of the summer-heats, and at a time of great drought and scarcity. As the soldiers, therefore, suffered extremely this campaign, the body of troops now destined to act against the *Greeks* was called the *distressed army*. Besides, their fruits were just ripe, which increased their unwillingness to move from home at this juncture. However, in pursuance of the prophet's orders, they begun their march, and, after sustaining great fatigues, arrived at *Al Hejr*, a territory in the province of *Hejāz*, between *Medina* and *Syria*, where the tribe of *Thamūd* had formerly dwelt. From *Al Hejr* they advanced to *Wadi'l-Kora*, and from thence to *Tabūc*, the conquest of which place was one of the objects of this expedition. As the *Greeks* were a very formidable enemy, to carry it on with success, the prophet was obliged to make extraordinary preparations, and consequently to draw vast sums from his followers, to defray the expence of it. *Abu Becr* presented *Mohammed* with all he was worth, to enable him to carry on this war. *Al Abbās* advanced a large sum of money, on the same occasion; and the other officers, who were rich, likewise contributed to the military chest, in proportion to the wealth they possessed. But *Othmān Ibn Affān* exerted himself almost beyond his abilities, to assist the prophet in setting on foot a powerful army. He supplied the troops with 300 camels for slaughter, and 1,000 (L) *dinārs*.

† ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 122. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 219. AHMED BEN YUSEF, in hist. gen. sect. 40. ELMACIN. in hist. suæ part. inedit.

(L) The *dinārs* were a gold Arabian coin, that seemed to have weighed about as much as the gold *denarii* of the Ro-

nárs of gold: nay, he is said to have raised, and maintained at his own expence, three whole regiments, furnishing them with provisions, arms, and all sorts of necessary munitions. This extremely pleased *Mohammed*, who is reported to have observed, that *what Othmán then had done would not be of any future disadvantage to him*².

THE *Moslems* having surmounted all difficulties, and formed a camp at *Tabúc*, *Mohammed* continued about three weeks at that place. *Al Ghazáli*, *Al Ispaháni*, *Al Kodai*, and other *Mohammedan* writers, pretend, that, soon after his arrival there, he caused such a vast quantity of water to issue out of a very small fountain near the town; that there was not only enough to quench the thirst of the whole army, and to water all the beasts that attended it, but likewise to enable all the soldiers to perform the sacred ablutions. Which miracle has been undoubtedly trumped up, in order to draw a sort of parallel between *Moses*, who, by the divine assistance, caused water to gush out of a rock in the wilderness, sufficient to supply the wants of the whole body of the *Israelites*, that he was conducting to the borders of the land of *Canaan*, and *Mohammed*. But the misfortune here is, that this, and all other relations of the like nature, are intirely void of evidence to support them, the authors from whom they come having lived long after the facts therein asserted are supposed to have happened. Which observation will likewise hold true of the prophecies ascribed to this impostor; all of which, even the famous one mentioned in the thirtieth chapter of the *Korán* itself, which has met with no unfavourable reception from Mr. *Gagnier* and Mr. *Salé* (the first transcript of that book having not been completed by *Abu Becr* before the thirteenth year of the *Hejra*, that is, eight years after the event therein foretold really happened) as transmitted down to us, are later than the facts they predict. And let this suffice for

² ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 123, & in descript. Arab. p. 43. EBN ISHAK, AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 247. SHARIF AL EDRISEI, EBN HAWKAL apud Abulfed. in Arab. p. 43. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 37. JALLALO'DDIN.

mans, though they are much thinner and broader; from whence they undoubtedly took their name. There are nine very fine ones preserved in the *Bodleian* collection, and another in that of the reverend

Mr. *Brown*, fellow of *Trinity* College, whose value, according to weight, amounts to about thirteen shillings and six pence, *English* money. This last is pretty ancient, well preserved, and a real curiosity (35).

(35) Vide *Nummor. antiquor. scrip. Bodleian. recondit. catal. &c.* ubi sup. p. 311.

an answer to all the insinuations of the aforesaid gentlemen in favour of those pretended prophecies, some of which we have already animadverted upon ^a.

THE troops being plentifully supplied with all sorts of provisions at *Tabûc*, soon forgot the fatigues they had sustained in their march, and began to think of subduing some of the neighbouring princes. *Tabûc* was a town situated about half-way between *Medina* and *Damascus*, having a fountain, and a considerable number of palm-trees, in its neighbourhood. The people called in the *Korân* the inhabitants of the wood anciently occupied this place. *Shoaib*, or *Jethro*, the father-in-law of *Moses*, according to *Abulfeda*, lived also some time here; tho' he allows him to have been a native of *Midian*, or *Madian*, a city of *Hejâz*, the habitation of a tribe of the same name, and distant from *Tabûc* about six stations. *Tabûc* stands between *Al Hejr* and *Al Shâm*, and is, according to *Sharif Al Edrisi*, four days journey distant from the borders of *Syria* ^b.

THE *Moslem* army had not been long encamped at *Tabûc*, ^{The neigh-} before ambassadors came from different parts to make their ^{bouring} submission, in their principals names, to the prophet; and ^{princes} even some of the neighbouring princes themselves, in person, paid their duty to him. Amongst the rest appeared *Yohanna*, ^{conclude a} or *John*, *Ebn Rawba*, lord of *Ailah*, a maritime town on the ^{treaty of} sea *Al Kolzom*, mentioned both in sacred and profane history. ^{peace with} By his name, as well as the tribute imposed upon him, he must have been a *Christian*. He concluded a treaty with *Mohammed*, ^{Moham-} by virtue of which he and his subjects were intitled to the prophet's protection, upon the annual payment of 3,000 pieces of gold. The instrument of this treaty, which included the trading inhabitants of the interior part of *Syria* and *Arabia Felix*, as well as those of the maritime provinces, that might be consider'd as *Yohanna's* allies, is said to have been preserved by the people of *Ailah* to this very day. Be that as it will, the substance of it has been given us by some of the *Moslem* writers. The prophet was so well pleased with it, as well as with *Yohanna's* prompt and ready submission to him, that he made him a present of a rich cloak, or mantle, that some believe became afterwards the property of the *Khalifs*, having been purchased by *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffah* for 3,000 *dinârs*. But, according to *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, who flourished towards

^a *Iidem* *ibid.* AL BOKHARI, MOSLEM, AL JANNAB. *ubi sup.* p. 249. AL GHAZALI, AL ISPAHANI, AL KODAI, SALE's notes on the thirtieth chapter of the *Korân*, GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 220. ^b ABULFED. *ubi supra*, p. 124, 125, 126. AL JANNAB. *ubi sup.* p. 261. ABULFED. in Arab. p. 43. SHARIF AL EDRIISI, AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xv. v. 77. xxxviii. v. 14. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. *ubi sup.* EBN AMID, lib. v. c. 1.

the close of the 16th century, it fell into the hands of the *Turkish* emperors, or *Othmân Saltâns*, and was the very same cloak for which a golden cheft was made, by order of the *Soltân Morâd Khân*, the son of *Soltân Solim Khân*, who mounted the *Othmân* throne in the year of the *Hejra* 982, or of *CHRIST* 1574 ^c.

By the tribute imposed upon *Yohanna*, as has been observed, it appears, that both he and the people of *Ailah* persevered in the *Christian* faith, during the life of *Mohammed*. *Ailah* was a little town on the sea *Al Kolzom*, situated in a barren country, that formerly belonged to the *Jews*; some of whom, according to the *Korân*, were turned into hogs and apes, for having violated the *Sabbath*, and worshipped the idol *Tâgût*. It stands on the road frequented by the *Egyptian* pilgrims, who pass from their own country to *Mecca*; and has a tower, or castle, where the governor, who is a dependent on the *Pasha* of *Egypt*, resides; though, if some modern writers may be believed, that castle being ruined, he lives in the town, close by the sea-side. According to *Sharif Al Edrisi*, *Ailah* is distant from *Madian*, another maritime city, only five stations ^d.

Mohammed gives the emperor Heraclius a second invitation to Islamism. WE are informed by *Abulfeda* and *Al Jannâhi*, that *Jarha* and *Adrah*, two cities of *Syria*, about three days journey distant from one another, at this time likewise sent deputies to the prophet; who engaged to protect them, on condition that each of them paid him annually, by way of tribute, 200 *dinârs*. He treated all the other cities and towns, that sent deputies to him, in the same manner, imposing smaller or larger tributes upon them, in proportion to the extent of territory they possessed. Being informed, that the *Greeks* were so far from being able to make an irruption into *Arabia*, that, upon the first news of his approach, they retired farther from the frontiers, and withdrew into the interior part of their own dominions, he made the necessary dispositions for returning home. However, as he had taken post on a spot of ground belonging to the emperor *Heraclius*, before his departure, he thought proper to write a letter to that prince, couched in very civil terms; wherein he gave him a second invitation to *Islamism*. This, the *Moslem* writers tell us, the emperor received with marks of respect, but did not think fit to answer it. About this time died *Abd'allah*, surnamed *Dhu'l Najâdain*, the *Mâzenite*, one of the most illustrious companions of *Mo-*

^c ABULFED. ubi sup. ABU ZEID SEID in Lib. Splendor. ABULFED. in descript. Arab. p. 41. SHARIF AL EDRIISI, AHMED EBN-YUSEF, RELAND. descript. Palæstin. lib. iii. p. 554.

^d Ibidem ibid. Al Kor. MOHAMMED. f. v. v. 69.

ammed, and was interred by night with great funeral pomp; the prophet himself, *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, *Belâl* the crier, and *Abd'allah Ebn Mas'ûd*, attending the corps to the grave. Before the *Moslems* began their march, *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, whom *Mohammed* sent to *Dawmat Al Jandal*, took *Ocaider Ebn Mâlec*, the prince of that place, of the tribe of *Kendab*, and a *Christian*, prisoner. He also put his brother *Hasân* to the sword, and stripped him of a silk vest that he wore, all embroidered with gold. As he had been detached from the camp at *Tabûc* with a body of 420 men, and had got *Ocaider Ebn Mâlec* into his hands, by that prince's assistance, *Khâled* not only possessed himself of the castle of *Mâdhen*, situated at the foot of mount *Tay*, the place of his residence, but likewise of the city of *Dawmat Al Jandal*, over which *Ocaider* presided. At the same time, by that prince's consent, *Khâled* carried off with him 1,000 camels, 800 horses; and 400 cuirasses; and then conducted *Ocaider*, with his brother *Mas'ûd Ebn Mâlec*, to *Mohammed*. The prophet took them under his protection, and restored to *Ocaider* his dominions; but exacted a certain annual tribute from him. When *Khâled* was unwilling to undertake the conquest of *Dawmat Al Jandal* with so small a force, according to *Al Jannâbi*, *Mohammed* did not only assure him of success, but likewise predicted all the material circumstances that should attend the expedition; which prediction, if we will believe this author, was verified in every particular. But as *Al Jannâbi* lived near a thousand years after *Mohammed*, and, like the other *Moslems*, was unreasonably prejudiced in favour of his pretended prophet, in this point, his testimony is of very little weight. *Dawmat Al Jandal* is a town on the confines of *Syria*, about five days journey from *Damascus*, and fifteen or sixteen from *Medina*. According to *Abulfeda* and *Al Jannâbi*, it was occupied, as well as *Tabûc*, and other places on that side, before the birth of *Mohammed*; and even when he undertook this expedition, by the *Banu Calb* *.

WITH regard to *Abd'allah Ebn Obba*, and his hypocritical Her adherents, as also *Merâra Ebn Rabi*, *Helâl Ebn Omeyya*, *hends some* and *Caab Ebn Mâlec*, three of the *Ansârs*, whom *Moham-* of his sol-
med excused, on their request, from going with him to *Ta-* lowers for
bûc, he forbade the other *Moslems* to have any converse or cor- not attend-
respondence with them for the space of fifty days. At the end ing him to
of which interval, being assured, as he pretended, of their *Tabûc*.
penitence, by a passage in the ninth chapter of the *Korân*,

* ABULFED. in vit. Mohammed. p. 125. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. SAAD AL YAMANI, SHARIF AL EDRISI, ABULFED. in Arab. EBN ISHAK, GAGN. ubi sup. tom. ii. 209—228.

that was revealed to him on this occasion, they were received again into favour. However, he declared to his followers, that he had been reprehended for excusing them, in another passage of the same chapter. By such artifices as these, in conjunction with a few crafty friends, and the great success that attended his arms, did he at last subdue the whole peninsula of the *Arabs*, and laid the foundations of an empire, more extensive than any of those formidable ones that preceded it, as will be shewn at large in the sequel of our history f.

The prophet returns to Medina.

WHILST the prophet was on his march to *Medina*, he was applied to by the *Banu Gânem Ebn Awf*, to consecrate a mosque they had lately built, by praying in it. He accordingly prepared himself to go with them; but being afterwards informed, that the *Banu Gânem Ebn Awf* were *Christians*, had erected the afore said mosque in opposition to that founded at *Koba* by their brethren, the *Banu Amru Ebn Awf*, and intended to permit a *Christian* priest, or *Imâm*, to officiate there, he all of a sudden refused to comply with their request. Nay, being, as he pretended, forbidden to do this by the immediate revelation of a passage in the ninth chapter of the *Korân*, which discovered the hypocrisy and ill design of the *Banu Gânem Ebn Awf* to him, he sent *Malec Ebn Al Dokhsom*, *Maan Ebn Addi*, *Amer Ebn Al Sacan*, and *Al Wahsha*, the *Ethiopian*, to demolish and burn the mosque he was to consecrate; which they performed, and converted it into a dunghill. After which, he pursued his march without interruption to *Medina*; tho' he was once in great danger of being assassinated, and would probably have lost his life, had he not been preserved by the vigilance of *Hodheisa* and *Anmâr Ebn Yâser*, who attended him, according to one of the commentators on the *Korân* g.

The people of Al Tayef submit to him, and embrace Islamism.

SOON after the prophet's arrival at *Medina*, which happened in the month of *Ramadân*, he was congratulated upon the success that had attended his arms in the late expedition to *Tâyef*, by a deputation from the tribe of *Thakîf*, the inhabitants of *Al Tayef*, who insisted on his granting them several very extraordinary privileges, as the terms of their submission to him. For they demanded, that they might be free from the legal contribution of alms, and from observing the appointed times of prayer; that they might be allowed to keep their idol *Allât* for a certain time; and that their territory might be declared a place of security, and not to be violated, like

f Al KOR. MOHAMMED. f. ix. AL BEIDAWI, g JALALO'D-DIN in Al Kor. Mohammed. f. ix. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 126, AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 265.

that of *Mecca*, &c. To which they added, that, if the other *Arabs* asked him the reason of these concessions, he should say, that GOD had commanded him so to do. At first, they desired, that the worship of *Allât* might be indulged them for three years; and not obtaining that, they asked for their favourite idol only a month's respite. But *Mohammed* absolutely refusing to comply with their demands, and they being reduced to the last extremity by a body of *Moslem* troops, which had formed the blockade of their city, the people of *Al Tâyes* found themselves obliged to surrender at discretion, and embrace *Islamism*. Whereupon the prophet sent home with the deputies *Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaba* and *Abu Sofân Ebn Harb*, to destroy the aforesaid idol; who executed their commission, to the great grief of the inhabitants of *Al Tâyes*, especially the women, who bitterly lamented the loss of this their deity. *Allât* was a statue of stone, revered in a singular manner by the *Thakifites*, and had a temple consecrated to her in a place called *Nakblah*. There are several derivations of the word *Allât*, which the curious may learn from Dr. *Pacock*. It seems most probably to be derived from the same root with *Allah*, to which it may be a feminine, and will then signify the goddess^h.

IN the month of *Shawâl*, this year, *Mohammed* sent *Abu Ali pro-Becr* to preside over the rites and ceremonies of the pilgrimage at *Mecca*, the following month of *Dhu'lhajja*, with 300^{the ninth} men, and 20 camels, to be sacrificed in the name of the prophet. In the mean time, immediately after the departure of *Abu Becr*, the prophet, as he pretended, received from heaven the ninth chapter of the *Korân*, intituled *BARAT*, that is, IMMUNITY, LIBERTY, EXEMPTION, or a declaration revoking all the edicts published in favour of idolaters, or, as the *Korân* expresses it, ASSOCIATORS, and a cassation of all former treaties concluded with them. The word ASSOCIATORS here includes *Sabians*, *Christians*, and *Jews*, because *Mohammed* affirmed, that all these associated with GOD beings that by nature were not GOD. The prophet then dispatched *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, with all possible diligence, after *Abu Becr*, injoining him to read this declaration in form, during the solemnity of the pilgrimage at *Mecca*, to all the *Arab* tribes assembled there. *Ali* overtook *Abu Becr* at *Dhu'lho-leisa*, a town about six miles from *Medina*, on the road to *Mecca*, where he signified the purport of his commission to him. After which, they continued their journey together to

^h ABULFED. ubi sup. c. lvii. p. 126, 127. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 266. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 90.

Mecca; and, upon their arrival there, *Ali*, to whom the promulgation of the preceding chapter was committed by *Mohammed*, and who rode for that purpose on the prophet's slit-eared camel, called *Al Akhbâ*, from *Medina*, standing up before the whole assembly at *Al Akaba*, told them, that he was the messenger of the apostle of GOD unto them. Whereupon they asking him what was his errand, he read twenty or thirty verses of that chapter to them, and then said, *I am commanded to acquaint you with four things*, 1. *That no idolater is to come near the temple of Mecca after this year*; 2. *That no man is to presume to compass the Caaba naked for the future*; 3. *That none but true believers shall enter paradise*; and, 4. *That public faith is to be kept*. The aforesaid chapter was published, and the prophet's intentions signified to the people, on the tenth of *Dhu'lhajja*, when they slew the victims at *Mina*; which day is the great feast, and completes the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. *Ali* having executed his commission, returned with *Abu Becr* to *Medina* towards the close of that month ¹.

Abd'al-
lah Ebn
Obba
Ebn Al
Hâreth
dies at
Medina.

ABOUT the same time died at *Medina Abd'allah Ebn Obba Ebn Al Hâreth Ebn Obeid*. He was commonly called *Ebn Solûl*, his father *Obba* having been surnamed *Solûl*. A little before the introduction of *Islamism*, the tribe of *Khazraj* put the crown upon his head, and declared him their prince. He fell ill twenty days after *Mohammed's* return from *Tabûc*, and died in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*. In his last illness he desired to see *Mohammed*; and, when he was come, asked him to beg forgiveness of GOD for him; requesting that his corps might be wrapped up in the garment that was next to the prophet's body; and that he would pray over him, when dead. Part of this request was complied with by *Mohammed*, who sent his shirt, or inner vestment, to shroud the corps, and was going to pray over it; but was forbidden by an express passage in the *Korân*, which has been urged as a direct proof of his hypocrisy and infidelity. Some of the *Moslem* writers, however, maintain, that he died a staunch believer; and that *Mohammed* offered up prayers at his tomb, for the repose of his soul. *Al Jannâbi* relates, that *Omm Colthum*, *Mohammed's* third daughter, the wife of *Othmân Ebn Affân*, who was afterwards *Khalif*, died also before the conclusion of the ninth year of the *Hejra* ².

¹ AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. ix. AL JANNAB. ubi supra, p. 272. AL MASUDI apud ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. lviii. p. 127, 128. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. AL BOKHARI in Sonna, AL BEIDAWI. Vide etiam ALBERTUM BOBOVIUM de peregrinat. Meccan. p. 15. ² ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 128. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 269. AL BEIDAWI, JABER, alique scriptor. Arab.

WE are likewise told, that, when this year was upon the point of expiring, the angel *Gabriel* brought *Mohammed* the news of the death of *Ashûma Ebn Abhar*, the *Najâshi*, or *jâshi* ^{revealed to} ~~re-~~ king of *Ethiopia*, the very instant that monarch died. This he immediately communicated to all his companions then at *Medina*; after which, they marched in procession to the mosque they usually frequented there, repeating four times the form *ALLAH ACBAR*, &c. The tradition likewise adds, that, at the same time, they clearly saw from thence the corps of the *Najâshi*, lying in state at his palace ¹.

THE tenth year of the *Hejra* proved as fortunate and successful to the prophet as any of the preceding. After the return of the ambassadors sent by the five kings of *Hamyar*, ^{two lieutenants to} ~~above-~~ mentioned, *Mohammed* dispatched two of his companions, whom he could most confide in, to *Yaman*, in quality of his lieutenants, to govern that great province. One of these was *Abu Musa*, the *Ashtarite*, who was appointed to command in the country called *Mekhlaf*, at *Lahid* and at *Aden*; and the other, *Moadh Ebn Jabal*, the prophet's most intimate friend, who had *Al Jannad* assigned him for the place of his residence. *Moadh* was escorted by a body of *Ansârs* and *Mohâjerîn*, and even attended a considerable part of the way by the prophet himself, who walked on foot, and took a final leave of him; telling him, *that they should not meet again till the day of resurrection*; which remarkable prophecy had, as Mr. *Gagnier* has most acutely and judiciously observed, in due time its proper completion. About the same time, that is, in the month *Al Moharram*, *Khâled Ebn Al Walid* converted the *Abd'al Modânites*, a tribe of *Najrân*, probably with fire and sword, to *Islamism*; and *Joreir Ebn Abd'allah*, the *Bajalite*, destroyed *Dhu'l-Khalasa*, an idol of the *Khatâmîtes*, seated in a district about four days journey from *Mecca*. This idol, with many others, was placed in a temple called the *Caaba* of *Al Yamâma*, and the house of idols. This temple *Joreir* rased from the very foundations ^m.

SOON after *Joreir's* return to *Medina*, the prophet sent him to *Dhu'l Cola' Ebn Tâcur*. *Ebn Habib Ebn Mâlec Ebn* ^{sent to convert} ~~sent to~~ *Hafân Ebn Toba'*, a citizen of *Al Tâyes*, of such immense wealth that he affected a sort of empire over his fellow-citizens, and even demanded regal honours, as should seem, to complete his conversion. For both he and his wife, *Sa-reima Bint Al Sabah*, had before professed *Islamism*; but most people suspected the sincerity of their profession, and believed

¹ AL JANNAB. ubi sup. AL BAGAWI, AL DHAAHABI, OMM SÂLMA. ^m AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 273—276. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 247, 248.

that they still persisted in their infidelity. Nor was this suspicion quite removed before the reign of *Omar*, in whose *Khalifat*, *Dbu'l Cela'*, as a mark of his sincerity, set at liberty 18,000 slaves. This fully convinced *Omar* of the reality of his conversion. He was afterwards killed, or, to use the stile of the *Mohammedans*, had the honour to die a martyr, at the battle of *Seffin*, that was fought in the 37th year of the *Hejra* *.

Amer
Ebn Al
Jarrah sent
to conduct
the people
of Naj-
rân's ca-
ravan to
Mecca.
The pro-
phet's son
Ibrahim
dies.

AT this time the *Moslems* of *Najrân* desired the prophet to send them a person to conduct their caravan of pilgrims to *Mecca*. Whereupon he recommended to them *Amer Ebn Al Jarrah* for that service; saying, that he would be a faithful conductor to the whole nation °.

ON the tenth day of the former *Rabî*, this year, *Mohammed's* son *Ibrahim* departed this life at *Medina*, in the second year of his age. We are told, that an eclipse of the sun happened on the day that he died; which induced the vulgar to think, that this eclipse was occasioned by his death. But *Mohammed* failed not to assure them, that they were greatly mistaken in this particular. Others say, that the eclipse happened on the twenty-eighth day of the month, and *Ibrahim's* death on the tenth. Be that as it will, the prophet was sensibly afflicted with the loss of his son, he being by this accident deprived of male issue, that might have transmitted his name down to posterity; which afforded matter of raillery to his enemies, as the death of his former son *Al Kâsem* had done before. On that occasion he had the nick-name of *Al Abtar* given him by *Al As Ebn Wayel*; which either signifies one who has no children, or one who has his tail clean cut off. This injurious reflection so affected the prophet, that the angel *Gabriel*, according to *Jallâl'uddin*, revealed to him the 108th chapter of the *Korân*, intituled, *AL CAWTHAR*, for his consolation. Some time after, if we will believe *Al Fannâbi*, that angel appeared to a numerous assembly of *Moslems* who surrounded *Mohammed*, and, after catechizing the prophet before them all in a very particular manner, pronounced him better versed in divine matters than the angel that examined him P.

Firûz, the Persian, AT this time, *Firûz the Persian*, a native of the province of *Dailem*, came to *Medina*, and declared himself a *Moslem*. It

* AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 276. AL ASSAMAI.

JANNAB. ubi supra.

° AL BOKHAR. in Lib. *Al Sabih*, AL MASUD. apud Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. c. lxxvii. p. 146, 147. ut et ipse ABULFED. ibid. MOSLEM, in alt. lib. *Al Sabih*, AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. cviii. AL BEIDAWI, JALLAL'UDDIN, AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 277.

was this person who slew the false prophet *Al Aswad Al Ansi*, declares in the eleventh year of the *Hejra*, as will be seen in its *himself* a proper place ⁹. Moslem;

ABOUT this time, says *Al Jannâbi*, *Mohammed* received ^{as also} a letter from *Farwa Ebn Omar*, of the tribe of *Jadhâm*, the *Farwa* emperor *Heraclius*'s lieutenant in *Syria*, and governor of the *Ebn* city of *Ammân*, or *Ammon*, the ancient capital of the *Ammon-Omar*. *ites*, who derived their name from *Ammon*, the son of *Lot*, according to Scripture. This city, in holy writ, is called *Ammon Rabbat*, and was afterwards known by the name of *Philadelphia*. The purport of this letter was to acquaint the prophet, that *Farwa* was become a *Moslem*, and had sent him a vest of fine muslin, a superb bed of state, a beautiful white mule called *Fadha*, a horse named *Dhârch*, an ass called *Yâ'-far*, and other magnificent presents. The same writer adds, that this *Farwa* was first imprisoned, and afterwards crucified, by the emperor's order, because he would not renounce *Islamism*; as also, that he reproached his master for acting the part of a hypocrite, in order to keep on his head the crown that he wore ^r.

In the month of *Ramadân*, this year, the prophet sent *Ali* *Islamism* *Ebn Abu Tâleb* into *Yaman*, to bring over to *Islamism* the infi- ^{makes a} dels that still remained there; which, partly by methods of *farther* persuasion, and partly by those of compulsion, he at last in a *progress* in great measure effected. For he converted the whole tribe of *Arabia*. *Hamdân*, as it is said, in one day; and their example, according to *Abulfeda*, was quickly followed by all the inhabitants of that province, except only some of those of *Najrân*, who, being *Christians*, chose rather to pay tribute. It must be observed here, that Mr. *Sale* deviates from truth, when he intimates, that all the citizens of *Najrân* paid tribute, and consequently were *Christians*, at this juncture; since the contrary (M) is not only asserted by *Al Jannâbi*, but even by *Abulfeda* himself, the author cited, in support of his notion, by that writer, on this occasion. However, that the greatest part of the people of *Najrân*, at this juncture, professed the *Chri-*

⁹ AL JANNAB. ubi sup. *

^r Idem ibid.

(M) This may be certainly inferred from the text of *Abulfeda*, cited by Mr. *Sale* on this occasion; who there informs us, that *Ali* received both alms and tribute from the people of *Najrân*; which manifestly im-

plies, that some of them were *Moslems*, and others *Christians*. For alms were only collected among the *Mohammedans*, by the prophet's order, and tribute paid only by those who professed a different religion (36).

fiân faith, seems most clearly to appear from *Barhebræus*, a *Syriac* author cited by *Assemanus*, who informs us, that *Said*, the prince of *Najrán*, was a *Christian* of the *Jacobite* sect; and that this prince, with *Jesujab*, the *Jacobite* bishop of *Arzun*, waited upon *Mohammed*, and concluded a treaty of alliance with him. The principal articles of which treaty were, that *Mohammed* should take the *Christians* of *Najrán*, and their prince, under his protection; that they should not be forced to go to war against their inclination; that they should be allowed the free exercise of their religion; that all their monks and ecclesiastics should be exempted from tribute; that, amongst the laity, every one of the richer sort should pay twelve pieces of money annually, and the others four only, by way of tribute; that they should be permitted to build and repair churches, and even be assisted in such work by the other *Arabs*; and that, lastly, the poorer sort of them should be employed as servants in the houses of those *Arabs* who professed another religion. To which the *Syriac* author adds, that *Said* made the prophet magnificent presents on this occasion *.

Badhân
the Per-
sian dies.

ALI, having acquitted himself of all his commissions to his master's intire satisfaction, was received by him with marks of great affection, upon his arrival at *Mecca*; whither the prophet was come, in order to perform the pilgrimage of *valediction*. Towards the end of the month *Shawâl*, died *Badhân*, the *Persian*, who was first viceroy of *Yaman* for *Khosrû*, and afterwards for *Mohammed*; who, having received the news of his death, divided the government of *Yaman* between *Shahr*, the son of *Badhân*, and six of his own companions; assigning to every one of the latter a particular district in that province†.

Moham-
med sets
out for
Mecca, to
perform
the pil-
grimage of
*valedic-
tion*.

THE prophet, having washed and anointed himself, set out from *Medina* on Saturday the twenty-fifth of the month *Dbu'lkaada* for *Mecca*, where he now intended to perform the pilgrimage of *valediction*. He was attended, on this occasion, by 90,000 men, or, as some say, 114,000, or, as others will have it, a still greater number. Nor is this to be wondered at, when it is considered, that the people came in vast crouds from all parts of *Arabia*, of which he now was absolute master, to accompany him in this peregrination; especially as he had before commanded it to be proclaimed in

* ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. lix. p. 129. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 275. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 56. JOSEPH. SIMON. ASSEMAN. bibliothec. Oriental. &c. tom. ii. p. 418. Romæ, 1721.

† ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 129. AL JANNABI, ubi sup. p. 284.

the most public manner. He took all his wives, inclosed in their pavilions on the backs of camels, with him; together with an infinite number of camels, intended for victims, that were crowned with garlands. He lay at *Dhu'l-holeifa* the first night, where he said the vespers, or evening-prayers, with two inclinations. From this place, the next day, he advanced to the plain of *Baida*; where he again, with great solemnity proclaimed, according to a tradition derived from *Ayesha*, the pilgrimage of *valediction*, but not any visitation, as we find asserted by *Abulfeda*. A visitation differs from a pilgrimage in this, that the former is not attended with such a train of ceremonies as the latter. Besides, a visitation may be performed at any time of the year; whereas a pilgrimage is absolutely confined to the month of *Dhu'l-hajja*, as the very name of that month itself seems sufficiently to imply ^u.

As to the rites and ceremonies observed by the prophet in this famous pilgrimage, which served for a model to the *Moslems* of all succeeding ages, *Jâber Ebn Abd'allah* has handed down to us an exact description of them, such as he found in the *Sonna*, or collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of the prophet. But before we speak of this pilgrimage, or, which is the same thing, of the time and manner of performing that which answers to it at this day amongst the *Mohammedans*; it will be proper to give a short account here, once for all, of the temple of *Mecca*, the chief scene of the *Mohammedan* worship; in which we shall be the less prolix, as the form and antiquity of that edifice has been already touched upon ^w.

THE city of *Mecca* is situated in a valley, surrounded by *Descript-* mountains, from whence the stone of which it is built was *tion of the* taken. It is twice as big as *Medina*, and about ten days *temple of* journey south of that city. The temple stands in the midst *Mecca* of the town, and is honoured with the title of *Musjad Al Harâm*, i. e. *the sacred or inviolable temple*. What is principally revered in this place, and gives sanctity to the whole, is a square stone-building, called the *Caaba*, as some fancy, from its height, which surpasses that of the other buildings in *Mecca*, but more probably from its *quadrangular* form, and *Beit Allah*, i. e. *the house of GOD*, being peculiarly hallowed

^u ABULFED. ubi sup. c. lx. p. 129, 130. AL SHAHREESTAN. apud Pococ. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. EBN ABBAS, AL JUZI, in lib. de peregrinat. Meccan. c. 121. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 279. AL BEIHAKI, AL BOKHAR. de peregrinat. valedict. ^w MOSLEM, ex trad. Jâber Ebn Abd'allah, in Lib. dict. *Al Sahih*. Vide etiam GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 130.

and set apart for his worship. This seems to have been erected by some of the patriarchs descended from *Ishmael*, and was held in the highest veneration by the *Arabs* of succeeding ages, even long before the birth of *Mohammed*. It was probably at first only a house, or habitation, made use of by the founder, which, in after-ages, attracted the regard of the people of *Mecca*, either on account of its antiquity, or the person who built it, and at last came to be considered as a building appropriated to the service of the pagan *Arab* divinities. For, that it was not originally a temple, seems to appear from hence, that the door was not placed in the middle of the structure; and that, for many ages, there was no divine worship performed in it, tho' the pagan *Arabs* frequently went in procession round it. So the tent, or pavilion, *Jacob* lived in remained at *Edeffa*, according to *Syncellus*, till the time of *Elagabalus*; and the house that first belonged to *Cadmus*, was afterwards converted into the temple of *Ceres*, as we find asserted by *Pausanias*. The length of the *Caaba*, from north to south, is twenty-four cubits, its breadth, from east to west, twenty-three cubits, and its height twenty-seven cubits. The door, which is on the east-side, stands about four cubits from the ground; the floor being level with the bottom of the door. In the corner next this door is the *black stone*, so celebrated amongst the *Mohammedans*. On the north-side of the *Caaba*, within a semicircular inclosure fifty cubits long, lies the *white stone*, said to be the sepulchre of *Ishmael*, which receives the rain-water that falls off the *Caaba* by a spout, formerly of wood, but now of gold. The *black stone*, if we will believe the *Mohammedans*, was brought down from heaven by *Gabriel*, at the creation of the world, and originally of a white colour, but contracted the blackness that now appears on it, from the guilt of those sins committed by the sons of men. They also relate, that, at the time of the deluge, it was taken up into heaven again, and carried from thence a second time by *Gabriel*, when *Abraham* built the *Caaba*. The double roof of the *Caaba* is supported within by three octangular pillars of aloes wood; between which, on a bar of iron, hang some silver lamps. The out-side is cover'd with rich black damask, adorned with an embroidered band of gold, which is changed every year, and was formerly sent by the *Khalifs*, afterwards by the *Soltâns* of *Egypt*, and is now provided by the *Turkish* emperors. At a small distance from the *Caaba*, on the east-side, is the *station*, or *place*, of *Abraham*, where is another stone much respected by the *Mohammedans*, where they pretend to shew his footsteps, telling us he stood on it, when he built the *Caaba*. For which reason, it is at this day

day called by the pilgrims, who visit the temple we are describing, *the stone in Abraham's place* *.

WE are next to observe, that the *Caaba*, at some distance, is surrounded, but not intirely, by a circular inclosure of pillars, joined towards the bottom by a low balustrade, and towards the top by bars of silver. Just without this inner inclosure, on the south, north, and west sides of the *Caaba*, are three buildings, which are the oratories or places where three of the orthodox sects assemble to perform their devotions; the fourth sect, viz. that of *Al Shâfêi*, making use of the station of *Abraham* for that purpose. Towards the south-east stands the edifice which covers the well *Zemzem*, the treasury, and the cupola of *Al Abbâs*. To which we may add, that, in the time of *Sharif Al Edrisi*, there was another cupola, that went then amongst the *Arabs* by the name of *the hemicycle*, or *cupola of Judæa*; but whether or no any remains of that are now to be seen, we have not been informed by any modern traveller. Nor is any information in this particular easy to be obtained, all *Christians* being denied access to the pretended holy place we are here endeavouring to give our readers some idea of †.

THE square colonade, or great piazza, that, at a considerable distance, incloses the magnificent buildings above-mentioned, consists, according to *Al Jannâbi*, of 448 pillars, and has no less than thirty eight gates. Mr. *Sale* compares this piazza to that of the *Royal Exchange*, but allows it to be much larger. It is covered with small domes, or cupolas, from the four corners whereof rise as many *minâretts*, or steeples, with double galleries, and adorned with gilded spires and crescents, after the *Turkish* manner, as are also the cupolas which cover the piazza and the other buildings. Between the columns of both inclosures hang a great number of lamps, which are constantly lighted at night. The first foundations of this outward inclosure were laid by *Omar*, the second *Khalif*, who built no more than a low wall, to prevent the court of the *Caaba*, which before lay open, from being incroached on by private buildings. This court is in a pecu-

* GOLLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 98, 99. PITTS's account of the religion and manners of the *Mohammedans*, p. 96. AHMED EBN YUSEF, SHARIF AL EDRISEI, KITAB MASALEC apud Pocock. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 125, &c. SYNCER. chronic. p. 107. PAUSAN. lib. ix. 16. REIAND. de relig. Mohammed. p. 118, 119, 120. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. in Al Kor. Mohammed. sur. ii. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 13, 14. SAFIODDIN, POCOCC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 118—128.

† SHARIF AL EDRISEI apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 126. ut et ipse Poc. ibid. PITTS's account of the religion and manners of the *Mohammed*. pass.

liar manner stiled *Al Masjid Al Harâm*; which appellation, as has been already observed, is also frequently applied to the whole structure of the *Caaba*. The edifice here described made no very splendid appearance in the time of *Mohammed*, nor even in the reigns of his two immediate successors *Abu Becr* and *Omar*. But the structure has been since raised, by the liberality of many succeeding princes, and great men, to its present lustre. However, the form of the whole has undergone no very material alteration since the year of the *Hejra* 74².

It must likewise be farther observed, that the whole territory of *Mecca*, as well as the *Caaba* and the city, is frequently dignified with the title of *Al Masjid Al Harâm*, and surrounded by a third inclosure, distinguished at certain distances by small turrets, some five, some seven, and others ten miles distant from the city. Some think, that the most sacred part of the city, including the site of the *Caaba*, and a spot of ground contiguous to it, was called by the *Arabs* *Becca*, from remote antiquity; and that this name was never communicated to the other parts of the town; but others, and even with no small appearance of truth, are of a different opinion. Within the compass of ground surrounded by the third inclosure, it is not lawful to attack an enemy, or even to hunt or fowl, or cut a branch from a tree; which, says *Mr. Sale*, is the reason why the pigeons of *Mecca* are reckoned sacred. But we are, with *Al Mogholtai*, rather inclined to believe, that these pigeons are looked upon to be sacred, because they are supposed to be of the breed of those which laid their eggs at the mouth of the cave where the prophet and *Abu Becr* hid themselves, when they fled from that city; especially, as those animals were believed to have not a little contributed to *Mohammed's* wonderful escape at that time, when he was so closely pursued by the *Koreish*. After what has been said, it cannot appear strange, that *Euthymius Zigabenus* should give the name of *Mecca* to the *Caaba*; since both that place and the town, in his time, were considered as sacred by the *Mohammedans*².

As it has been already remarked, that the temple of *Mecca* was a place of worship, or, at least, held in singular veneration

² Poc. ubi supra, p. 116. SALE, ubi supra, p. 115. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum. p. 99.

³ GOLII, ubi sup. SALE, ubi sup. p. 116. AL MOGHOLTAI, in vit. Mohammed. AL JAN-NAB. AL BEIDAWI, in Al Kor. f. ix. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 445. EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, in panoplia dogmatic. inter Sylburgii Saracenic. Vide etiam biblioth. vet. pair. tom. xix. Lugduni, 1677. & Pocock. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 116.

tion by the *Arabs*, many centuries before *Mohammed*, we shall say but little of its high antiquity in this place. However, we must not omit observing, that the *Mohammadans* take the *Caaba* to be almost coeval with the world. For they pretend, that *Adam*, after his expulsion from paradise, begged of *God* that he might erect a building like that he had seen there, called *Beit Al Mamûr*, or *the frequented house*, and *Al Dorâh*, or *the remote house*, towards which he might direct his prayers, and which he might compass, as the angels do the celestial one. Whereupon *God* let down a representation of that house in curtains of light, and set it in *Mecca*, perpendicularly under its original, ordering the patriarch to turn towards it when he prayed, and to compass it by way of devotion. After *Adam's* death, say these persons, his son *Se'h* built a house in the same form, of stones and clay, which being destroyed by the deluge, was rebuilt by *Abraham* and *Ishmael*, at *God's* command, in the place where the former had stood, and after the same model, they being directed therein by revelation. *Abu Horeira* pretends, that this model, or, which is the same thing, the celestial building from whence it was taken, was a thousand years older than *Adam*; and that the angels began to compass that heavenly edifice the same number of years before the creation of the world. Mr. *Gagnier*, and after him Mr. *Salé*, is pleased to affirm, that the primitive *Christian* church held a parallel opinion as to the situation of the celestial *Jerusalem*, with respect to the terrestrial; which he infers from a passage in the apocryphal book of the revelations of *St. Peter*. But sure nothing can be more illogical or unjust, than to impute the crude and absurd notions of a single impostor, for the author of that book deserves no better an appellation, of whatever antiquity he may be, to the whole primitive *Christian* church. What could induce these gentlemen to publish such an unfair insinuation as this, is, perhaps, not so easy to say: For, probably, they thought it would be doing an honour to the *Christian* faith to put it on a level with *Mohammedism*, which they seem to have so much admired above any other religion; and, therefore, cannot justly be suspected of having had any thing of this kind in view. But by whatever motive they were influenced on this occasion, they are not the only writers whom some will believe to have attempted wounding *Christianity* through the sides of its unworthy professors; an author now alive, and supported by some great men, having apparently done the same thing^b.

WE

^b AL SHAHRESTANI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, ubi sup. ABU HOREIRA, AL FIRAUZABAD. in Kam. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. ii. AL JUZI, ex tradit. Ebn Abtâs.

WE have already taken notice, that the *Koreish* rebuilt the *Caaba*, after the birth of *Mohammed*; that it was afterwards repaired by *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, the *Khalif* of *Mecca*; and that *Yusuf*, surnamed *Al Hejâj*, in the seventy-fourth year of the *Hejra*, put it in the form wherein it now remains. To which we shall beg leave to add, that, some years after either, the *Khalif Harûn Al Râshid*, or his father *Al Mohdi*, or else his grandfather *Al Mansûr*, intended to change what had been altered by *Al Hejâj*, and to reduce the building to the old form in which it was left by *Abd'allah*; but was dissuaded from meddling with it by one *Mâlec*, left so holy a place should become the sport of princes, and being new-modelled after every one's fancy, should lose that reverence which was justly paid to it. Some of the *Orientals* believe, that this temple was at first consecrated to *Zohal*, or *Saturn*; as the ancient *Arabs* and *Indians*, between which two nations was a great conformity of religions, had seven celebrated temples, dedicated to the seven planets. One of these, called *Beit Ghomdân*, was built in *Sanaa*; the metropolis of *Yaman*, by *Dabat*, to the honour of *Al Zohrah*, or the planet *Venus*, and was demolished by the *Khalif Othmân*; by whose murder was fulfilled the prophetic inscription, set, as is reported, over this temple, *viz. Ghomdân, he who destroyeth thee, shall be slain*. But, notwithstanding the antiquity and holiness of this building, the *Mohammedans* have a prophecy, that, in the last times, the *Ethiopians* shall utterly demolish it; after which it will not be rebuilt again for ever. It will not dispense our curious readers to be informed, that Mr. *Reland* received an exact plan of the *Caaba*, or temple of *Mecca*, from the learned *Michael Enemannus*, professor at *Upsal*, who lived some years in *Egypt* and *Arabia*, after his return from the *East*; which was taken by a *Turk* upon the spot, and has been preserved by a plate inserted in the excellent treatise Mr. *Reland* has written upon the *Mohammedan* religion.

BEFORE we dismiss the present subject, it may not be amiss to take farther notice of some few particulars, that have hitherto been but slightly touched upon. First, then, the celebrated *black stone* is set in silver, and fixed in the south-east corner of the *Caaba*, looking towards *Basra*, about two cubits and one-third, or seven spans, from the ground. The

GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 37, 38. JOAN. ALBERT. FABRIC. præfat. ad cod. apocr. Nov. Testament. Hamburgi, 1703. SALE, ubi sup. ^c ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 13, & in hist. gen. AL JANNABI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 115, 116, &c. AL SHAHRESTAN. HADR. REDAND. de relig. Mohammed. p. 120. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1717.

pilgrims kiss this stone with great devotion, and some of them even call it the right hand of GOD. The *Moslems* pretend, that it was originally one of the precious stones of paradise, and fell down to the earth with *Adam*. This stone is said to have grown black by the touch of a menstruous woman, or, as others tell us, by the sins of mankind, but probably by the kisses and touches of so many people; the superficies being only black. After the *Karmatians* had taken *Mecca*, they carried away this stone, and could not be prevailed on by the *Meccans* to restore it for 5,000 *dinars*. However, after two-and-twenty years detention of it, finding they could not thereby withdraw the pilgrims from *Mecca*, they sent it back of their own accord. According to *Euthymius Zigabenus*, there appears the figure of a human head cut in it, which some take to be the head of *Venus*; but this is not sufficiently supported by any good *Arab* author. Notwithstanding the respect this stone meets with from the *Mohammedans*, it was probably worshipped by idolaters in the earlier ages. The tradition, that asserts it to have been blackened by the sins of men, is supposed to have been derived originally from the prophet himself; and this notion is the most generally received amongst his followers. 2. The stone in *Abraham's* place above-mentioned, on which the *Moslems* believe that patriarch stood, whilst the wife of his son *Ishmael* washed his head, was inclosed in an iron chest, and had a cavity in it, in the time of *Ahmed Ebn Yusuf*; who tells us, that he drank some of the water of the well *Zemzem* out of it, and not out of the iron chest, as Mr. *Sale* has wrongly affirm'd. Some of the *Moslems*, according to *Euthymius Zigabenus*, formerly believed, that *Abraham* lay with *Hagar* on this stone, and esteem'd it highly on that account. *Mohammed* enjoined his followers to pray before it, in the second chapter of the *Korân*. *Ahmed Ebn Yusuf*, who saw it, relates, that one of *Abraham's* footsteps, still visible in this stone, was much deeper than the other. But for a farther account of it, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to *Safoddin*, *Al Zamakhshari*, *Ahmed Ebn Yusuf*, and other *Arab* authors. 3. The well *Zemzem* is on the east side of the *Caaba*, and covered with a small building and cupola. Many strange things are related of the water of this well, which we have formerly taken notice of. It will, therefore, be sufficient to observe at present, that, according to a tradition, derived ultimately from *Mohammed*, but immediately from the *Khalif Omar*, the water of this celebrated well is medicinal, and, drank moderately, will cure many bodily distempers. The same tradition adds, that, if it be taken copiously, it will heal all spiritual disorders, and procure an absolute remission of sins. No wonder then, that it should not only be drank

with such particular devotion by the pilgrims, but also sent in bottles, as a great rarity, to most parts of the *Mohammedan* dominions. We must not forget to acquaint our readers, that the stone in *Abraham's* place, out of which, as is intimated by *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, the water of *Zemzem* is sometimes drank, was hid by the officers of the temple in one of the mountains near *Mecca*, to prevent its being carried away with the *black stone* by the *Karmatians*. 4. The *white stone*, or sepulchre of *Ishmael*, has been taken particular notice of by *Sharif Al Edrisi*; from whence we may conclude, that it has continued many ages in its present situation; and that it was probably held in considerable repute even amongst the pagan *Arabs*, many of whom acknowledged *Ishmael* to have been their great progenitor. Be that as it will, this stone, on account of its antiquity, merits the attention of the curious, and has therefore been mentioned, in the description of the *Caaba*, by the most celebrated modern writers ^d.

Mohammed performs the ceremonies of the pilgrimage.

BUT, after so necessary a digression, to return to our history—When the prophet arrived at *Mecca*, his men having occupied the same posts, he enter'd the city in the same manner as when he first took possession of it. Descending from the heights on the side of *Cada*, he advanced to the mountain *Al Hajun*, and went directly from thence to the *Caaba*, about day-break, on the fourth day of the month *Dhu'lhajja*. Here he kissed, with great devotion, the corner of the *black stone*; after which, he made seven circuits round the *Caaba*, the three first in a light nimble manner, and the four last with a grayer pace. Then he approached the place, or station, of *Abraham*, and return'd from thence to the *black stone*, which he kissed a second time. After which, he went out of the city by the gate of the *Banu Mahdom*, ascended the hill *Al Safa*, from the top of which he took a view of the *Caaba*, and turning towards the *Kebla*, pronounced the profession of the unity of the Divine Nature, contained in the following words; *GOD is great: There is no GOD but GOD: He has no companion: He is the only supreme Governor: He only ought to be praised: He is powerful above all things: There is, no GOD but GOD: He has no companion: He only is strong: He has succoured his servant; and he alone has put to flight legions of his enemies.* From thence he went to *Al Merwa*, and ran seven times between that

^d AL JANNABI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, ubi sup. Poc, ubi sup. p. 115, 116, 117, 118. AL GHAZAL. SHAHABODDIN, SAFIODDIN, AL ZAMAKASHAR. ubi sup. EUTHYM. ZIGABEN. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 120. ut & ipse Poc. ibid. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 927, 928, SHARIF AL EDRISSI, SALE, ubi sup. p. 118.

mountain and the other of *Al Safâ*, walking gravely to the place between two pillars, where he began to run, and afterwards walked again. He performed this ceremony, sometimes looking back, and sometimes stopping, like one who has lost something, to represent *Hagar* seeking water for her son. From whence 'tis plain, that the *Moslems* look upon this ceremony to be coeval with *Hagar*, and consequently believe, that it was observed by the ancient *Arabs* many centuries before the birth of *Mohammed* *.

FROM the mountains *Al Safâ* and *Al Merwâ* the prophet passed to mount *Arafat*, a little before sun-set, where he made an harangue to the people, standing, and instructed them in the rites and ceremonies of the pilgrimage, which continued, till sun-set. Then he went to *Mozdalifa*, an oratory between *Arafat* and *Mina*, where he repeated the evening prayers, and gave the pilgrims an exhortation, or short moral discourse, with two assurances. Then he laid himself down on the ground, and slept till morning, when he said the prayer used by the *Mohammedans* before sun-rise. After this, he posted himself in the middle of the *Caaba*, and prayed standing till the sun was upon the point of making his appearance. Then he hasted by the valley of *Mohaffer* to that of *Mina*, where he threw seven stones at three marks, or pillars, in imitation of *Abraham*, who meeting with the devil in that place, and being by him disturbed in his devotions, or tempted to disobedience, when he was going to sacrifice his son, was commanded by GOD to drive him away, by throwing stones at him; tho' others pretend this rite to be as old as *Adam*, who also put the devil to flight in the same place, and by the same means. Every time the prophet cast a stone at *Satan*, he repeated the formula *ALLAH ACBAR*, &c. *GOD is great*, &c. and then went to the place in the valley of *Mina*, where the pilgrims at this day slay the victims, and give the remains of them, after they with their friends have fed upon them, to the poor. It is observable, that the pilgrims at present, in imitation of *Mohammed*, on the ninth of *Dhu'l-hajja*, after morning prayer, leave the valley of *Mina*, whither they come the day before, and proceed in a tumultuous and rushing manner to mount *Arafat*, where they stay to perform their devotions till sun-set, and from thence go to *Mozdalifa*, spending there the night in prayer and reading the *Korân*; from whence the next morning, by day-break, they visit *Al Masher Al Harâm*, or the sacred monument, and pass by *Batn Mohaffer* before sun-

* ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 131. AL JANNABI, ubi sup. p. 280, 281. EBN AL ATHIR, AL GHAZAL. Vide etiam ALBERT. BOBOV. ubi sup. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 314.

rise to the valley of *Mina*, where they perform the same operation with the stones the prophet did. It must also be remarked, that these pilgrims, the sacrifices being over, shave their heads, and cut their nails, burying them in the same place: after which, they look upon the pilgrimage as completed; tho' they again visit the *Caaba*, to take their leave of that sacred place. In all which particulars they follow the example of their prophet, who did the same on the present occasion ^f.

WHEN *Mohammed* came to the place where the victims were to be slain, he made a speech to the people, pointing out to them therein the rites and ceremonies of the immolation. At this juncture it was, that the following passage of the *Korân*, according to the pretended prophet, descended from heaven: "On this day, wo unto those who have apostatized from their religion; therefore fear not them, but fear me. This day have I perfected your religion for you, and have completed my mercy upon you; and I have chosen for you ISLAM, to be your religion." Which words being heard by *Abu Beer*, if we may depend upon *Al Jan-nâbi*, he burst out into tears, as he understood from them how far he was from being arrived at a state of perfection. However, he comforted himself with this pleasing reflection, that the prophet was his friend, and that he would not fail making perpetual intercession for him ^g.

WE are likewise told by the same historian, that the descent of this famous passage was attended, or rather followed, by a most illustrious miracle. The camel *Al Ka/wâ*, on which the prophet rode, says he, hearing these celestial words, fell down on her knees, through the power of the divine revelation, and out of the profound reverence she had for the *Korân*. Nay, this most staunch *Moslem* assures us, that the very spot, on which this miraculous fit of devotion happened to the camel, after it had lain hid for many ages, was at last discovered, and that by a miracle too, in the year of the *Hejra* 964, or of CHRIST 1557, in the following manner: *Al Wâled*, the great *Kâdî* of *Mecca*, celebrating there the pilgrimage, or grand festival, that year, was extremely desirous of seeing the place where the prophet's camel fell down on her knees, when the famous passage in the beginning of the fifth chapter of the *Korân* was revealed. In order, therefore, to discover this, he rid on his camel over every part of the town,

^f *Iidem* *ibid.* *Al Kor. MOHAMMED.* f. ii. *AHMED EBN YUSEF, HADR. RELAND.* de relig. Mohamm. p. 113—121. *PITTS's* account of the religion of the *Mohammedans*, p. 92, &c. *CHARD.* voy. de Perse, p. 35. ^g *ABULFED. & AL JANNAB.* ubi sup. *Al Kor. MOHAMMED.* f. v. v. 4.

and was at last met by one *Sheikh Hofsia*, a most pious and devout person, favoured with frequent revelations, who told him, that the apostle of GOD had appeared to him the preceding night, and assured him, that the place he then stood on was the very spot of ground he sought after. Upon which, adds this writer, *Al Wâled's* camel at that instant fell down on her knees, opposite to the building then called the house of *Adam*; which fresh miracle put the *Sheikh's* veracity in the point before us beyond all manner of doubt. Upon which extraordinary relation we have at present no other reflection to make, than that Mr. *Gagnier* POSITIVELY AFFIRMS, that our author, as indeed appears from the relation, was an eye-witness of this most surprising event; which, as it seems to imply his assent to the whole story, will doubtless add great weight to the authority of *Al Jannâbi*, and even absolutely evince the reality of these and all the other illustrious miracles handed down to us by that historian ^b.

BEFORE the conclusion of the preceding solemnity, *Ali* returned from *Yaman*, where he had been upon some particular business, and desired to be permitted to partake of it, and to celebrate the praises of GOD, in the same manner that the prophet and his other companions had done; which, as he appeared in his sacred garment, or pilgrim's habit, as *Mohammed* himself and all his followers at that time did, was immediately granted him. Then the prophet slew with his own hands sixty-three camels, which answered to the years of his age, he being then sixty-three years old, and sacrificed them in the valley of *Mina*. Thirty-seven more he gave to *Ali* for immolation, that he might complete the number of victims to an hundred. Part of these the prophet brought with him from *Medina*, and the other part *Ali* procured in *Yaman*. Afterwards *Mohammed* shaved his head, and threw the hair on a tree or shrub called *Talha*, that the wind might blow it amongst the people. Most of the fore-locks were seized by *Khâled Ebn Walid*, who tied them to a turban that he wore in all his future wars; and hence it came to pass, says a *Moslem* author, that this general was so powerfully assisted in every future engagement, or, in other words, that he was so constantly victorious. What a pity it is, that Mr. *Gagnier* has not supported the authority of this writer, as he seems to have done before that of *Al Jannâbi*, either by explicitly, or at least implicitly, signifying his assent to what he has been pleased to advance on this occasion ¹!

^b AL JANNAB. ubi sup. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 263.

¹ AL DAMIR. in lib. dict. vit. animal. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 283. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 131, 132. JALLALO'D-DIN, AL SHAFA, GAGN. ubi sup. p. 285.

AFTER the prophet had taken his repast, in company with *Ali* only, he remounted his camel, and went directly to the *Caaba*. Then he said the prayer used after the sun begins to decline from the meridian, took several large draughts of *Zemzem* water, compassed the temple seven times, and ran as before between *Al Safâ* and *Al Merwâ*. On the ninth day of the festival, he perform'd his devotion on mount *Arafat*, about a mile from *Mecca*, a place held in high veneration by the *Moslems*. For they say, that when *Adam* and *Eve* were cast down from paradise, *Adam* fell on the isle of *Ceylon*, or *Serendib*, and *Eve* near *Joddah*, the port of *Mecca*, in *Arabia*; and that after a separation of 200 years, *Adam* was, on his repentance, conducted by the angel *Gabriel* to a mountain near *Mecca*, where he found and knew his wife, the mountain being thence named *Arafat*. To which they add, that he afterwards retired with her to *Ceylon*, where they continued to propagate their species. This mountain, the *Moslems* pretend, has always been more immediately dedicated to the service of ALMIGHTY GOD; and here, according to *Al Jannâbi*, the prophet acquitted himself of his duty with great humility on the present occasion, imploring the divine clemency, and begging pardon, with great fervor, both for his own sins, and those of all his followers. With this penitential act, and the reformation of the *Arab* kalendar, of which we shall here beg leave to subjoin a short account, he concluded the pilgrimage of *validation* ^k.

Mohammed reforms the Arab kalendar;

It has been already observed, that the pagan *Arabs* esteemed four months in the year as sacred, during which they held it unlawful to wage war, and therefore ceased then from all incursions, and other hostilities. However, in process of time, some of them being weary of sitting quiet at home, transferred the observance of a sacred month, when it suited their convenience, to the succeeding profane month. Thus, for example, they put off the observance of the month *Al Moharram* to the following month *Safar*, which, in that case, was looked upon to be sacred. This translation, or transferring, of the observance of a sacred month to a profane one, is imported by the *Arabic* word *Al Nasi*; and was absolutely condemned, as an impious innovation, first introduced by *Jonâda Ebn Auf*, of the tribe of *Kenâna*, in a passage of the *Korân*; as was also the intercalation of a month every third or second year, which the *Arabs* had learned of the *Jews*, in

^k AL JANNAB. ubi sup. Vide etiam ALBERT. BOBOV. ubi sup. D'HERHEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 55. AHMED EBN YAHYA, MONCONY's voyage, par i. p. 372, &c. KNOX's account of Ceylon. Anciennes relations des Indes, &c. p. 3. AL HASAN, GAGN. ubi sup. 266, 267.

order to reduce their lunar to solar years. For, by this means, they fixed, contrary to the original institution, the time of the pilgrimage, and of the fast of *Ramaddān*, which ought to be ambulatory, to a certain season of the year. These ordinances, relating to the months, were promulgated by *Mohammed* himself at the pilgrimage of *valediction*, so called either because the prophet, after this, never saw *Mecca*, or because, in the last sermon he preached to the people, he took his leave of them in a formal manner. The last of these opinions has been maintain'd by *Al Fūzi*, in which he is followed by Mr. *Gagnier*; and the first, with a greater appearance of truth, if we may be allowed the liberty of judging, by the famous *Ismael Abulfeda*¹.

THUS have we given our readers a particular, tho' at the same time, considering the variety of circumstances attending it, a very concise, account of the last pilgrimage performed by *Mohammed*, filed by the principal *Arab* writers, who have mention'd it, the pilgrimage of *valediction*. Nor can this, we persuade ourselves, be deemed too prolix, if it be considered, that the famous event therein related, was by the prophet intended to serve as a model, for the celebration of this great solemnity, to the *Moslems* of all succeeding ages. So that the preceding account, at the same time that it exhibits to us a very curious piece of *Arabic* history, contains an exact description of all the principal rites and ceremonies observed by the *Mohammedans* at this day, who perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. Nor could we, without such a description, sufficiently understand several passages in the history of the *Khalifs*, as well as that of *Mohammed*, and other *Moslem* princes, that will hereafter occur to us, and allude to the celebration of the festival here described. But to wave every thing else that might be offer'd by way of apology, it would certainly have been unpardonable, in such a work as this, to have only just touched upon so grand an institution; the *Mohammedans* holding the pilgrimage to *Mecca* to be so necessary a point of practice, that, according to a tradition of their prophet, received amongst them, he who dies without performing it, may as well die a *Jew* or a *Christian*; and it being like-

¹ AL KAZWINI, apud Golium in not. ad Alfragan. p. 4, &c. ut & ipse GOL. ibid. AL SHAHRESTANI, apud Pocockium in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 311, ut & ipse POCK. ibid. EBN AL ATHIR, AL JAUNAR. in *Al Saba*, AL DAMIR. ubi sup. AL FIRAUZABADI, AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. ix. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 132. AL JUZI de ritib. peregrinat. Meccan. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, ABU ABD'ALLAH MOHAMMED EBN AHMED, in lib. dist. *Odorat. Flor.* Poc. not. in hist. spec. Arab. p. 177, 323, &c.

wife expressly commanded in the *Korân*. To the *Caaba*, therefore, every *Moslem*, who has health and means sufficient, ought once, at least, in his life to go on pilgrimage, and put on the *Ibrâm*, or sacred habit; nor are even the women themselves excused from the performance of so necessary a duty. As to the rest, those who desire to be thoroughly acquainted with the nature and manner of this peregrination, may consult *Albertus Bobovius*, and our countryman *Pitts*, who, in every thing, even the minutest particulars relating to it, will give them full and ample satisfaction ^m.

and sends
an embassy
to the Al
Nakha-
ites.

THE following year, being the eleventh year of the *Hejra*, a numerous embassy was sent by the *Al Nakhaïtes*, a tribe of *Arabs* settled in *Yaman*, to *Mohammed*, which arrived at *Medina*, where he then was, about the middle of the month of *Al Moharram*. The persons that composed this embassy, to the number of an hundred, had before been initiated in the rites and mysteries of *Islamism*; and had likewise taken the oath of allegiance to the prophet, which was administered to them by *Moadh Ebn Jabal*. They met, therefore with a very gracious reception from *Mohammed*; who, on the 25th of the month *Safar*, nominated *Osâma*, the son of *Zeid*, who was killed in the battle of *Mûta*, a youth of about twenty years of age, to command a body of troops in an expedition, projected by the prophet, to revenge his father's death. *Osâma* having assembled his forces, consisting intirely of *Mohâjirin* and *Ansârs*, and received the standard from the prophet himself, set out from *Medina* the 28th, attended by *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Saad Ebn Abu Wakkâs*, who were all appointed to command under him. The first day he only advanced to *Jorf*, a place about a parasang distant from *Medina*, where he incamped the following night ⁿ.

Moham-
med falls
sick.

IN the mean time the prophet, who had been attacked the day before, being the 27th of *Safar*; by a violent pain in the head, attended by a fever that afterwards brought a delirium upon him, in the apartment of *Zeinab Bint Jahash*, one of his beloved wives, found himself something better before the departure of the army. But soon after, his disorder was heighten'd by the advice he received of the revolt of two famous impostors, who had commenced prophets in the provinces of *Al Yamâma* and *Najrân*. These two competitors in the prophetic office were *Moseilama* and *Al Aswad*, whom the *Mohammedans* usually call the two lyars. The first of these was of the tribe of *Honeïfa*, who inhabited the province

^m ALBERTUS BOBOVIUS & PITTS, ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. iii. AL BEIDAWI. ⁿ AL JANNAB, ubi supra, p. 284.

of *Yamâna*, and a principal man amongst them. He had headed an embassy sent by his tribe to *Mohammed*, in the ninth year of the *Hijra*, and then professed himself a *Muslim*. But being desirous of raising himself to a greater degree of power, the next year he set up for a prophet. As he survived *Mohammed*, and even grew formidable after his death, we shall give a farther account of him in our history of the *Khalifat of Abu Bcer*, to which place such an account more properly belongs^o.

AL ASWÂD BEN CAAB, the other impostor, whose name was *Aibala*, was of the tribe of *Ans*, and governed that and the other tribes of *Arabs* descended from *Madhaj*, the prince of *Sofâr*, a city of *Yaman*. This man was likewise an apostate from *Mohammedism*, and began to act the part of a prophet the very year that *Mohammed* died. He had acquired great power and authority over all the *Arab* tribes settled in *Yaman*. *Abulfeiz* relates, that he was surnamed *Dhu'lhmâr*, or the master of the *asfs*, because he used frequently to say, The master of the *asfs* is coming unto me; and gave out, that he received his revelations from two angels, named *Sohaik* and *Shoraih*. The first of these, as he pretended, sold him an *asf*, that he had taught to play all manner of tricks, and when he saw him at any time appear, he immediately said, Here comes the master of the *asfs*; from whence he was distinguished by the aforesaid appellation. The latter, as he said, frequently exhibited to his view a vast variety of spectres, or phantoms, so glorious that they dazzled his eyes. Having a good hand at legerdemain, and a smooth tongue, he gained mightily on the multitude by the strange feats which he shewed them, and the eloquence of his discourse; which, to set off the more, and render the more engaging, he assured the people was derived from the two angels above-mentioned, who, he told them, moved his tongue as they pleased. By these means he greatly increased his power, and having made himself master of *Najrân*, and the territory of *Al Tayef*, on the death of *Badhân*, the governor of *Yaman* for *Mohammed*, he seized that province also, killing *Shahr*, the son of *Badhân*, and taking to wife his widow, whose father, the uncle of *Firuz* the *Deilamite*, he had also slain. The news of so considerable a progress being brought to *Mohammed*, he was very uneasy; especially as the same express informed him, that *Al Aswad* had possessed himself of *Sanaa*,

^o ABULFED. ubi sup. c. lxi. p. 133. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. hist. dynast. p. 164. AL FIRAUZABAD. POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 178. AL BOKHARI, ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 160. ELMACIN. ubi sup. p. 9.

the capital of *Yaman*, and appointed *Amru Ebn Moadh* his lieutenant over the tribe of *Madhaj*. He, therefore, dispatched a courier to some of the leading men of the tribes of *Hamyar* and *Hamdân*, with secret orders to cut him off, either by surprize or open force; which orders were effectually executed, as will hereafter more clearly appear ^p.

The prophet
grows
worse.

IN the mean time, the prophet's distemper, which began with a violent and acute pain in the head, increased to such a degree, that his life was soon apprehended to be in danger. This malady was occasioned, as has been already observed, by the poison he received at *Khaibar*, which, at certain intervals, had greatly disorder'd him, ever since the reduction of that place; and, having diffused itself over the whole mass of his blood, and by its extreme malignity affected every vein, produced the uncommon head-ach, and fever attending it, that now put a period to his days. As soon as he found that his distemper might prove fatal to him, he sent for all his other wives to the apartment of *Maimûna Bint Al Hâreth*, and desired they would give *Ayesha* leave to take care of him in his sickness; which they agreeing to, he was immediately carried to her apartment. Here he is said to have attributed his death, which he soon was sensible approached, to the poison given him at *Khaibar*, in the presence both of *Ayesha* and the mother of *Bashar Ebn Al Bara*, who likewise was poisoned there. We are told, that, in the discourse which passed between the prophet and his wife *Ayesha*, some pleasantries were made use of at this sorrowful juncture, which seemed a little to alleviate his pain. After which, the fever raged to such a degree, that he thought himself on fire. No one could feel his pulse, or put his hand on his stomach, without being sensible of a most intense and insupportable heat; which made him break out into the following exclamation: *Oh! none of the prophets ever suffered such torments as I now feel; but the greater my present affliction is, the more glorious will be my future reward.* Then, at his request, his wives threw a large quantity of cold water upon his body, in order to abate the heat with which he was consumed; which, says one of the *Moslem* writers, wonderfully refresh'd him ^q.

NAY, this seem'd to have produced not only present ease, but a much more wonderful effect upon him. For he found

^p ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 158, 159. AL SONEILI, apud Gagn. in not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 158, ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. ELMACIN. ubi sup. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 287. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 273, 274, 275.

^q ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 134, 135. AL BOKHARI, AL JANNABI, ubi supra, p. 290. MOSLEM, GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 134, 135.

himself so much better the next day, that he went to a mosque, tho' supported by *Fadhl Ebn Al Abbâs* and *Ali*, where he largely celebrated the praises of the ALMIGHTY, and begged pardon of GOD, in a most devout manner, for all his sins. Then he mounted a pulpit, or seat erected for him, out of which he harangued the people assembled to see him, in the following words :—*O men, if I have ever whipped any person with severity, let me endure the same stripes that he did ; if I have ever wounded any person's reputation, let mine be treated in the same manner ; if I have taken money from any one unjustly, I am ready here to return it. Nor let such a person be afraid to demand what is his due ; it is not agreeable to my genius and disposition to resent this.* After which, he came out of the pulpit, said the prayer used when the sun begins to decline from the meridian, remounted his pontifical chair, and resum'd his discourse there ; but was prevented from continuing it, by a man who demanded three *dirhems*, that he pretended were due to him. This small sum the prophet immediately paid him, saying, *It is better to suffer disgrace in this world than in that which is to come.* Then he pray'd to GOD for the martyrs that had been slain in the battle of *Ohod*, and for all those interred in the burying-place call'd *Al Baki* ; interceding for them, says *Al Fannâbi*, according to the pact and communion subsisting between the living and the dead. To which he added, *GOD has given one of his servants the choice either of this world, or of that which is to come ; and he, meaning himself, has chosen the latter.* Upon which, *Abu Becr* burst forth into tears, and said to him, *We have given you absolute power over our souls*†.

AFTER this, the prophet gave his last orders to the *Ansfars*, Mohammed the most zealous and faithful of his companions. These orders have even to this day been regarded by the *Moslems* as the most essential articles of *Mohammed's* will ; and are the three following ; viz. 1. They were commanded to chase all idolaters out of *Arabia*. 2. To grant proselytes all the privileges that they themselves enjoyed. 3. To apply themselves constantly to prayer. The first of which orders has always been so punctually and rigorously observed, that no religion but *Islamism* has, from the death of the prophet, been tolerated in *Arabia* ; tho' the *Christians*, *Jews*, *Sabians*, and *Magians*, who are consider'd as idolaters, are permitted to exercise their religion, upon the payment of an annual tribute imposed upon them, in all other parts of the *Mohammedan* dominions. The second order, relating to proselytes, has always, as it is at present, been perfectly complied with by the *Moslems*, who

† ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 135. AL JANNAB. ubi sup.

have never failed to fill their principal employments with new converts, as well as with those who were educated in the *Mohammedan* religion. As for the third, nothing is more expressly enjoined in the *Korán* than prayer. It is, indeed, one of the five fundamental articles of the *Moslem* faith; and was by *Mohammed* thought so necessary a duty, that he used to call it *the pillar of religion, and the key of paradise*. When, therefore, the *Thakifites*, who dwelt at *Táyef*, sending, in the ninth year of the *Hejra*, to make their submission to that prophet, after the keeping of their favourite idol had been denied them, begged, at least, that they might be dispensed with as to their saying of the appointed prayers, he answered, *That there could be no good in that religion wherein was no prayer*. Nay, according to a tradition that came originally from *Omm Salma*, when he was at the point of death, he insisted more upon the performance of this duty than that of any other. He also then said, if the tradition derived from *Ayesha* may be credited, *May God's curse fall upon the Jews, for converting the sepulchres of their prophets into temples*; which probably prevented his own from meeting with the same fate. This might be one of his views in uttering such an imprecation; tho' we are inclined to believe, that it proceeded chiefly from the invincible aversion he had conceived to that people, whom he consider'd as the most bitter and irconcilable, notwithstanding his repeated endeavours to soften them, of all his enemies^s.

He officiates in the mosque till within three days of his death. ON Friday, he having been taken ill the Monday before, and the following days, as long as he was able, he constantly said prayers in the mosque to the people; but the three last days preceding his death, he was so extremely bad, that he was obliged to confine himself intirely to *Ayesha's* apartment, where he entertain'd his friends with discourses on religious topics. Then he gave them instructions how to behave to him, both before and after his death, and manumitted a great number of slaves. After which, growing delirious, through the violence of the paroxysm that seized upon him, he call'd for pen, ink, and paper, in order to write a book to deliver to his followers, for the better regulation of their future conduct. This, tho' agreed to by some, was opposed by *Omar*; who rightly attributed so unseasonable, as well as absurd, a motion (especially as the prophet had always been illiterate, and incapable of either reading or writing) to the violence of

^s EBN ABBAS, AL BOKHAR. EBN AL KATAN, ABULFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 290—294. Vidé etiam ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. p. 127, & OMM SALMA apud Al Jannab. ubi supra.

his distemper; since, as he justly observed, the *Korân*, which they had received from heaven, was of itself sufficient to direct them in all spiritual matters. However, a dispute arising, *Mohammed*, with some emotion, ordered all the company to withdraw, telling them, that *it was not proper for them to dispute in the presence of a prophet* ¹.

WE must not forget to observe, that the prophet, thinking ^{and is} himself incapable to pray publicly, the *Friday* before his death, ^{assisted} ordered *Abu Becr* to officiate for him. However, finding him- ^{therein by} self afterwards something better, he came into the mosque, supported by *Ali* and *Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs*. As soon as he had taken his seat, he said some prayers, which *Abu Becr* repeated after him, and the people then present at divine service did the same after *Abu Becr* ^{Abu Becr.}.

ON *Saturday* night, or the day following, *Gabriel*, ac- ^{Gabriel} cording to the *Moslem* historians, visited the prophet, and ^{brings him} brought him the agreeable news of his competitor *Al Aswad's* ^{the agree-} death. This was effected by a party of *Mohammed's* friends, ^{able news} to whom he had written on occasion of that impostor's re- ^{of Al Al-} volt, as has been already observed, and some of the *Arabs* of ^{ward's} *Hamdân*; who, conspiring with *Kais Ebn Abd'al Yaghûth*, ^{death.} who bore *Al Aswad* a grudge, and with *Firûz* and *Al Aswad's* wife, broke by night into his house, where *Firûz* surprised him, and cut off his head. While he was dispatching, he roar'd like a bull; at which his guards came to the chamber-door, but were sent away by his wife, who told them that the prophet was only agitated by the divine inspiration. This was done a day or two before *Mohammed* died. The next morning the conspirators caused the following proclamation to be made; viz. *I bear witness that Mohammed is the apostle of God, and that Aihala is a liar*; and letters were immediately sent away to *Mohammed*, with an account of what had been done. But the messenger from heaven, according to *Abulfeda* and *Al Jannâbi*, outstripped them, and acquainted the prophet with the news, which he imparted to his companions but a little before his death; the letters themselves not arriving till *Abu Becr* was chosen *Khalif*. It is said, that *Mohammed*, on this occasion, told those who attended him, that, before the day of judgment, thirty more impostors, besides *Moseilama* and *Al Aswad*, should appear, and every one of them set up for a prophet. He also in-

¹ ABULFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. AL SHAHRESTAN. EBN ISHAK, AL TABAR. AYESHA, apud AL Bokhâr. in Son. ut & ipse AL Bokhar. ibid. EBN ABÊAS. Vide etiam POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 178. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 136. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. AL JANNAB. & AL Bokhar. ubi sup.

formed them, that the defection of the princes of *Al Yamâma* and *Sofâr*, that is, *Moseilama* and *Al Afwad*, had been signified to him on the night *Al Kadr*, when he was honoured with his first revelation, and the *Korân* came down from heaven. The whole time, from the beginning of *Al Afwad*'s rebellion to his death, was about four months ^w.

Some of
Osâna's
officers
come to
visit the
prophet
from the
camp at
Jorf.

EARLY ON *Saturday* morning, some of *Osâna Ebn Zeid*'s officers came to pay their duty to the prophet, having been informed of his indisposition; and returned immediately after they had taken their leave of him to the camp at *Jorf*. The general himself also visited him the next day, and found him in a fainting fit; out of which when he recovered, he gave him his benediction, and recommended him to the divine favour. The day following, *Osâna* had given the signal to his soldiers to begin their march, when news was brought him by a courier of the apostle's being at the point of death. This obliged him to alter his measures, and to defer, for the present, the intended expedition. However, this was soon after executed with great success, as we shall see in our history of the *Khalîfat* of *Abu Becr* ^x.

Moham-
med's
death.

AT last, after many struggles and agonies, the prophet departed this life on *Monday*, the twelfth day of the former *Rabî*, about noon, in the eleventh year of the *Hejra*. *Ebn Abbâs* pretends, that the principal events of his life happened on *Monday*, or the same day of the week on which he died. He was, according to this tradition, born on *Monday*. He also enter'd upon his prophetic function, fled from *Mecca* to *Medina*, made his first entrance into the latter city, and took *Mecca*, if *Ebn Abbâs* may be credited, tho' others are of a different opinion, on the very same day. *Abulfeda* and *Al Jannâbi* relate, that the first words the prophet spoke, were ALLAH ACBAR, GOD is great; and the last, which were utter'd in the presence of *Ayesha*, YEA WITH THE CELESTIAL COMPANIONS; that is, *Let me be with the spirits above*. After which, having sprinkled his face with some water that stood by him, adds the former of these writers, he immediately expired ^y.

AUTHORS are, however, not exactly agreed with regard to the day, nor even the year, on which *Mohammed* died.

^w AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 293. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 159. Aut. lib. dict. *Al Montck*. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. Vidé etiam LUDOVICUM MARRACCIIUM, in prodr. par. ii. p. 48. col. 2. Patavii, 1698.

^x AL JANNAB. ubi sup. ^y ABULFED. ubi sup. c. lxii. p. 136, 137. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 294. AYESHA, apud Al Bokhâr. in Son. ut & ipse AL BOKHAR. ibid. AL SOHEILI, apud Gagn. in not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 136, 137, 138.

Said Ebn Batrik, or Euty chius, says he died on the second day of the former *Rabî*, and the eleventh year of the *Hejra*. Abu'l Faraj (N) affirms, that he departed this life on the 28th day of the month *Safâr*, and the eleventh year of the *Hejra*. Dionysius Telmaren sis maintains, that he died in the year of CHRIST 627, or of the *Greeks* 938, after he had governed the *Arabs* only seven years. But Al Makin, in agreement with the generality of the *Arab* historians, who certainly must be allowed to have been the best acquainted with this event, asserts the decease of *Mohammed* to have happened on the twelfth day of the former *Rabî*, in the eleventh year of the *Hejra*, or the 17th of *June*, in the year of CHRIST 632, after he had presided over the *Arabs*, or rather had attempted to preside over them, ten lunar years and seventy-one days, or nine solar years and eleven months, wanting only one day. This opinion, therefore, cannot but be the most acceptable to our curious and learned readers ; for which reason we have not scrupled to follow it here y.

S E C T. III.

SOME of the *Mohammedan* writers pretend, that, just before the prophet died, the angel of death, named *Azrail*, in company with *Gabriel*, appeared to him, and asked his leave to separate his soul from his body ; which, he assured him, he could not do without his express permission. Nay, he gave him, as they tell us, his option of life or death ; which the *Moslem* doctors look upon as one of the most singular and illustrious prerogatives of the prophet. Whereupon *Mohammed*, continue these authors, having chosen death, and de-

A commotion amongst his followers after his death.

† EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 251. Oxon. 1656. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 164. JOSEPH. SIMON. ASSEMAN. bibliothec. Orient. tom. ii. p. 102. Romæ, 1721. AL MAKIN. in histor. Saracen. c. i. p. 9. Vide etiam ABULFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi supra.

(N) It may not be improper to inform our curious readers, that this historian is called by the *Arabs* Abu'l-Faraj, and not Abu'l-Farâji, or Abu'l-Faragbi, as we find intimated by Dr. Pocock and Dr. Prideaux. This most evidently appears from one of the MS. copies of his *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum*, made use of by Dr. Pocock, as well as from a passage in his *Chronicon Syriacum*, published by a very learned modern author, cited here (37).

(37) Poc. præfat. ad lectur. præfix. hist. compendios. dynastiar. Greg. Abu'l-Farajii, p. 1, 2. Oxon. 1663. J. J. Simon. Asseman. bibliothec. Oriental. Clementino-Vaticana. tom. secund. p. 309. Romæ, 1721.

fired the aforesaid angel to execute his office, he was immediately thrown into agonies that terminated with his life. A great part of the people, however, for some time, would not believe him dead, but affirmed him to be translated to heaven, as was *Isa*, or *JESUS*, the last great prophet that preceded him. In consequence of this notion, which, with uncommon impetuosity, was at first insisted upon by *Omar*, they would not suffer him to be interred, till *Al Abbás*, the prophet's uncle, had publicly declared that he had tasted of death. But nothing contributed so much to the calming the minds of the populace, as well as the conviction of *Omar*, who had affirmed, that he was only gone for a season, as *Mísa Ebn Amrán*, or *Moses*, left the *Israelites* for forty days, as the presence of *Abu Bêr*; who, upon the first news of *Mohammed's* decease, came from that part of the city called *Al Sonoh*, or the upper town, and convinced every body of the reality of that event; not only by exposing the corps to the view of all the people, but likewise (which had a greater effect upon them) by demonstrating, from two express passages of the *Korán*, that the prophet was not to be exempted from death ^a.

Moadh Ebn Jabal is informed in a supernatural manner of Mohammed's death.

WE are told by *Al Jannâbi*, that the moment *Mohammed* was attacked by *Azraîl*, the news of this melancholy accident was imparted to *Moadh Ebn Jabal*, his governor of part of *Yaman*, in a dream, or vision, at *Sanaa*, the capital of that country; and that he was afterwards apprized of the prophet's interment, when it happen'd, in the same supernatural manner. That sorrowful event, adds the same author, caused a general consternation; insomuch that, whilst the angels were carrying the departed prophet's soul in triumph to heaven, all the people of *Medina*, and the neighbouring district, were overwhelmed with the most inconsolable grief for his departure ^b.

Osâma arrives at Medina after the prophet's decease.

WHEN the prophet lay at the point of death, an express was dispatched to the camp at *Jorf*, with advice that he was drawing towards his end, his extreme parts being already perfectly cold. *Osâma*, upon the arrival of this express, countermanded the march of the troops to the borders of *Syria*, and returned to *Medina*, where he arrived a little after the sun began to decline from the meridian; but found the prophet just expired. Notwithstanding which, he ordered *Yerda Ebn Hofuib*, his standard-bearer, to plant the great standard, or standard of *Islamism*, directly before his door, and assigned all the officers of the army their respective posts.

^a *Al SOHEILI*, ubi sup. p. 138, 139. *AL JANNAB*. ubi sup. p. 295. *AL BOKHARI*, in *SOHRA*. ^b *AL JANNAB*. ubi supra.

This preserved the public tranquillity, and enabled the *Moslems* to proceed to the election of a *Khalif*, or successor to *Mohammed*, without interruption or delay, as will be hereafter seen in its proper place ^c.

AL JANNABI pretends, that the prophet *Al Khedr*, or *Al Kedr*, *Elias*, with an audible voice, tho' he did not appear, and words full of consolation, comforted *Mohammed's* disconsolate family, after he was taken from them; which convinced them of the certainty of his decease. He also relates, that *Asma Bint Omaïs*, examining the prophet's shoulders, found that the seal of prophecy was vanished from thence; from whence she concluded, that he must be infallibly dead. Nor did any of the *Moslems* after this entertain the least doubt of the reality of his death ^d.

As to the prophet's age, some of the *Arab* writers make him to have been sixty, and others sixty-five years old, when he died; but the generality and best of them, and they seem to have reason on their side, say that he was then sixty-three years of age. The last compute in this manner: He was forty years old, when the angel *Gabriel* first appeared unto him; after which, he lived thirteen years at *Mecca*, and ten at *Medina*. Those who assign him sixty-five years make that of his birth and that of his death two of them, and those who allow him but sixty years reckon only in round numbers; so that all these authors may perhaps mean the same thing. Those who differ from them considerably in this point are not to be depended upon, as they run counter to the whole stream of *Moslem* antiquity, and deny the reality of certain facts that have been attested by the generality of the best *Arab* historians ^e.

THE ferment amongst the populace, already mentioned, supported in a great measure by *Omar*, and occasioned by the almost general disbelief at first of the prophet's death, together with some disputes relating to the election of his successor, obliged his family, and the *Moslem* leaders, to defer his interment till the *Thursday* following. Then the care of the funeral was committed to *Al Abbas*, the prophet's uncle, who, with his two sons, *Al Fadhl* and *Kotbân*, *Osâma Ebn Zeid*, *Mohammed's* intimate friend, and *Shokrân*, his enfranchised slave, saw *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleh* wash the body, that was deposited in the middle of a magnificent tent, erected for that purpose, with the most pure and limpid water that could be procured. Afterwards they embalm'd it with camphire, anointed the seven parts applied to the earth in adoration with an aromatic composition, and performed upon the face, arms,

^c Idem ibid. ^d Idem ibid. ^e ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. lxiv. p. 142.

palms of the hands, soles of the feet, &c. the *Waddû*, or sacred ablution. *Ali* went through the operation of the first ablution, by virtue of the power given him by the prophet some time before his death; and, at his particular request, took care not to cast his eyes upon that part which nature has ordered to be concealed. According to a tradition derived originally from *Omm Salma*, one of the prophet's wives, the corps emitted an odour resembling that of musk, but in fragrance much exceeding it, till it was inhumed. The *Moslems* wrapped it in three garments, two of which were white, and one striped after the manner of *Yaman*. They also put round it some pieces of odoriferous wood, and a composition of amber, musk, and other perfumes. After which, the prophet's family, with *Al Abbâs* and the *Hâshemites*, began the prayers for the deceased; and were followed by the *Mohâjerin* and *Ansârs*, as they were by the principal citizens of *Medina*, the populace, women, and children, &c. the whole ceremony being conducted with so much decency and regularity, that not the least disorder was committed. And this was reckon'd one of the singular privileges, or prerogatives, of the prophet. The form of prayer used on this occasion, was founded upon the following words, contained in the thirty-third chapter of the *Korân*: "Verily God and his angels bless the prophet: O true believers, do ye also bless him, and salute him with a respectful salutation." The prayer drawn up for the common people by *Ali*, at their request, or, at least, the substance of it, has been preserved by *Al Jannâbi*, to whom we must beg leave to refer our curious readers for a sight of it; since the bounds we have prescribed ourselves in this work will not permit us to insert it here^e.

and sepulchre.

IN relation to the place where the prophet's remains were to be deposited, there happen'd some dispute amongst his followers. The *Mohâjerin* insisted upon his being buried at *Mecca*, the place of his nativity; and the *Ansârs* at *Medina*, the place of his residence during the last ten years of his life. Others were for transporting him to *Jerusalem*, and erecting a monument for him there amongst the sepulchres of the prophets. But his successor, *Abu Becr*, decided the whole affair at once, by declaring, that a prophet ought to be interred in the place where he died; and that he had heard *Mohammed*,

^e ABULFED. ubi sup. c. lxiii. p. 139, 140, 141. AL JANNAB, ubi sup. p. 296—301. Aut. lib. dict. *Asad Al Gabar*, apud Gagn. in not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 139. Aut. lib. dict. *Al Ec-tesa*, OMM SALMA apud Yûnas in lib. *Al Sâirat*, ut & ipse YUNAS, ibid. ABU ZEID SEID in lib. *Splendor*. EBN ISHAK, AL SOHEILI, GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 139, 140.

in his life-time, own himself to be of this opinion. Whereupon the body was buried in a grave dug under the bed on which he died, in the apartment of *Ayesha*, his best-beloved wife, at *Medina*, where it remains to this day. *Ali* first descended into the grave, after the corps was deposited therein; and all the others concerned in the management and direction of the funeral followed him. *Kothâm Ebn Al Abbâs* was the last that approached the prophet, and *Abu Telha*, the *Ansar*, dug his grave; the bottom of which was paved with nine bricks, and earth thrown on all sides the coffin, in order to fill up the cavities. This has made the tomb appear convex, and a little elevated above the rest of the surface of the earth there; so that nothing can be more ridiculous than the notion, espoused by great numbers of *Christians*, of *Mohammed's* body being hung in the air in an iron-coffin, or chest, supported by the power of loadstones. Nor can any thing be more remote from truth, than that his remains are inhumed at *Mecca*, which has long been exploded, tho' several modern writers, whether through ignorance or negligence we will not take upon us to determine, have fallen into such an opinion. Those authors also are greatly mistaken, who affirm, that one essential point of the religion of the *Mohammedans* is to visit, at least once in their lives, the tomb of their prophet; since, 'tis certain, they think themselves under no manner of obligation in that respect. *Ahmed Ebn Yusef* relates, that the tombs of *Abu Becr* and *Omar*, the two first *Khalifs*, or immediate successors of *Mohammed*, are placed near that of the prophet; and that his is the most anterior of the three towards the *Kebla*; that is to say, the south, the city of *Mecca* standing in a southern direction with respect to that of *Medina*. Be this, however, as it will, the body of *Mohammed* lies at present interred at *Medina*, in a magnificent building, covered with a cupola, and adjoining to the east-side of the great temple, which is built in the midst of the city^f.

THUS have we given our readers a full and ample account of the life and actions of *Mohammed*, the pretended great prophet and legislator of the *Arabs*, extracted from the best authors, both *Christian* and *Mohammedan*, and according to the most authentic *Moslem* traditions; which will enable them to form a sufficient, and even adequate, idea of him. How-

^f GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 165. POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 180. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL BOKHAR. AL MAKIN. hist. Saracen. p. 35. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 300—304. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 141. & de script. Arab. p. 40. AL BEIHAKI, GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 97. GAGN. ubi sup. p. 141. SALE's preliminary discours. p. 5.

ever, in order to present them with a true portrait in miniature of this famous, or rather most infamous, impostor, we shall now beg leave to touch upon his personal qualifications; his form of body, as well as his turn and disposition of mind, his excellencies and defects, his genius and capacity, in fine, his moral as well as his intellectual endowments. This, notwithstanding the vastly different characters assigned him by different authors, we shall endeavour to do with the strictest impartiality, and with the highest regard to truth; a close attachment to which we look upon to be a point essentially requisite in a good historian.

Descrip- As to his person, Mohammed was of a middle stature, and tion of his ruddy complexion. He had a large head, and a thick bushy *person.* beard. The palms of his hands, and soles of his feet, were rough and strong. He had large black eyes, and smooth lank hair of the same colour. His bones were big and solid, the turn of his jaws agreeable, even, and well-proportion'd, and his neck, according to *Ali's* description, resembled a silver ewer. Tho' he was sixty-three lunar, or about sixty-one solar, years old at his death, scarce any grey hairs, or other signs of old age, appeared upon him. He was corpulent, had a clear fair skin, and large, tho' regular, features. He had round full cheeks, an extended prominent forehead, and long smooth eyebrows, that mutually approached each other, but did not intirely meet; between which there appeared a vein, whose pulse was quicker and higher than usual, when he was angry. He had an aquiline nose, a large wide mouth, and the upper foreteeth placed at some little distance from one another. All his teeth were bright, pointed like a saw, and ranged in a beautiful order. When he laughed, he discovered them, and they appeared then like hail-stones, or little white pearls. Even his laughter itself was full of majesty, and when he smiled, he contracted his mouth in a very agreeable manner. On his lower lip he had a little black spot, or excrescence, that did not appear at all diffightly, but rather gave an additional grace to his countenance. He had a good ear, and a fine sonorous voice. He was well furnished with hair, which partly fell in buckles, or ringlets, about his ears, and partly hung down strait between his shoulders. To this, by the application of *Al Henna*, or *Cyprus* indigo, and the herb *Al Catam*, he gave a reddish shining colour; in which he is imitated by the *Scenite Arabs* at this day. Every *Thursday* night he shaved himself, and pared his nails. As no prophet's head, accord-

§ ABULFED. & AL JANNAB. EUTHYMIUS ZIGABEN. CUSAN. JOAN. ANDR. PRID. BOULAINVILL. GAGN, SALE, aliique quam plurim. scriptores,

ing

ing to a maxim in the *Senna*, was ever white, the hair being by the *Moslems* supposed to receive that colour from *Satan*, he had very few white or grey hairs at his death. He had a free open air, a grand majestic port, and a very engaging address. This is the description of *Mohammed's* person, tho' stripped of many fabulous articles, imaginary beauties, and fictitious decorations, with which we are supplied by the most authentic traditions of the *Moslems* ^h.

BUT here we must not omit mentioning the *seal of pro-* ~~The seal of~~ *phesy*, tho' a mere fiction of the *Moslems*, said to have ap-~~peared~~ *peared* between the shoulders of *Mohammed*, that is so much ~~insisted upon~~ *insisted upon* by the *Arab* writers. This, according to *Abul-* ~~fedā~~ *fedā*, was a protuberance of flesh, either of a whitish or red colour, surrounded with hair, and about the size of a pigeon's egg. This excrescence having been once seen by *Abu Rothuma*, an *Arab* physician, who was an idolater, he desired the prophet would give him leave to remove it; from whom he received for answer, that *he who created this would in due time take it away*. And, in proof of the veracity of this *most celebrated* prediction, we are told, that *the tumour*, or *illustrious argument of Mohammed's gift of prophecy*, was ~~really perceived to have totally disappeared, and to have been intirely effaced, after his death~~. It has also been remarked by the *Moslem* doctors, that the aforelaid *seal of prophecy* was predicted by the following words of the prophet *Isaiah*: *For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and THE GOVERNMENT SHALL BE UPON HIS SHOULDER*. Hence it appears, that these doctors render here the original word, *המשרה*, *Hamnistrāh*, which denotes *the government*, by *Al Shāma*, *the black spot*, without the least foundation or authority. For a confutation of which absurd and arbitrary translation, or rather manifest perversion, of the sacred text, our curious readers may have recourse to the learned father *Marracci*; if the very publication of so palpable an absurdity does not sufficiently expose and confute it ⁱ.

^h ABULFED. ubi sup. c. lxxv, lxxvi. p. 142—146. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. ANAS EBN MALEC, GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 312—325. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 79, 80, &c. Lond. 1718. SALE's prelimin. disc. p. 38—43. Vide etiam ABU ZEID SEID, ABU NAIM, ABU HORFIR. AL BOKHAR. AL TERMED. MOSLEM, AL WAKED. EBN ABBAS, &c. apud Joan. Gagn. in not. ad Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 142—146. AL MAKIN, lib. i. c. 1. ARUNAZAR, AL KODAI, SCHIKHARD. Tarikh. p. 32. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 79. ⁱ ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. clxv p. 143. Aut. lib. dict. *Haiwai Al Haiwan*, AL WAKED. LUDOVIC. MARRACCIUS, in prodr. par. i. p. 24. col. 2. Patavii, 1698.

His genius
and dispo-
sition;

WITH regard to the genius and disposition of *Mohammed*, the dominion he usurp'd over his countrymen was a demonstrative argument of his ambition, as the great number of wives and concubines with whom he had to do was of his sensuality. The assassinations likewise that he committed, and his retaliation of injuries, so visible on several occasions, are clear indications of his cruelty and vindictive temper. The spurious revelations also that he imposed upon the *Arabs*, and the frequent conferences he pretended to have with ALMIGHTY GOD, whose tremendous name he made use of, in order to support falsehoods, to propagate error and imposture, and to enable him to gratify his lust and ambition, either immediately, or by the assistance and interposition of the angel *Gabriel*, if they do not prove him to have been the most profligate and abandoned wretch that ever lived, most certainly evince him to have been a person of great profaneness and impiety. Nay, this may be directly inferred from his own express words in the sixth chapter of the *Korân*; which, in the strongest manner, assert, that no one can be more wicked than he who forges a lie concerning GOD, and publishes to the world a false revelation. Nor was it one of the least of his crimes, that he corrupted and perverted the sacred writings, in order to serve very infamous purposes; of which several instances, besides that above-mentioned, might be here produced, were it in any manner necessary. And this, by the way, is a plain intimation, that he was conversant with the Scriptures, and therefore either actually did, or easily might have sufficiently understood them; which will cut off all manner of excuse in his favour, from his supposed ignorance of the true sense and meaning of those lively oracles. But, to avoid prolixity, that cruelty, lust, and ambition, were the distinguishing characteristics of this impostor, the *Korân* itself puts beyond all doubt; many of the parts of that book having been pretended to be revealed, as is allowed even by the *Moslem* commentators themselves, to enable him to gratify some one or other of those illicit passions. Nay, the spirit that composition breathes throughout, to wave other considerations that might be offered, indisputably evinces what is here laid to his charge; as might be proved by an induction of particular passages extracted from thence, would the limits we have prescribed ourselves in this work permit *.

and perso-
nal quali-
fications.

ON the other hand, whatever were his motives, *Mohammed* seems not to have been destitute of the personal qualifications

* Al Kor. MOHAM. pass. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 79, 87, &c. Vide etiam Comment. in Al Kor. & GAGN. pass.

which were necessary to accomplish his undertaking. The *Mohammedan* writers are excessive in their commendations of him, speaking much of his religious and moral virtues. They extol above measure his piety, veracity, justice, liberality, clemency, humility, and abstinence; in which, according to them, he may be considered as a perfect pattern to all his followers. His charity, in particular, they say, was so conspicuous, that he had seldom any money in his house, keeping no more for his own use than was just sufficient to maintain his family; and he frequently spared even some part of his own provisions, to supply the necessities of the poor; so that, before the year's end, he had generally little or nothing left. GOD, says *Al Bokhâri*, offered him the keys of the treasures of the earth, but he would not accept them. In fine, if these authors may be credited, he had infinitely more perfections than any other man that ever lived. Nor are they sparing in their citations from the *Sonna*, a book with them of canonical authority, in support of their assertion. But the misfortune is, that this book, as well as the authors that cite it, contains so many absurdities, that, whatever weight it may have with the professors of *Mohammedism*, it will have very little with those of any other religion. Besides, the very things related in that book, and by those authors, of their favourite prophet, intirely overturn the high opinion they entertained of him; so that they ought to be considered either as inconsistent with themselves, or as advancing notions repugnant even to the fundamental principles of natural as well as revealed religion. However, we are not unwilling to admit, that he might not have been, to outward appearance, a wretch of quite so profligate a character as several writers have represented him; since some degree of hypocrisy must have been necessary to enable him to succeed in the enterprize he had formed. But it must at the same time be allowed, that the enormity of his actions frequently proved the insincerity of his professions; and therefore, that what Mr. *Sale* has insinuated to the contrary ought to be looked upon as altogether impertinent, if not as approaching an absolute falsehood, when he is pleased to declare, *that the sincerity of Mohammed's intentions is what he pretends not to inquire into*¹.

THE afore said writers likewise affirm, and to their notion in this particular Mr. *Sale* readily subscribes, that he had a very piercing and sagacious wit, and was thoroughly versed in

¹ ABULFED. ubi sup. c. lxvi. p. 144, 145, 146. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 323, & alib. ANAS EBN MALEC, AL TERMED. ex Abu Horeira, MOSELM ex Monkend. EBN ABBAS, AL BOKHAR. Aut. Lib. *Al Shafâ*, SALE's prelim. disc. p. 41.

all the arts of insinuation. The *Eastern* historians describe him to have been a man of an excellent judgment, and a happy memory; and these natural parts, according to them, were improved by a great experience and knowledge of men, and the observations he had made in his travels. They say, he was a person of few words, of an equal chearful temper, pleasant and familiar in conversation, of inoffensive behaviour towards his friends, and of great condescension towards his inferiors. 'Tis they endeavour to prove from numberless instances of his conduct on a great variety of occasions; accounts of which they draw from the most authentic *Moslem* traditions; and particularly those derived from *Ayesha*, *Ali*, and *Abu Horeira*. To all the preceding amiable qualities, add the same historians, were joined a comely agreeable person, and a polite address; accomplishments of no small service in prejudicing those in his favour, whom he attempted to persuade, and yet such as even the most flagitious person might be in possession of. In fine, admitting that much of what is here supposed may be true, which is as much as any reasonable person can admit, considering that the eulogies of these writers are justly to be suspected of partiality, as even Mr. *Sale* himself allows; yet we cannot infer from hence, that *Mohammed* was either a great or a good man. A proper degree of hypocrisy will conceal a vast number of the most execrable crimes, at least from the public view, and even procure the person guilty of them, if he be a man of parts and address, and sufficiently acquainted with the arts of dissimulation, as well as endowed with a competent knowledge of mankind, popular applause. But that even *Mohammed* arrived at such a degree of perfection as this, is what we will not very sanguinely maintain ^m.

BUT notwithstanding the excellency of his parts, if the preceding authors have given us a just description of him in this particular, it does not appear from the writers of his life, that he was at all versed in any branch of literature. Nor, indeed, can this well be expected, as acquired learning was never much in vogue amongst the *Arabs*. He, therefore, had no other education than what was customary in his tribe, who neglected, and perhaps despised, what we call literature; esteeming no language in comparison with their own, their skill in which they gained by use, and not by books; and contenting themselves with improving their private experience, by committing to memory such passages of their poets, as they judged might be of use to them in life. But of this we have given a fuller account in our history of the *Arabs*

^m *Iidem* *ibid*.

who lived before the time of *Mohammed*. This defect, however, was so far from being prejudicial to him, or putting a stop to his design, that, according to Mr. *Sale*, it greatly facilitated the execution of it. He pretended, that the writings he produced, as revelations from GOD, could not possibly be a forgery of his own; because it was not conceivable, that a person, who could neither write nor read, should be able to compose a book of such excellent doctrine, and in so elegant a style; thinking thereby to obviate an objection that might otherwise have been offered to the authority of the *Korân*. But tho', by such empty sophistry as this, he might impose upon the *Arabs*, who were none of the most refined reasoners themselves, and therefore could not so easily discover or detect the false reasonings of others, it will never pass for true and solid argumentation with men of sense. For, notwithstanding a person's defect in point of acquired endowments, good natural parts, and a tolerable share of common sense, will enable him to talk in his mother-language with fluency and propriety enough, and even dictate with the same fluency and propriety to others. Of this we meet with an infinity of instances in common life. Besides, it may be easily proved, as has already been observed in the beginning of this history, that *Mohammed* was not the sole author of the *Korân*; he having been assisted by others in the composition of that book. To which we may add, that *Mohammed* by no means left it in the form in which it now appears. Great additions were made to it in the *Khalifat* of *Abu Becr*, as we find allowed even by the *Moslems* themselves. But, to wave all other considerations, that the *Korân* was not of divine original, does not only appear from the matter it contains, but also from what we have related above of *Abd'allah Ebn Saad Ebn Abu Sarah*, the prophet's amanuensis, who corrupted that book; the author of it not being able, even according to *Al Beidawi* himself, to distinguish his own dictates from *Abd'allah's* interpolations. And yet Mr. *Sale* seems to imagine, that *Mohammed's* ignorance and illiterature really obviated a formidable objection that might otherwise have been urged against the divine original of the *Korân*; and to tell us, with an air of triumph, that his followers, instead of being ashamed of their master's ignorance, glory in it, as an evident proof of his divine mission, and scruple not to call him, as he is indeed called in the *Korân* itself, *the illiterate prophet* ⁿ.

MOHAMMED had four sons and four daughters by his *His child-* first wife *Khadijah*, and no children at all by any of the *ren*.

ⁿ AL KOR MOHAM. f. vii. AL BEIDAWI, SALE, ubi sup p. 42. Univerf. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 401—405.

others; tho' his concubine, *Mary the Copt*, brought him a son, whom he named *Ibrahim*. The four sons he had by *Khadijah*, *Al Kâsem*, *Al Tayeb*, *Al Tâher*, and *Abd'allah*, from the first of whom the prophet derived his name of *Abu'l Kâsem*, all died in their infancy. The daughters that lady bore him were *Zeinab*, *Rakiah*, *Omm Kolthûm*, and *Fâtema*. *Zeinab* was married to *Abu'l As*, and died of a hurt she received from *Al Howaireth Ebn Nokaid Ebn Wabab*, which occasioned first a miscarriage, she being pregnant when she was thrown off her camel by him, and afterwards her death; for which he was solemnly proscribed by the prophet, after the surrender of *Mecca*. *Rakiah* was first married to *Othba Ebn Abu Lahab*, and afterwards, having been repudiated from her former husband, to *Othmân*, with whom she first fled into *Ethiopia*, and then to *Medina*. She bore *Othmân* a son, called *Abd'allah*, from whom he was named *Abu Abd'allah*; and died in the second year of the *Hejra*, whilst her father was engaged in the *Bedr* expedition. *Abd'allah* had one of his eyes put out by a cock, when he was about six years of age, in the fourth year of the *Hejra*, which occasioned his death. *Omm Kolthûm*, whom *Othmân* took to wife after *Rakiah's* decease, died without leaving any issue behind her. *Fâtema*, whom *Abulfeda* makes the eldest of *Mohammed's* daughters, was esteemed by the *Moslems* as one of the four women, who only, according to *Mohammed*, were supposed to have attained perfection. About the beginning of the month *Ramadân*, in the second year of the *Hejra*, she was espoused by *Ali*, who, in the following month of *Dhu'lhajja*, consummated his marriage with her. Her dower, according to *Al Fannâbi*, amounted to 480 *dirhéms*. She was in the sixteenth year of her age, or, as others will have it, about eighteen, when *Ali* took her to wife. *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, from a pretended tradition of *Ebn Abbâs*, almost of divine authority with the *Moslems*, gives us a fabulous account of *Khadijah's* miraculous conception of *Fâtema*, and of the latter's introduction to the bridal-bed by *Gabriel* and *Michael*, at the head of 70,000 angels, who celebrated the divine praises till morning appeared; which might serve to give us a sufficient idea of the *Mohammedan* credulity, were we destitute of every other instance of it. She attended the prophet in his last illness, and survived him but a few months, dying likewise without issue. As for his son *Ibrahim*, he departed this life on the tenth day of the former *Rabî*, to the unspeakable grief of the prophet, and all his companions, as has been already observed, in the tenth year of the *Hejra*. It cannot be inferred from any writer, how old he precisely then was; but none of those who mention him,

him seem to allow that he completed the second year of his age °.

THE *Moslem* authors are not agreed as to the number of *His* the prophet's wives, according to *Al Kodai*. Some assign him *wives*. thirteen, and tell us, that he lay with eleven of them; others fifteen, who say, that he made use of only twelve of these; and others, again, make them to amount to seventeen, besides the concubines that he enjoyed. But, if *Gentius* may be credited, he had no less than one-and-twenty wives, besides concubines; which number others increase to twenty-six. *Abulfeda* relates, that the prophet had fifteen wives, eleven or twelve of which he lay with, and never touched the rest. Be that as it will, 'tis agreed on all hands, that he had more than four, the number allowed every *Moslem* by the *Korân*; having been left at liberty, by another passage of that book, to take as many wives as he pleased; tho' this peculiar privilege was qualified with some restrictions. We shall give our readers a short account of those twelve with whom he actually had to do, if any credit be due to the most approved *Oriental* writers, according to the order of time in which he espoused them P.

THE first he married was *Khadijah Bint Khowailed Ebn Afad*, of the tribe of *Koreish*, a widow, who had had two former husbands. This happened in the time of *ignorance*, or *paganism*, when she was about forty years of age, and *Mohammed* twenty-five. She was the first who embraced *Islamism*; and therefore had the honourable appellation given her of *the mother of the faithful*. The prophet lived with her twenty-four years, five months, and eight days. She died in the tenth year of his mission, and about three years before the commencement of the *Hejra*; being then, according to *Al Jannâbi*, in the sixty-fifth year of her age ¹.

His second wife, *Sawda Bint Zamaa*, who had been nurse to *Fâtema*, he espoused her soon after the decease of *Khadijah*. She fled with her former husband *Sokrân*, one of the *Moslem* refugees, into *Ethiopia*; and, upon her return to *Mecca*, after

° ABULFED. ubi sup. c. lxxvii. p. 146, 147. AL KODAI, EBN ISHAK, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 165. MOSLEM, in lib. dict. *Al Sahib*, AL BOKHAR. LUDOVIC. MARRACC. ubi sup. p. 32. col. 2.

P ABULFED. ubi sup. c. lxxviii. p. 147—152. AL KODAI, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. AHMED EBN YUSEF, GENTIUS, in notis ad Mussadinum Sadum, p. 568. JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 147—152. AL TABBAR. EBN ISHAK, AL JANNAB. p. 339, &c. Append. ad geogr. Nubiens. c. 8. JOAN. ANDREAS, c. 5. BELLONIUS, lib. 3. LUDOVIC. MARRACC. ubi sup.

¹ ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup.

p. 12, 29, &c.

his death, was married to *Mohammed*. She died, according to *Al Kodai*, in the *Khalifat* of *Omar* ^r.

AYESHA BINT ABU BECR was his third and best-beloved wife, whom he married in the first year of the *Hejra*. The story of her accusation, which was declared to be unjust by a passage in the *Korân*, pretended to be revealed some time after that accident happened, our readers will find related above. The principal authors of this accusation, which Mr. Gagnier calls a *black calumny*, tho' many of the *Arabs* had quite another notion of it, were *Mestab Ebn Othâtha*, *Zeid Ebn Refâa*, *Hassân Ebn Thâbet*, *Abd'allah Ebn Obba Solûl*, and *Hamna Bint Jahash*; the fiercest of whom was *Abd'allah Ebn Obba Solûl*. This affair gave the prophet so much inquietude, that he consulted with *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* and *Ojâma Ebn Zeid* about the properest method of restoring peace to his family; when *Ojâma* asserted, in the strongest terms, *Aysha's* innocence; but *Ali* seemed, on the other hand, fully convinced of her infidelity. Each of them, therefore, gave *Mohammed* such advice as best agreed with the sentiments he entertained. Some believe, that *Ali* was the person who discovered her incontinency to *Mohammed*; and that hereupon she conceived such a prejudice against him, that she afterwards made use of all her interest to exclude him from the *Khalifat*, tho', as son-in-law to the prophet, he had the fairest title thereto. Nay, after his advancement to that high dignity, she opposed him to the utmost of her power; appearing even in arms against him, and causing such a defection amongst his subjects, as ended in the destruction of his family. She also was honoured with the title of *the mother of the faithful*. According to a *Christian* writer, the *Moslems* consulted her in the most difficult points relating to their law, after the prophet's death; and the answers she gave, as she was supposed to be the best acquainted with her husband's sentiments in every particular, passed afterwards amongst them for the most authentic traditions. The next to these, in point of authority, were those that came from *Abda'lrahmân Ebn Auf*, one of *Mohammed's* first converts, and most intimate acquaintance, surnamed by the prophet, *Abu Horeira*, or *the father of the cat*; because, wherever he went, he carried one of those animals about with him. *Mohammed* thunder'd from the pulpit against those who had accused *Aysha*, whom some represent as a most accomplished lady, extremely well versed in *Arab* literature, and the antiquities of her country, which had like to have occasioned no small effusion of blood amongst his followers; but the pretended revelation from heaven of her innocence silenced all

^r AL BOKHARI, AL KODAI, GENTIVS, ubi sup.

the clamours that had been raised. The testimony of *Barira* contributed not a little to the descent of this fresh revelation, and to induce the prophet to support the honour and reputation of his wife. The justification of *Ayesha* is contained in ten verses of the twenty-fourth chapter of the *Korân*. She was sixty-seven years of age at her death, which happened at *Medina*, in the *Khalifat* of *Moâwiyah*, and the fifty-eighth year of the *Hejra* *.

THE next wife, mentioned by the *Oriental* writers, was *Ghazia Bint Jâber*, surnamed *Omm Shoraic*, from her son *Shoraic*, that she had by *Abu'l Akr Ebn Somai*, her first husband; she being a widow when *Mohammed* married her. She was the only one of the prophet's wives that he divorced, after the consummation of his marriage with her †.

THE fifth was *Hafsa Bint Omar*, of the tribe of *Koreish*, and widow of *Hobaiſh Ebn Khodafa*. *Mohammed* married her in the month of *Shaabân*, and the third year of the *Hejra*. To her custody *Abu Becr* committed a transcript of the *Korân*, after he had completed it, as has been already observed. Of the manner in which this transcript was completed, our readers may expect a further account hereafter. The dower assigned this lady, according to *Al Kodai*, was 400 *dirhems*. Some say she died in the *Khalifat* of *Othmân*, about the 27th year of the *Hejra*; and others, in the *Khalifat* of *Moâwiyah*, and the 45th year of that æra. According to *Gentius*, she was about sixty years of age at her death, and at least forty when the prophet died. He repudiated her in the month of *Shaabân*, and the seventh year of the *Hejra*, because she had indiscretely divulged his intrigue with *Mary the Copt*. But, after some time, he took her to his bed again; being afraid of disobliging her father *Omar*, at the command, as he gave out, of the angel *Gabriel* ‡.

THE prophet's sixth wife was *Zeinab Bint Khozaima*, the *Helâlite*, the widow of *Tofail Ebn Al Hâreth*. He espoused her in the month of *Ramadân*, and the fourth year of the *Hejra*. She was given in marriage to him by *Kobeisa Ebn*

* ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 53. AL KODAI, Appendix ad geogr. Nubiens. c. viii. Disputat Christian. c. vi. Commentatores in Al Kor. MOHAM. f. xxiv. AL MAKIN. lib. i. c. 4, 7, &c. GREG. ABUL-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 186, 187, &c. JOAN. ANDREAS, c. iii. GENTIUS, in notis ad Musladinum Sadum, p. 578. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. xxiv. v. 1—11. AL BOKHARI, in Sonna, AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. See also SALE's translation of, and notes upon, the *Korân*, p. 289.

† ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR.

‡ ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 150. AL KODAI, JOAN. ANDREAS, c. vii. HOTTINGER. bibliothec. Orient. c. ii. POCOC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 362. GENTIUS, ubi sup. p. 568.

Amru, had 400 *dirhems* assigned her for a dower, and was the only one of the prophet's wives, besides *Khadījah*, that died before him ^w.

His seventh wife was *Omm Salma Bint Ommeyya*, whom he espoused after the death of her former husband *Abu Salma Ebn Abd'allah*, of the tribe of *Makhzûm*, in the month of *Shawâl*, and the fourth year of the *Hejra*. Some say, that her maiden name was *Hend*; and that her mother was the prophet's aunt. Be that, as it will, she died in the *Khalifat* of *Yezid Ebn Moâwiyah*, after she had lived eighty-four years, and the 59th year of the *Hejra* ^x.

THE eighth wife of *Mohammed* was *Zeinab*, or *Zenobia*, *Bint Jahash*, whose history has been given above. Her father was of the tribe of *Asad*, and her mother, *Amima Bint Abd'almotalleb*, the prophet's aunt. He married her in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, and the fifth year of the *Hejra*, after she had been separated from *Zeid Ebn Hâretha*, his freedman, and adopted son, as has been already observed. Her brother *Abu Ahmed Ebn Jahash* assisted at the celebration of the nuptials, and she had 400 *dirhems*, which seems to have been the usual sum on such occasions, assigned her for a dower. The prophet's marriage with this lady gave great offence to his followers, as she had been his adopted son *Zeid's* wife. For this feigned relation created an impediment of marriage among the old *Arabs* within the prohibited degrees, in the same manner as if it had been real. However, as this marriage was authorized by the *Korân*, and GOD is therein declared to have joined *Mohammed* and *Zeinab* together, she valued herself above the rest of the prophet's wives on that account. *Zeinab* died in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*, about the 20th year of the *Hejra*, after she had completed the fifty-third year of her age ^y.

His ninth wife was *Omm Habiba Bint Abu Sofân*, of the tribe of *Koreish*. She was the widow of *Obeid'allah Ebn Jahash*, who had by her a son, named *Habiba*; from whence she derived the prænomén of *Omm Habiba*. Her true name, according to some, was *Ramla*, or, as others say, *Hend*. She was with her first husband in *Ethiopia* at the time of his death,

^w ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 151. AL KODAI.

^x Idem

ibid. AL JANNAB.

^y Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 182.

RICHARD. confut. c. viii. Disputat. Christian. c. vi. ECCHELLENS. hist. Arab. par. i. c. 5. Confutat. Mahomet. edit. per LEMOYNE. JOAN. ANDREAS, c. vi. GUADAGNOL, tract. ii. c. 5. sect. 3. & c. 10. sect. 1. AL ZAMAKHSAR. AL BEIDAWI, aliique commentator. in AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xxxiii. ut & ipse AL KOR. ibid. AL JANNAB.

which happened in the beginning of the sixth year of the *Hejra*. *Mohammed* receiving advice of this accident, immediately dispatched an express to the *Najâshi*, to beg that he would do him the honour to marry him to *Omm Habiba*; which request that prince immediately complied with, and performed the nuptial ceremony with great pomp and solemnity. The prophet chose *Khaled Ebn Said*, his cousin, for his representative on this occasion; and, after *Omm Habiba's* return to *Medina* from *Ethiopia*, in the seventh year of the *Hejra*, consummated his marriage with her. She died, according to *Al Kodai*, in the *Khalifat* of *Mo'awiyah*, and the 44th year of the aforesaid æra².

MOHAMMED's tenth wife was *Joweira Bint Al Hâreth*, the *Khozaite*. Her father *Al Hâreth Ebn Abu Dhari'ar* was the general of the *Mosfalekites*, whom the prophet overthrew in the manner already related. Some authors tell us, that *Joweira's* true name was *Barra*. She was the widow of one of her cousin-germans, and fell into the hands of *Thâbet Ebn Kais*, having been taken prisoner in the battle of *Morci'si*. The prophet first paid her ransom, and then espoused her, in the month of *Shaabân*, and the sixth year of the *Hejra*. *Al Kodai* informs us, that she died in the *Khalifat* of *Mo'awiyah*, and the 45th year of the *Hejra*, being then about sixty-three years of age².

THE eleventh was *Safiya Bint Hoyai*, a *Jewess*, and descended, as her family gave out, from *Aaron*. She was the wife of *Kenâna Ebn Al Rabi*, the principal *Jew* of *Khaibar*, whom *Mohammed* slew after the reduction of that city. He espoused this lady in the month of *Safar*, and the seventh year of the *Hejra*. She died, according to *Al Kodai*, in the *Khalifat* of *Moawiyah*, and the 56th year of the aforesaid æra⁵.

THE twelfth and last wife married by the prophet was *Mai-mûna Bint Al Hâreth*, whom he took to wife on his return to *Medina* from the sacred visitation called *Al Kada*, or the *completion*. The nuptial ceremony was performed by his uncle *Al Abbâs*, in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, and the seventh year of the *Hejra*. She was the widow of *Raham Ebn Abda'l Uzza*, and became *Mohammed's* wife whilst he was clothed with the *Ibram*, or sacred habit; but the marriage was not consummated till after he had quitted that habit. She died at *Shorf*, near *Mecca*, if we will believe *Al Kodai*, about the 38th or 40th year of the *Hejra*^c. BE-

² ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 91, 92, 151. MOHAMMED EBN ABDA'L BAKI, AL KODAI.

ubi sup. AL JANNAB.

puçat. Christian. c. vi.

^a ISM. ABULFED. & AL KODAI,

^b AL KODAI, AL BRIDAWI, Dis-

^c ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 99.

BESIDES these wives, *Mohammed* married two others, that he never enjoyed. The first of these was *Asma Bint Al Nooman*, the *Kendite*, who was infected with the leprosy, and therefore not suffered to approach the prophet's bed; and the other, *Amru Bint Yezid*, the *Kelâbite*, who, relapsing into idolatry, was so detested by her husband, on that account, that he could not prevail upon himself to come near her. Some, however, think, that the wife, who had rendered herself so extremely disagreeable to *Mohammed*, was a near relation of *Asma Bint Al Nooman*; and others, that she was one *Fâtema Bint Al Dhahâk*, whose mother's name was *Tabiana*. In the *Korân*, the prophet had an express permission to marry any believing woman, that should give herself unto him; and the commentators are of opinion, that a certain *Moslem* lady disposed of herself in that manner; tho' *Ebn Abbâs* maintains, that *Mohammed* married no woman, without assigning her a dower. The former, however, are not agreed who was the woman particularly meant in the passage here hinted at; but they name four, who are supposed to have given themselves to the prophet; viz. *Maimûna Bint Al Hâ'eth*, *Zeinab Bint Khozaima*, *Ghuzîa Bint Jâber*, surnamed *Omm Shoraic*, which three he actually married, and *Khawla Bint Hakim*, whom, as it seems, he rejected. We find likewise a lady belonging to the *Banu Sâmâ Ebn Lowa*, who was not accepted by the prophet, tho' she offered herself to him, mentioned by *Al Kodai* on this occasion ^d.

His concu-
lines.

As for the female captives, or slaves, of the prophet, as well those which, according to the stile of the *Korân*, his right hand possessed, that is to say, those which came to him as part of his share of the plunder acquired in some of the above-mentioned expeditions, as those which he purchased with his own money, or had sent as presents to him, they were in number eleven; the principal of which seem to have been the five following:

RIHANA, or *Raihana*, *Bint Amru*, of the tribe of *Koreidha*, a most celebrated beauty, that fell into his hands, when he reduced the fortress of that tribe. She persisted in the profession of *Judaism*, for some time after she became his property; but, at last, being overcome by *Mohammed's* importunity, she embraced *Islamism*. She remained in his possession as long as he lived; but, at his death, he presented with their liberty both her and all the rest of his slaves ^e.

AL KODAI, AL MONDERI, apud Joan. Gagn. in not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 149. ^d EBN ISHAK, AL KODAI, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xxxiii. v. 47. GAGN. ubi sup. . ^e ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 79. AL JANNAB, EBN ISHAK.

SHIRIN, a beautiful *Copt*, sent the prophet by *Mokawkas*, governor of *Egypt*. What became of her after *Mohammed's* death, or whether she survived the prophet, we are not told by any *Oriental* author ^f.

MARY, the *Copt*, a present likewise from *Mokawkas*, was the prophet's concubine, by an express permission contained in the sixty-sixth chapter of the *Korân*, and the sister of *Shirin*. She lived at *Medina* about five years after her master's death; and was interred in the burying-place called *Al Bakî*, in the sixteenth year of the *Hejra*; where the remains of her son *Ibrahim* had probably before been deposited ^g.

BESIDES *Mary* and *Shirin*, *Mokawkas* sent the prophet two other beautiful *Egyptian*, or *Coptic*, girls, which he probably made use of as concubines. But how he disposed of them, after they settled with him at *Medina*, what were their names, or when and where they died, we have not been informed by any of the *Moslem* historians ^h.

THAT the desire of satisfying his sensuality was one of the *Mohammed's* principal motives of *Mohammed's* undertaking, seems indisputably clear from the great number of wives and concubines he maintained, as well as from the wicked and unjustifiable methods he was obliged to make use of, in order to come at some of them. But, notwithstanding this, we must not imagine, as some learned men have done, that he granted an unbounded plurality, or even the same number, of wives to his followers. For, according to the express words of the *Korân*, no man can have more than four women, whether wives or concubines, to his share. And if any one apprehends an inconvenience from even that number of ingenuous wives, it is added, as an advice, which is generally followed by the middling and inferior people, that he marry one only; or, if he cannot be contented with one, that he take up with his she-slaves, not exceeding, however, the limited number. This is certainly the utmost *Mohammed* allowed his followers. Nor can we urge, as an argument against so plain a precept, the corrupt manners of his followers, many of whom, especially men of quality and fortune, indulge themselves in the most criminal excesses; nor yet the example of the prophet himself, who had peculiar privileges in this and other points, as will be observed hereafter. In making the above-mentioned limitation, *Mohammed* was directed by the decision of

^f AL JANNABI, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 165. AHMED BEN YUSEF, JALLALO'DDIN, AHMED BEN YAHYA. ^g Ibidem ibid. AL KODAI, Al Kor. MOHAM. f. lxvi. PRID. ubi sup. p. 85. GAGN. ubi sup. p. 150. ^h AHMED BEN YUSEF, GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 335.

the Jewish doctors, who, by way of council, limit the number of wives to four, though their law confines them not to any certain number. These observations we have thought fit to make, though in direct opposition to what has been advanced, upon this head both by Dr. *Prideaux* and Father *Marracci*, in order to manifest to the world our inflexible attachment to truth, the inseparable property of every just and impartial historian.

As *Mohammed* was wholly illiterate, and consequently could neither write nor read, 'tis self-evident, that he himself did not commit to writing the scheme of religion which he had framed; nor consequently pen those written revelations, as he pretended them to be, which compose the *Korân*. Besides, whatever proficiency he might have made in literature, this would certainly have been beneath his dignity, whether we consider him as a prophet, or a great and powerful prince. He must therefore have had some secretaries, or amanuenses, to assist him in transmitting down to posterity his decisions, as well as to take down in writing the orders and directions that he found it necessary to publish, from time to time, on a great variety of occasions. And that, in fact, he had a considerable number of such amanuenses, we learn from both *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari* and *Abulfeda*; the principal of which, according to those authors, seem to have been the following ^k.

OTHMAN EBN AFFAN and *Ali Ebn Abu Taleb*, whom we have so frequently mentioned in this history, were the prophet's principal amanuenses that he made use of in committing to paper his pretended revelations; for which reason we find them stiled by *Al Kodai*, the scribes, or secretaries, of the divine revelation ^l.

OBBA EBN CAAB and *Zeid Ebn Thâbet*, in their absence, supplied the places of the former amanuenses, and were

^l NIC. CUSANUS, in cribrat. Al Kor. lib. ii. c. 19. OLEARIUS, itinerar. P. GREG. THOLOSANUS, in synt. juris, lib. ix. c. 2. sect. 22. SEPTEMCASTRENSIS, de morib. Turc. p. 24. RYBAUT's present state of the Ottoman empire, book iii. chap. 21. LUDOVIC. MARRACC. in prodr. ad refut. Alcor. par. iv. p. 52, & 71. CHARDIN, voy. de Perse, tom. i. p. 166. DU RYER, sommaire de la rel. des Turcs, &c. PUFFENDORF. de jure nat. & gent. lib. vi. c. 1. sect. 18. Al Kor. MOHAMMED. f. iv. HADR. RELAND. de rel. Moh. p. 243—251. SELDEN. ux. Hebr. lib. i. c. 9. MAUNDEY. travels, p. 164. MAIMON. in Hal. Ish. c. 14. JALLALODDIN. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 150, 151. ^k AL TABAR. apud Al Makin. hist. Saracenic. p. 10. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 152. AL KODAI, GAGN. ubi sup. p. 152. ^l AL TABAR. & ABULFED. ubi sup.

greatly confided in by the prophet. If they were at any time absent, he thought fit to employ some of the inferior scribes, says *Al Tabari*, and particularly *Moawiyah Ebn Abu Sofian*, who was afterwards *Khalif*, *Khâled Ebn Said Ebn Al As*, *Al Ala Ebn Al Hadhrama*, and *Khantala Al Rabi*. However, he took care not to impart his pretended revelations to any at first, but those in whom an intire confidence might be reposed m.

He likewise employed, on some occasions, *Abd'allah Ebn Saad Ebn Abu Sarah*, who falsified the *Korân* by his interpolations, and was for that reason proscribed after the reduction of *Mecca*, as has been already observed n.

BESIDES these, *Mohammed* appointed *Al Zobeir Ebn Al A-wâm* and *Jahm Ebn Safwân* to take down an account of the alms that were regularly collected; *Hodeifa Ebn Al Samât* to draw up an estimate of the dates that were received; *Al Mogheira Ebn Shoba* and *Hosein Ebn Nomair* to keep a regular account of the finances, or execute the office of clerks of the exchequer; and *Abd'allah Ebn Orkam* to discharge the function of secretary of state, and answer the letters of those sovereign princes whom the prophet honoured with his correspondence. He also sent *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, *Maadh Ebn Jabal*, and *Abu Mûsa*, to *Yaman*, to preside over all judicial affairs in that province; made *Anas Ebn Mâlec*, who died about the year of the *Hejra* 93, when he was above an hundred years of age, after his conversion to *Islamism*, master of his household, or, as some say, his head-porter, in which post he served him nine or ten years; pitched upon *Belâl* for his common crier; and constituted *Kais Ebn Saad*, the *Ansar*, captain of his guards. As for his governors of cities and provinces, *Otâb Ebn Osaid* was the commandant of *Mecca* at the time of his decease; *Al Ala Ebn Hudhrama* governed the province of *Al Bahrein*; *Othmân Ebn Abu'l As* the city of *Al Tayef*; *Omar Ebn Abu Ommeya*, the *Makzhûmite*, the city of *Sanaa*, and the villages in the district of *Al Yanad*; *Khâled Ebn Said Ebn Abu'l As* many others of the towns and cantons of *Yaman*; *Abu Sofian Ebn Harb* the cities of *Najrân* and *Jorsh*; *Ziyâd Ebn Loheid*, the *Ansar*, the province of *Hadramaut*; *Abu Mûsa*, the *Asfarite*, who resided at *Zabid* and *Adon*, the country called *Mekhlaf*; *Omar Ebn Al As* the province of *Omân*, and its dependences; *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofian* the city of *Tayma*; and *Ali Ebn Mina* a particular extent of territory in the province of *Yaman*. Some of which officers we may probably have occasion to mention hereafter, in our

m Ibidem ibid.

n AL BEIRAWI.

history of the first *Khalifs*, or immediate successors of *Mohammed* °.

His companions.

As for those persons who had an undoubted right to the honourable title of *Sahabi*, or *Sahaba*, or to be considered as proper companions of the prophet, we cannot pretend to determine the number of them with any tolerable precision, as authors are divided in their sentiments on this subject. *Said Ebn Al Masib*, one of the seven great doctors skilled in the law, who lived in the times immediately succeeding the age of *Mohammed*, maintains, that no person ought to be ranked amongst the companions of the prophet, who had not conversed with him a year or more before his death, and even fought under him, in some sacred war against the infidels. Some, however, extend the aforesaid title to all who ever had any discourse with him, embraced *Islamism* in his life-time, or even ever saw him in public. Such a one they affirm to have been a proper companion of the prophet, tho' he should never have been above a single hour in his company. Lastly, others assert, that this honour belongs only to those whom *Mohammed* himself received into the number of his companions, and enrolled amongst his troops; who constantly afterwards adhered to him, remained always closely attached to his interest, and attended him in his expeditions. Such companions as these, to the number of 10,000, acted under his conduct, when he made himself master of *Mecca*; with 12,000 of them he fought the battle of *Honein*; above 40,000 accompanied him in the pilgrimage of *valediction*; and, at the time of his death, according to an exact list of those who went under that denomination, the number of his *Moslem* companions amounted to 124,000 effective men P.

AMONGST the prophet's companions, the *Mohâjerin*, or those who attended him in his flight to *Medina*, held the first rank. The next to these, in point of dignity, were the *Anjars*, or those auxiliaries who immediately joined him upon his expulsion from *Mecca*. However, these took place of the later *Mohâjerin*, or refugees, who came in after *Mohammed's* settlement at *Medina*. These companions have been distributed into different classes, in the following chronological order, by some of the best *Oriental* historians q.

THE first class comprehends all those who first declared themselves converts to *Islamism*; such were *Khadijah*, *Ali*,

° AL TABAR. ubi sup. AL KODAI, AL JANNAB. SIM. OCKL. lib. de expugnat. Syr. GAGN. ubi sup. p. 152, 153. P ABULFED. ubi sup. c. lxxii. p. 156, 157. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 335—338. q ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 157. GAGN. ubi sup. p. 337.

Zeid Ebn Hâretha, Abu Becr Al Seddik, and all the others who immediately followed their example, and professed themselves *Moslems*, before the fury of the *Koreish* obliged the prophet to retire to mount *Al Safâ* ^r.

THE second includes *Omar*, and all the rest of the *Arabs* who became profelytes to *Islamism*, whilst the prophet remained on the top of that mountain ^s.

THE third class consists of the *Mohâjerîn*, as they are called by *Abulfeda*, who were obliged to seek for refuge at the court of the *Najâshi*, and consequently to make their escape into *Ethiopia* ^t.

THE fourth class is composed of those companions of *Mohammed*, who attended him the first time to *Al Akaba*, a hill on the north-side of *Mecca*, and those *Anfârs*, or confederates, of the tribes of *Khazraj* and *Aws*, who gave them the meeting there ^u.

THE fifth class comprises those who met the second time at *Al Akaba*, and took an oath of fidelity to *Mohammed* there, by which they obliged themselves to renounce all idolatry, and to obey the prophet in all things that were reasonable ^v.

THE sixth is destined for them who assembled the third time on *Al Akaba*, and made profession of *Islamism*, who amounted to about seventy in number ^x.

THE seventh contains all the *Mohâjerîn* that resorted to *Mohammed* at *Medina*, before he had finished the new temple, or mosque, that he erected there ^y.

THE eighth takes in all the troops he had with him at the battle of *Bedr* ^z.

THE ninth class is made up of those who came over to him during the interval between the battle of *Bedr* and his inauguration at *Al Hodeibiya* ^a.

THE tenth is formed of those who took the oath of fealty, or inauguration, to *Mohammed* under the tree at that place ^b.

THE eleventh is allotted them who embraced *Islamism* during the space of time between the inauguration at *Al Hodeibiya* and the reduction of *Mecca* ^c.

THE twelfth exhibits those who were compelled to profess themselves *Moslems* the day on which *Mecca* was taken ^d.

THE thirteenth class is appropriated to those who saw the prophet, but were children at the time of his death ^e.

To these may be added those poor indigent persons called *Assessors*, who, being destitute of friends and relations, and

^r ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 17, 157. ^s ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 22, 157. ^t Idem ibid. ^u Idem ibid. ^v ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 157. ^x Idem ibid. ^y Idem ibid. ^z Idem ibid. ^a Idem ibid. ^b Idem ibid. ^c Idem ibid. ^d Idem ibid. ^e Idem ibid.

all sorts of necessities, implored the prophet's protection. They derived their name from the position they were generally in; being, for the most part, seated on the *Sofa*, or bench, of the mosque, as they had no settled place of habitation. The prophet frequently admitted some of these poor people to his own table, and recommended others of them to the hospitality of his companions. The most celebrated amongst them were *Abu Horeira*, whom we have already taken notice of, *Athala Ebn Aska'*, *Abu Dhar*, and others, on whom *Abulfeda* very kindly confers his benediction ^f.

The Ta-
beites.

THE second, or lower, order of those persons who lived in the time of the prophet, are the *Tabéites*, that is to say, the *followers*, *notaries*, or *adherents*. These agree with the companions of the prophet in this, that many of them were contemporaries with him; but in this they differ from them, that none of them either saw or conversed ever with him. However, some of them did themselves the honour to write to him, and apprise him of their conversion to *Islamism*. Such was the *Najáshi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, the first prince, according to *Mohammed Ebn Abda'l Bâki*, that the prophet invited to the profession of his religion; who never saw *Mohammed*, tho' he frequently conversed with some of his companions. Such was *Badhân*, the *Persian*, governor of *Yaman*, who became an easy profelyte to *Islamism*, and all the other *Persians* that followed his example. Such, finally, were all those *Arab* tribes, and sovereign princes, that the prophet brought over to the *Mohammedan* faith; of whom we have given our readers a detail in the preceding parts of this history ^g.

The pro-
phet's
friends,
officers,
servants,
&c.

THE most illustrious of the prophet's friends were *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, *Othmán*, and *Ali*, the four first *Khalifs*, who were his immediate successors. He afterwards also contracted a very great intimacy with *Jaasar*, *Abu Dhar*, *Mokdad*, *Salmán* the *Persian*, *Hadeifa*, *Ebn Masud*, *Amer Ebn Yaser*, and *Belál*, his public crier. *Amru Ebn Omm Maetum*, who acted jointly with *Belál* in the capacity of crier, *Saad* the *Koradhite*, the public crier of the mosque at *Koba*, and *Abu Makhdura*, who officiated in that quality at *Mecca*, during the absence of *Belál*, had likewise a very considerable share of his favour. Besides whom, he had several favourites amongst his domestics, officers, judges, slaves, and poets; the most noted of which seem to have been the following ^h:

ANAS EBN MALEC EBN AL NASR, of the tribe of *Khazraj*; already mentioned, one of the six authors of the most

^f ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 157, 158.

^g D'HERBEL. bibl.

Orient. GAGN. ubi supra, p. 340. ^h AL MAKIN. AL JAN-NAB. ABULFED. &c. GAGN. ubi sup. p. 341.

authentic *Moslem* traditions, who served *Adhammed* nine or ten years in quality of head-porter, apparitor, or else master of his household; for, in this point, authors are not fully agreed; which procured him a great degree of familiarity with the prophet. He died at *Bosra*, about the year of the *Hejra* 93, after he had completed the 103d year of his age, and had begotten 100 children, in conformity to his master's prediction. He survived all the prophet's other proper companions, who were dignified and distinguished with the title of *Sāhaba* ¹.

ABD'ALLAH EBN MASUD was one of the first of those who were honoured with the title of *Sabaka*, that is to say, one of the first *Antecessors*. He distinguished himself at the battle of *Bedr*, and in several other engagements. He had the prophet's pillow, tooth-picker, shoes, and water of purification, committed to his care. He prayed over the body of *Abu Dhar*, at a place called *Rabadha*; and died at *Medina*, in the 32d year of the *Hejra*, a little after *Abu Dhar* ².

OKBA EBN OMER, the prophet's muleteer, was extremely well versed in the *Korān*, or divine book, as 'tis called by the *Moslems*; and perfectly understood all the rites, ceremonies, and ordinances, of the law. He was also a very celebrated poet, and was made governor of *Egypt* by the *Khalif Moawiyah*, in the year of the *Hejra* 44; but succeeded in that post, the following year, by *Mosilama Ebn Mokhalld*, the *Ansar*, of the tribe of *Khazraj*. He died in the year of the *Hejra* 58 ¹.

DHU MOKHAMMARA, the nephew of *Ashama*, the *Najāshi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, so often mentioned in this history ².

RABIA EBN CAAB, the *Astamite*, who took care of the water destined for the sacred ablution, called *Wodū*. He died in the 63d year of the *Hejra* ³.

AIMAN EBN OBEID, who washed the prophet with the water of purification. He had the honour to die a martyr at the battle of *Honein*; in which action being pierced with an arrow, he dropped down dead at *Mohammed's* feet ⁴.

SAAD, who, together with *Beldl Ebn Riyāh*, the crier, an *Ethiopian*, had been *Abu Becr's* slave ⁵.

BOCAIR EBN SHADAKH, the *Leithite*, and *Al Asfa Ebn Shoraik*, the *Awfite*, who was trusted with the care of the prophet's mules ⁶.

ABU'L SAMAH, whose proper name was *Ayād*, one of the prophet's domestics; *Mohājer*, a slave belonging to *Omm Salma*, one of his wives; *Honein*, slave to *Ebn Abbās*; *Naim Ebn Rabia*; and *Abu'l Hamra*, another of the prophet's domestics, who died at *Hems* ⁷.

¹ Idem ibid.

² Idem ibid.

³ GAGN. ubi sup. p. 342.

⁴ Idem, p. 343.

⁵ Idem ibid.

⁶ Idem ibid.

ibid.

⁷ Idem ibid.

⁸ Idem ibid.

OMM AIMAN, *Omm Osâma, Khawla, Omm Râfe, Majmûna, and Omm Abbâs*, the prophet's chamber-maids ^r.

ZEID EBN HARETHA EBN SHORHEIL, who was killed in the battle of *Mûta*; *Osâma Ebn Zeid*, whom the prophet constituted general of the army destined to act against the Greeks in Syria, just before his death; *Abu Abd'allah Thawbân*, who, after the death of Mohammed, retired to Hems, where he died in the year of the *Hejra* 54. *Shokran*; *Abu Salab*, the *Ethiopian*, or, as some will have it, the *Persian*; *Robâb*; *Soyar*, the prophet's chief shepherd, who was massacred by the *Oranite Arabs*; *Abu Râfe'*, the *Copt*, who was afterwards secretary to *Ali*, when he was *Khalif*; *Modgham*, who was slain by an arrow that came from an unknown quarter; *Masûra*, the *Copt*, a present from *Mokawkas*; *Safaina*, the register; *Abu Hend*; *Anjasha*, groom of the stable to the prophet; *Salmân* the *Persian*, a native of *Ispahan*, who has been already mentioned in this history; *Shemun*, or *Simeon*, *Ebn Zeid*, the father of the beautiful *Rihâna*, who was at the taking of *Damascus*, in the thirteenth year of the *Hejra*, and afterwards settled at *Jerusalem*; *Mocawal*; and *Nâse Abu'l Saïeb*; all originally the prophet's slaves ^s.

CAAB EBN ZOHAIK, a celebrated poet, already mentioned, who died in the *Khalifat* of *Moawiyah*; *Abd'allah Ebn Rawâba*; *Hasan Ebn Thâbet*, the *Ansar*, who lived 120 years, 60 in the time of ignorance, or paganism, and 60 after the introduction of *Islamism*, his father and grandfather having arrived at the same age before their death, and died in the 54th year of the *Hejra*; *Amru Ebn Al Acwa*, the *Aflamite*, and *Anjasha*, Mohammed's groom of the stable above-mentioned, who had been one of *Al Aswad's* slaves, were the prophet's poets, after the establishment of *Mohammedism* in Arabia ^t.

His horses, mules, asses, camels, &c. THAT he had 22 fine horses, we learn from *Al Termedi*; the seven principal of which, according to *Al Hâfedh Abd'al Mûmen* of *Al Damiati*, were *Sacab*, the light or nimble, *Lahif*, that covered the ground with his tail, *Al Sabba*, the magnificent, *Al Dbareb*, shaking the earth with his hoof, *Al Lazâz*, the swift, *Al Mortajez*, the thunderer, and *Al Ward*, the red. His mules of greatest note, according to the same *Al Termedi*, were *Al Daldal*, the trembler, and *Fadda*, silver; the former of which he received as a present from *Mokawkas*, governor of *Egypt*, and the latter from *Farwa Ebn Amrû*, the *Jodhamite*, in the tenth year of the *Hejra*. The prophet himself was mounted on *Al Daldal* at the battle of *Honein*,

^r Idem ibid.
MACIN.

^s AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 287, & alib. EL-
^t AL JANNAB. ABULFED. &c.

and his uncle *Al Abbâs* on *Fadda*, the night before the surrender of *Mecca*. His principal asses were *Ofair*, that rolled himself in the dust; and *Yasûr*, the brave, the bardy, or the roe-buck, that was given him by *Mokawkas*. The latter of which, as the *Moslems* pretend, threw himself headlong into the well, called the well, or fountain, of *Abu Hotbam*, out of grief and sorrow for the prophet's death. The chief of his camels were *Al Kaswa*, that had the tip of one of his ears cut off, *Al Adhba*, the mutilated, maimed, &c. *Al Fadha*, the short or slit-ear'd, and another that he bought for 80 *dirhems* of the *Banu Koshair*: The first of these fell down upon his knees upon the spot of ground where the great mosque was afterwards erected at *Medina*; and also, according to *Al Jannâbi*, understood the words of the *Korân* revealed at the pilgrimage of *valediction*. The second *Ali* rode, when he published to the people of *Mecca* the ninth chapter of the *Korân*. But of the third and fourth we find nothing remarkable related by the *Oriental* authors. Besides these, the prophet had twenty milk-camels, that supplied him every day with a large quantity of milk, which he distributed amongst his women. He had also an hundred sheep, and six or seven milk goats, that were fed and milked by his nurse *Omm Aimân*. As for his white cock, of an immense size, that has been so pompously and magnificently described by *Al Termedi*, it ought to be looked upon as an animal purely imaginary; and therefore the account of it given us by that writer, which is intirely fabulous, merits not the least attention ^u.

WE have likewise a list of the swords, lances, bows, cuirasses, shields, helmets, pikes, military ensigns, &c. that the prophet left behind him. His swords were in number nine; *Mabûr*, the sharp, *Al Adhub*, the pointed, *Dhu'l Fakar*, the piercing, the *Kola'ite*, *Al Battâr*, the cutting, *Al Hatf*, ruin, death, &c. *Al Mehdham*, the keen, *Al Rosûb*, the penetrating, and *Al Kadib*, the thin, or *Al Mokhazzem*, the piercing. The third of which, *Dhu'l Fakar*, the prophet had allotted him as part of the spoil after the battle of *Bedr*. It belonged to *Monba Ebn Al Hahâj*, who was killed in the action; and, after the death of *Mohammed*, who used it in all his future engagements, it fell into the hands of *Ali*. The fourth sword, called the *Kola'ite*, was so denominated from the city of *Kola*, near *Holwân*, in *Assyria*, a place famous for the excellent sword-blades that were made there. The seventh,

^u AL TERMED. in lib. dict. *Hairwato'l Hairwân*, AL HAFEDH ABDA'L MUMEN AL DAMIATI, AL JANNAB. ABULFED. AL BEIDAWI, AL KODAI, GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 153—156.

Al Mehdham, was taken from the *Banu Kainoka'*; and the two last were found amongst the treasures belonging to the idol *Al Fatas*, when *Ali* completed its destruction. He also took from the *Banu Kainoka'* two lances, called *Al Menthawi* and *Al Menthari*, the destroying and the dispersing, and three bows, one of which had the name of *Al Catum*, or the solid. His quiver he denominated *Al Jama'*, or the collection. His cuirasses went under the appellations of *Dhat Al Fadhul*, the excellent, or full of excellencies, &c. *Dhat Al Wesbah*, fortified with a leathern belt, *Dhat Al Hawash*, adorned with a border and fringes, *Al Betra*, the intersected, *Al Khernak*, so called, perhaps, from the hare's skin with which it was covered, or which it resembled in lightness, *Al Sa'adia*, the Saadite, that he found amongst the spoils taken from the *Banu Kainoka'*, and was said to be that which *David* had on when he slew the giant *Goliath*, and *Al Fadda*, the silver, or washed with silver, which he likewise acquired in his expedition against the *Banu Kainoka'*. His three shields, *Al Zaluk*, the repellent, *Al Razin*, the strong, or firm, *Al Fathuk*, the flash, brightness, or the brilliant, he also took from his enemies. He had two helmets, an interior and exterior one; the latter of which, called *Al Mewashah*, the fillet, wreath, or wreathed garland, he wore at the battle of *Ohad*. The longest of his pikes had the name of *Baidha*, the white; his three half-pikes, the first of which was presented to *Zabeir Ebn Awam* by the *Najashi*, were denominated *Atra*, *Al Nab'a*, and *Al Hafr*. Besides which, he had a stick, or rod, called *Mamshuk*, and another crooked one that he carried in his hand at the surrender of *Mecca*; together with a little cane, that went under the appellation of *Orjun*. The great standard of *Islamism*, as well as his other larger military ensigns and colours, for the most part, was white; tho' some of the latter had a mixture of black in them. They were generally adorned with the double profession of the *Mohammedan* faith, contained in the following words; THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD; MOHAMMED IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD. As for his signet, or seal, that he caused to be made before he invited the neighbouring princes to *Islamism*, we shall say nothing of it here, as having given a full and ample description of it in a former part of this work *.

His expeditions.

WITH regard to the number of his expeditions, authors are not perfectly agreed. Some make them nineteen, others twenty-six, and others again twenty-seven; of which the last

* ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. lxx. p. 153—156. AL JANNAB. AL KODAI, AL TERMEDI, AL TABARI, & MAKHUL, and AL KODAIUM. Vide etiam GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 153—156.

was that of *Tabák*. In nine of these he commanded his army in person; namely, at *Bedr*, *Ohod*, the war of *the ditch*, those undertaken against the tribe of *Koreidba*, the *Banu Mostalek*, and the *Jews of Khaibar*; as also at the reduction of *Mecca*, the battle of *Honein*, and the siege of *Al Táýef*. In all his other wars, the troops were commanded by some of his generals. As for his lesser military expeditions, or rather predatory excursions, some assert them to have amounted to thirty-five, others to forty-seven, and, lastly, others to fifty; tho', in our opinion, they greatly exceeded that number. It was not without reason, therefore, that he was styled by many of his followers, *the prophet of war*, or, to approach nearer our form and manner of expression, *the warlike prophet* *.

BEFORE we conclude our history of the life and actions of *The principal Mohammed*, that we here present our readers with, it will be proper just to touch upon some of the principal privileges and prerogatives that were granted him, as well as those peculiar to the Arab nation, according to the *Moslem* writers. For, to give a large account, or even a bare enumeration of all of them, such as is to be met with in the aforesaid authors, many of which have not the least tendency to illustrate the *Mohammedan* history, would be altogether inconsistent with the brevity here proposed; nor, indeed, can an insertion of so many particulars, the greatest part of which will not afford our readers the least advantage or rational entertainment, be expected in a work of this nature.

HE was the first of the prophets in the order of creation, though the last in the order of mission; *Adam*, and all other creatures, having been created by him †.

HIS glorious name is written upon the throne of God, and upon all the gates of the seven heavens ‡.

HE was foretold by the ancient prophets, in whose writings his name and epithets are expressly mentioned, as well as those of his companions, successors, and nation §.

THE devil, or *Eblis*, was thrown down from heaven at the moment of his birth; and all his accomplices were then expelled four of the seven heavens, which, till that time, they had been permitted to enter ¶.

HIS breast was miraculously opened by angels, and he had the seal of prophecy in a supernatural manner impressed upon him ¸.

ANGELS

* ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. lxxi. p. 156. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 78, & alib. † AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 223. ‡ Idem ibid. Vide etiam PRID. ubi sup. p. 36. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. vii, lxxi, &c. AL JANNAB. § AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xv. AL BRIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. ¸ ABULFED. ubi sup. p.

ANGELS sheltered him with their wings from the heat of the sun ^d.

HE surpassed all the rest of mankind in sense and understanding, and particularly in every branch of divine knowledge ^e.

HE was saluted by the prophets and patriarchs in his night-journey to heaven ^f.

HE performed that journey, traversing the immense space which includes the seven heavens ^g.

HE was permitted to approach within two cubits length of the throne of GOD, who conversed with him, and promised to defend him against all who should attempt to obstruct his designs ^h.

HE trod in the steps of the great prophet who immediately preceded him ⁱ.

HE was saluted by the angels, who afterwards fought for him, as well as by the prophets, and saluted them all in his turn ^k.

THE *Korân* was brought down from heaven to him, tho' he was intirely illiterate, understood no language but his own, and could neither read nor write ^l.

THE *Korân*, which the *Moslems* call his book, as having been revealed to him, was itself a miracle, and will be preserved through the course of all succeeding ages from every species of alteration or corruption. 'Tis a permanent and perpetual miracle, differing from the books, or miracles of the other prophets, which have been diminished, if not, in a great measure, destroyed, by time; but had they been preserved intire to this very day, they would, in point of excellency, have been much inferior to the *Korân* ^m.

HE wrought more miracles than all the other prophets put together; some making them to amount to 1,000, and others to above three times that number, without including the *Korân*, which, according to the *Moslems*, is the greatest of all miracles ⁿ.

THE *Korân* itself contains near 60,000 miracles; every verse of this sacred book being considered as one of them.

9, 143, &c. SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABU'L DAM, in *Tarikh*, seu histor. dist. *Al Modhaffer*, MUSLEM, AL BOKHAR. AL JANNABI, &c.

^d AL BEIDAWI, AL JANNAB. ^e ABULFED. AL JANNAB. AL BEIDAWI, alique in *Al Kor.* commentat. ^f ABU HO-

REIR. ABULFED. GUADAGN. AL JANNAB. &c. ^g *Idem* *ibid.*

^h *Idem* *ibid.* & *Al Kor.* MOHAM. f. liii. ⁱ AL BOKHAR.

AL JANNAB. &c. ^k *Al Kor.* MOHAM. AL BEIDAWI, JAL-

LALO'DDIN, &c. ^l *Al Kor.* MOHAM. ABULFED. AL BOK-

MAR. AL JANNAB. &c. ^m AL BOKHAR. AL JANNAB. alique

scriptor. Arab. pass. ⁿ *Idem* *ibid.*

This

This, according to the *Mohammedans*, sufficiently appears from the Arabic word *Ayât*, which signifies both a *verse* and a *sign*, or *miracle*, as has been observed by Mr. *Gagnier*, who has followed the learned Dr. *Pocock* in this particular *.

WHEN the infidels demanded a sign of him, the moon appeared to them cloven in two, one part vanishing, and the other remaining. Nay, *Ebn Masûd* affirmed, that he saw mount *Harâ* interpose between the two sections. The stones also saluted him, a beam or trunk of a tree groaned in his presence, and streams of water issued from between his fingers. He likewise in one day preached to all mankind, and instructed them in the knowledge of the true GOD. Nay, the genii, or demons, and even the angels themselves, attended his predications P.

HE had more followers than all the other prophets put together; his mission being the effect of the divine mercy to all creatures. Those, therefore, who will not allow the validity of it, will hereafter be doomed to eternal punishment; whereas all the *Moslems*, or true believers, will be transplanted to a state of great and unspeakable felicity q.

GOD has divided his praises and benedictions with him, and has joined his own great name with that of the prophet in the *Korân* r.

GOD has commanded the world to obey him, to submit itself wholly to his will and direction; having conferred the government of it upon him, in full and proper sovereignty, with a perfect infallibility in all points whatsoever, according to what we find asserted in that lively oracle of GOD, the *Korân* s.

GOD never calls him by his proper name in the *Korân*, but makes use of the terms *prophet* and *apostle*. He has also forbidden the people of his own nation in that book to address him in any other manner; at least this must be admitted, if *Jallalo'ddin*'s authority may be depended upon t.

GOD has vouchsafed him innumerable instances of his extraordinary love and dilection, both by conversing in a familiar manner with him, and by his nocturnal revelations u.

* Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 192. P GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. i. p. 178, &c. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, AL GHAZAL. ABULFED. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 188. AL KOR MOHAMMED. f. lxxvi. ISPAHANI, AL KODAI, JALLALO'DDIN, aliique scriptor. Arabic. pass. q GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 367, 368. r AL BOKHAR. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. pass. s AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. liii. t AL KOR. MOHAMMED. sur. xxiv. v. 64. JALLALO'DDIN. u ABULFED. AL BOKHAR. AL JANNAB. ABU HOREIK. EBN ISHAK, AL KODAI, aliique scriptor. Arabic. pass.

HE elevated him to the highest pitch of empire and power, communicated the knowledge of the law and the truth to him, and took him under his more immediate protection, when he was threatened by any impending dangers, especially when he found himself obliged to fly from *Mecca* to *Medina* ^w.

HE favoured him with the gift of the sublimest and most inimitable eloquence, offered him the keys of the treasures of the earth, and enabled him to comprehend the natures of all things, five mysteries only excepted, which he afterwards revealed to him, but enjoined him not to discover them to any other person whatsoever ^x.

THE prophet had the most perfect knowledge of his genealogy and descent of any man that ever lived.

THERE is no mention made of GOD either in the formula of the proclamation for prayer, or the exordium of any sermon, or the profession of faith, or, lastly, in the preface of any book, where the apostle of GOD likewise is not expressly mentioned ^y.

GOD voluntarily offered him a remission of his sins, and clearly revealed to him every thing that should happen to his nation through the course of all succeeding ages, even to the day of judgment ^z.

HE is the prince and lord of all the children of *Adam*; is more noble in the sight of GOD than any of his other creatures; was supported and sustained by the angels *Gabriel*, *Michael*, *Israfil*, and *Azrail*, who protected him from all the insults and attacks of evil demons ^a.

HIS wives and daughters were the most excellent of women; his companions (after the prophets) the most worthy of men; and his mosque, in point of dignity, superior to all others ^b.

THE angel of death durst not demand his soul without asking him leave first; which was an honour never granted any prophet before him ^c.

HE had a right to the best part of the spoils that were taken from the enemy in any successful expedition; nay, sometimes he was allowed to take the whole booty to himself, to dispose of it as he pleased ^d.

BEFORE his time the whole earth was polluted by the *Christians* and the *Jews*; no prayers being any-where said, except

^w Ibidem ibid.

^x AL BOKHAR. JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI, EBN AL KAYEM, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. &c.

^y GAGN. ubi sup. p. 370. ^z AL KOR. Mohammed. f. xlvii. v. 20. JALLALO'DDIN, GAGN. ubi sup. p. 370.

^a ABULFED: AL JANNAH. AL SOHEILI, AL KOR. MOHAMMED. AL BEIDAWI, EBN ISHAK, JALLALO'DDIN, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. &c.

^b AL GHAZAL. POCCOCK. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 274. GAGN. ubi supra.

^c AL SOHEILI, ubi sup. ^d AL KOR. MOHAMMED. ABULFED.

in the churches of the former, or the synagogues of the latter. But he converted other places of worship into mosques, and purified the whole earth by the institution of the *Tayammum*, whereby the dust on the surface of it was declared pure, and allowed, on some occasions, to supply the want of water to perform the *Wodû*, or sacred ablution ^c.

HE instituted the five prayers, the proclamation for prayer, and the actual recitation of it; as also the manner of performing this duty, upon the model of that observed by the angels, the day of public divine service in mosques, or *Friday*, and the salutation of peace still in use amongst the *Mohammedans* ^f.

HE first discovered to the *Arabs* the favourable hour in which their prayers would most certainly be heard ^g.

HE instituted the immolation of the victims in the valley of *Mina*, on the tenth of *Dhu'l-hajja*; the fast of *Ramadân*, when paradise is adorned, and the devils chained; the breakfast at the conclusion of that fast, and the celebration of the night *Al Kadr* ^h.

HE also instituted, by his own example, the rite, or ceremony, of making the station on mount *Arafat* till sun-set, in order to merit a pardon, or remission, of sins for two years ⁱ.

HE introduced the custom of washing the hands after a repast, the form of making a hole on one side of a sepulchre, and the fashion of wearing turbants with two fasces hanging down behind; a mark of distinction used by the angels themselves ^k.

HE will be the first of the sons of *Adam* that shall rise from the dead, and advance to the place of judgment, on his beast *Al Borâk*, escorted by 70,000 angels ^l.

HE will be called by his own proper name to the place of judgment, and will appear there dressed in the most magnificent robes of paradise, on a glorious footstool, on the right hand of the great tribunal ^m.

HE will then carry in his hand the standard of glory, under which *Adam*, and all his followers, will range themselves ⁿ.

IN the day of judgment, he will be the *Imâm*, or great pontiff, of the faithful, their orator and conductor ^o.

HE will be the first who, after the resurrection, shall lift up his head, who shall be permitted to look at GOD, and to adore him ^p.

^c ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 83. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. v. v. 7. GAGN. ubi sup. p. 371. ^f GAGN. ubi sup. ^g Idem ibid.

^h MOSLEM, JABER EBN ABD'ALLAH, ABULFED. &c. ⁱ Idem ibid. ^k Commentat. in AL KOR. MOHAMMED. ^l GAGN. ubi sup. p. 376. ^m Idem ibid. ⁿ Idem ibid. ^o Idem ibid. ^p Idem ibid.

HE shall be the first intercessor, and the first whose intercession shall be accepted ¹.

HE will be the first who shall pass over the bridge called *Al Sirât*, that is to say, *the Strait and the sharp*; after which, he will command all his attendants to look downwards till his daughter *Fâtema* has done the same ².

HE will be the first who shall knock at the door, or gate, of paradise, when he shall be immediately admitted; after which, his daughter *Fâtema* shall enter, and then both of them shall drink large draughts of the water of *Al Cawthar*, a celebrated river in paradise ³.

HE shall not be asked any questions at his admission into paradise, as the other prophets will. The pulpit in which he preached shall be placed before one of the gates of paradise, and he shall enjoy a most intimate and perpetual union with ALMIGHTY GOD ⁴.

THE prophet's pedigree, or the genealogical succession of his ancestors, shall always remain; whereas all others shall be confounded and destroyed at the day of the resurrection ⁵.

HE was forbidden to pay any tax or contribution whatsoever, and even to give any alms; from which his family was likewise exempted, according to the sentiments of the most approved *Mohammedan* authors ⁶.

NONE of his family were ever to serve the office of collectors of the customs, as the members of it were to preach, and make expiation for others; which exempted them from the execution of all public offices ⁷.

HE was not allowed to taste any thing that had a disagreeable odour, to cloath himself in cotton and fine linen, to be concerned in any species of fraud, finessè, or sinister dealings, in order to kill or get his enemy into his hands ⁸.

HE was forbidden to espouse a repudiated woman, and, as some say, to lie with her also ⁹.

HE was permitted to stay in the mosque, and to continue his prayers there, notwithstanding any pollution he might have contracted; as he never lost the purity he acquired, on any occasion, by the sacred ablution ¹⁰.

HE was permitted to continue his prayers after mid-day, to kiss any woman upon a fast-day, and even, if his inclinations were very impetuous, to lie with her ¹¹.

HE was allowed to perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca* without putting on the *Ibrâm*, or sacred habit, to look at all the

¹ Idem ibid. ² AL GHATAI. ³ Idem. ⁴ GAGN. ubi sup. p. 377. ⁵ Idem ibid. p. 378. ⁶ Idem ibid. p. 381. ⁷ Idem ibid. ⁸ Idem ibid. p. 382. ⁹ Idem ibid. ¹⁰ Idem ibid. p. 383. ¹¹ Idem ibid.

strange women there, and even to retire with them into a secret place, in order to enjoy them ^c.

He was allowed to marry above four wives, to espouse a woman without any witnesses, and even to affiance himself to her, tho' she was within the prohibited degrees ^d.

He had several peculiar privileges in relation to the spoils taken from an enemy; that have been already mentioned in other parts of this work ^e.

He was permitted to commit murder within the sacred territory, and even in the city of *Mecca* itself; to pass what sentence he pleased upon any of his followers; and to receive presents from his clients, which every other person was prohibited to do ^f.

He was allowed to make what division of lands he pleased, and that even before he had made himself master of them; the *Moslems* supposing that GOD had put him in possession of the whole earth. And in consequence of this privilege, according to *Al Ghazali*, he divided, in an arbitrary manner, some lands belonging to the *Banu Tamin Al Duri* ^g.

His prayers were always heard, though his attention might have been sometimes interrupted in the course of them; a lie uttered against him was infinitely more insupportable to him than one advanced against any other person; and his urine, as well as his blood, was extremely pure, and even in many cases medicinal ^h.

His hair was likewise clean and neat; he having been extremely remarkable for his purity, both of body and mind. Some *Moslem* writers pretend, that he was not guilty of any, even the minutest, sin; but the most approved commentators on the *Korân* are of a different opinion. *Jallalo'ddin* says expressly, that, after the revelation of the 110th *Sûra*, or chapter, of that book, he frequently asked pardon of GOD; which implies an acknowledgement of many actual transgressions ⁱ.

He always entertained the most pious sentiments, had a religious love of GOD, and the divine laws; and ever treated both his family and companions with marks of the most tender affection ^k.

If any one treated him contemptuously, he easily forgave him; but frequently punished capital injuries that were offered him, and particularly false accusations, with death. This he thought himself, in a most particular manner, authorized to

^c Idem ibid.

^d Al Kor. MOHAM. f. xxxiii.

^e Al

Kor. MOHAM. ABULFED. &c.

^f GAGN. ubi sup. p. 383,

384.

^g AL GHAZAL.

^h GAGN. ubi sup. p. 385,

ⁱ Al Kor. MOHAMMED. f. cx. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN.

^k GAGN. ubi sup.

do. In some few instances, however, though the crimes were of the most heinous nature, he inflicted, as a punishment on the offenders, only double fustigation ¹.

His sleep itself was a divine revelation. The extasies and divine inspirations, by which he was so frequently agitated, exceeded both in number and duration those of the other prophets ^m.

ALL people were pleased with his decisions, than which nothing could be more equitable or just. Nor was any of his progenitors ever considered in the light of a tyrant or an oppressor ⁿ.

As soon as he came out of his mother's womb, he adored God by prostration. He was born circumcised, surrounded with a luminous appearance that enlightened the castles and towns of Syria, in an extraordinary manner. He talked in his cradle, was sheltered from the heat of the sun by supernatural clouds, was prayed for and considered by all the Arabs after his death as their sovereign pontiff, or great *Imâm*, and his body remains in the tomb or sepulchre where it was at first interred, without being subject to decay ^o.

SOME of the *Moslems* believe, that he is still living in his tomb, and that he says his prayers there every time the crier makes proclamation for the people to repair to the mosque. They also believe, that an angel is posted at his tomb, who gives him continual advice of the prayers of the faithful that are offered up for him; as likewise of the wicked actions of every individual of his nation, that he may ask pardon of God for them ^p.

A general sorrow spread itself over the whole Arab nation for his death, which will continue to the day of the resurrection. The lecture of his traditions is put upon the same foot by his followers with that of the *Korân*; which most authentic traditions, of the actions and sayings of *Mohammed*, are contained in the two books called the *Two Sahih's*, compiled by *Moslem* and *Abû Bakhârî* ^q.

He feels a most sensible pleasure, and receives infinite satisfaction, when he understands, that the good *Moslems* perform the ablution, as well as perfume themselves, before they apply themselves to the lecture of those traditions, and afterwards read them on some public eminence. But it gives him great offence, when he is told, that any of the faithful retire into an obscure solitary corner, in order to read them there ^r.

¹ ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 83.

^m GAGN. ubi sup. p. 386.

ⁿ Idem ibid.

^o AL HAFEDH, ABULFED, AL JANNAB. JALALLODDIN, &c.

^p GAGN. ubi sup. p. 387, 388.

^q ABULFED. AL JANNAB. MOSLEM, AL BOKHAR.

^r GAGN. ubi sup. p. 388.

THE faces of those who carry these traditions will always be pure, resplendent, and bright; and the books that contain them, in conjunction with the *Korân*, will be placed by the prophet on the throne of GOD at the day of the resurrection^a.

HE chose some of the justest and most upright men that ever lived for his companions; by which he discovered his own transcendent goodness, sincerity, and penetration. No wonder then, that the loss of a person endued with so many excellencies should be so sincerely regretted by the whole *Arab* nation; and that the women themselves, who have generally such an aversion to the visitation of sepulchres, should yet without the least repugnancy visit his tomb^c.

THE *Arabs* are the noblest nation upon earth, and will subsist longer than any other nation^u.

THE prophet honoured them with two appellations, derived from two of the names of GOD himself, viz. MOSLEMS, or MUSULMANS, and THE FAITHFUL; and their religion he called *Islamism*, or *Islâm*^w.

THEY are not obliged to the performance of any rash vow, as the nations before them were^x.

THE prophet has exterminated all the places of impurity and pollution from amongst them^y.

HE has assigned the fourth part of their effects for the payment of taxes and contributions of every denomination.

THEIR religion is infinitely purer than that of their pagan ancestors; the criminal licences and indulgences granted the *Arabs* in the times of ignorance having been cancelled by the prophet^z.

HE left it to their choice either to slay a murderer, or to suffer him to expiate his crime with a sum of money, which they might look upon as the price of the blood that was spilt^a.

HIS followers are preserved from falling into error. Disputes, indeed, may sometimes happen amongst them; but then these will be of such a nature, that they will rather intitle them to the divine compassion. On the contrary, the disputes that arose amongst their unbelieving progenitors will infallibly terminate in their destruction^b.

THOSE who favour and obey them will always enjoy the sweets of a good conscience, and be intitled to mercy; but the reverse will happen to all those nations that are their enemies^c.

^a Idem ibid.

^t AL GHAZAL. & GAGN. ubi sup. p. 389.

^u AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iii. v. 110. ^w AL KOR. MOHAM. pass.

^x GAGN. ubi sup. p. 373. ^y Idem ibid. ^z AL KOR. MO-

HAM. pass. ^a AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iv v. 91. JALLALO'DDIN.

^b GAGN. ubi sup. p. 374. ^c Idem ibid.

THE fruit of their alms is the perpetual feast of a good conscience, and their sins are forgiven ^d.

THEY have a certain promise, that they shall never be totally extirpated by their enemies ^e.

THE good testimony of two of them is sufficient to insure to a man paradise ^f.

THEY labour less than other nations, and yet they shall hereafter meet with a greater reward ^g.

THEY have flourished fewer ages than other nations, and yet they have made a greater progress in every branch both of ancient and modern learning. Nor shall their nation want many searchers after truth through the remotest periods of time, even to the day of judgment ^h.

THEY abound with great princes, prudent magistrates, valiant heroes, men of generous and noble dispositions, and religious persons, intirely devoted to the service of ALMIGHTY GOD ⁱ.

THEIR doctors are like the prophets of the children of Israel ^k.

AMONGST the *Moslems* there are three sorts of men; those who are the most perfect, and first enter paradise; those who hold a middle rank in the scale of perfection; and those who are apparently wicked. But the latter, as well as the former, shall be received to mercy, tho' not meet with so glorious a reward. Not a single believer shall hereafter eternally perish ^l.

THE angels are at hand to support them in all their general actions and engagements, as they formerly sustained their progenitors at the battle of *Bedr*; of which we have already given our readers a full and particular relation ^m.

MOHAMMED has prescribed them the very same rites, by the divine command, that GOD himself prescribed the prophets of old, as well as the other ministers sent to instruct his people; and consequently these rites are of divine institution. Such were the ablution denominated *Wudu*, that called *Ghoss*, enjoined after conjugal embraces, the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, the holy war, and others that it would be too tedious to enumerate here ⁿ.

THEY perform many works of supererogation, as did likewise the prophets; for whose memory they express so pro-

^d AL KOR. MOHAM.

^e GAGN. ubi sup.

^f Idem ibid.

^g Idem ibid.

^h GAGN. ubi sup. p. 374, 375.

ⁱ Idem

ibid. p. 375.

^k GAGN. ubi sup.

^l AL KOR. MOHAM. f. lvi.

v. 12.

^m AL BOKHAR. ABULFED. EBN ISHAK, AL JANNAB,

AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. &c.

ⁿ AL

KOR. MOHAM. pass.

found a regard, and whom they so frequently propose to themselves as a pattern for their imitation ^o.

THEY are addressed in a very particular stile, and greatly preferred to all other nations, by the *Korân* ^p.

THEY shall rise from the dead before the people of any other nation ^q.

THEY shall appear in great numbers on the day of the resurrection, incircled with a most pure and resplendent light, the effect of the sacred ablution called *Wodû*, by which they will be purified in this world, and consequently qualified for the enjoyment of the pleasures in the next ^r.

THEY will be placed upon an eminence at the day of judgment above all other nations ^s.

THEY will be distinguished then from all other nations by a mark imprinted upon their faces, the natural effect of the adoration practised by them in this world ^t.

THEY shall then produce their books as evidences of their faith, their little ones running before them. And though a frightful catalogue of the sins they had committed was inserted in these books, when they entered their sepulchres, yet they shall find this intirely effaced at the day of the resurrection; their fidelity intitling them to an absolute remission of all those sins ^u.

THEY shall carry with them not only their own good works, but likewise those of others that were wrought for them; whereas the nations preceding them shall only carry with them, and reap the benefit of, their own ^v.

JUDGMENT shall pass in their favour, before any other nation is summoned to appear before the great tribunal; and they shall immediately take possession of the habitations assigned them by the favourable decision of ALMIGHTY GOD. When they enter paradise, which they shall do before any other nation, 70,000 of them shall be admitted without examination, or having a single question asked them. Their little ones also shall attend them on this occasion, and be conducted to the mansions of ineffable bliss, as well as themselves ^x.

IN order to qualify themselves for this happiness, they are enjoined to offer up their prayers every day the number of times above-specified, to keep their teeth clean and neat, to

^o Al Kor. MOHAM. & GAGN. ubi sup. p. 376. ^p Al Kor. MOHAM. pass. ^q GAGN. ubi sup. p. 378. ^r Al Kor. MOHAM. ^s GAGN. ubi sup. ^t Idem ibid. ^u GAGN. ubi sup. p. 379. ^v Idem ibid. ^x Al Kor. MOHAM. AL GHAZAL. Vide etiam GAGN. ubi sup. p. 379. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 277, 278. Parisiis, 1655. GEORG. CEDREN. historiæ compend. p. 423. Parisiis, 1647.

sacrifice victims on the day prescribed, to hold a council of war before they march against the enemy, to perform the ablution every *Wednesday* and *Friday*, to engage the enemy with resolution; however superior to them in point of numbers, to animate one another on such occasions, and not to be intimidated by the fear of death, or the apprehension of a future judgment. To the last of which their leaders encourage them, by representing to them, that all those who die in battle, inrolled amongst the *Moslems*, ought not to regret the loss of what they enjoyed in this world; as, immediately after death, they will enter paradise, and be introduced to the beatific vision. But if, notwithstanding this, they should conceive any inquietude on account of their sins, they are to ask pardon of GOD for them seventy times before the beginning of the action; which, in conjunction with their prophet's intercession, will infallibly procure them an easy admission into a state of eternal and inconceivable felicity.

The prophet's skill in physick.

WE find in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford* an *Arabic* manuscript, intitled, *The Prophetic Physic*, or, more simply, *The Physic of the Prophet*; wherein the anonymous author undertakes to prove, from the most authentic traditions, that *Mohammed* was perfectly well versed in every branch of physick. He remarks, after *Al Khattabi*, that, in the time of the prophet, physick, or the medicinal art, was divided into *methodic* and *empiric*. The former was founded upon reasoning, and practised over a great part of the world; the latter depended intirely upon experience, and was then in vogue amongst the *Arabs* and the *Indians*. This was the species of physick followed by the prophet, who regulated his practice by experience, as it was then the most admired by his countrymen. However, according to this writer, *Mohammed* had a thorough knowlege of every particular relative to the art of medicine, taken in its utmost extent; which knowlege, continues the same author, he did not acquire by labour or study, but, as the immediate gift of GOD, it was infused into him. Hence 'tis not to be wondered at, that he should arrive instantaneously, as it were, at the highest degree of perfection in this art; and that he should neither say nor do any thing herein, but what was exactly agreeable to truth, and precisely adapted to the fixed and invariable laws of nature. For, as the whole circle of nature, if we will believe some of the *Moslem* historians, lay open to his view, he must have perfectly understood the whole frame and structure of the human body, the nature of all the parts of which it is composed, the mu-

Y AL KOR. MOHAM. AL BOKHAR. in *Sen*. AL GHAZAL. AL ZEIDAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. JALLALO'DDIN, &c.

tual dependency they have on one another, their respective functions, the causes, effects, nature, and symptoms, of every disease incident to human kind, and the essential qualities of all things used in medicinal compositions. From whence it will follow, that he must have instantly discovered what every distemper was from the symptoms it exhibited, and consequently could never have been at a loss for an immediate remedy on any, even the most critical, occasion whatsoever².

WE are told by *Ebn Al Kayem*, that the prophet had three ways of curing all maladies and disorders; the first by the application of natural remedies, the second by having recourse to those that were divine, or supernatural, and the third by a mixture or composition of the other two. He attributed, according to the author of the aforesaid manuscript, the origin of physic to *Solomon*; which notion he must undoubtedly have received from one of the inspired writers, who intimates, that this prince understood the nature of all trees and plants, from the cedar of *Lebanon* even to the hyssop that springeth out of the walls. However, he did not pretend to stop the progress of death, nor to deliver men from the infirmities of extreme old age; which he considered as the necessary effect of destiny, inevitable fate, or rather the divine decree³.

THE aforesaid author observes, that the human body is composed of the four elements, and consists of 360 limbs or joints, every one of which contains 360 bones, and 36 little bones. He has also compiled a vast number of aphorisms, said to have been drawn up by the prophet, relative to these parts, to diet, to the conservation of health, and to the practice of physic, intermixed with some very curious histories or relations, which it would be too tedious to enumerate here. He likewise produces a great number of passages, extracted from *Hippocrates*, *Galen*, *Avicenna*, and other celebrated physicians, both ancient and modern, in order to support and confirm the prophet's method of practice, and to evince the truth of all the sentiments advanced by him on this occasion⁴.

BESIDES which, he exhibits a long catalogue of remedies, both simple and compounded, for the cure of all diseases; as also of trees, fruits, liquors, plants, &c. together with their virtues, properties, &c. and the methods of preparing them for use, and applying them. Which catalogue, as well as the descriptions attending it, is said to be drawn up in the very words of the prophet. Of this manuscript the learned Mr.

² MSS. HUNTING. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 333. 1 KING. iv. 33. ³ EBN AL KAYEM. ⁴ MSS. HUNTING. ubi sup.

Gagnier has obliged the world with several extracts, which we have not time now to touch upon. Our curious readers, therefore, may either consult his *Life of MOHAMMED*, so often cited in this work, or have recourse, for their farther satisfaction in the point before us, to the manuscript itself, which is very carefully preserved in the public library at Oxford.

The visitation of Mohammed's tomb.

THE pilgrimage to, or visitation of, *Mohammed's* tomb, according to the unanimous opinion of the *Moslem* doctors, is one of those duties that approaches nearest to the obligatory precepts that are of divine institution; the performance of it being a work of great merit, especially if any favourable opportunity of doing it offers, tho' it be not expressly enjoined by any positive command. When a *Moslem* turns his face towards *Medina*, at his first setting out for that place, on this pilgrimage, or visitation, he repeats several times a formula of prayer for the prophet, drawn up for the occasion. And when he first perceives the trees in the territory of *Medina*, at a great distance from that city, he repeats it more frequently; beseeching GOD to grant, that the journey he has undertaken may be conducive both to his present happiness and future salvation. Before he enters *Medina*, after he has approached the frontiers, he ought to purify himself with the ablution, put on his most rich and splendid apparel, perfume himself with the most odoriferous aromatic compositions, and set apart as large a sum for alms as his circumstances will permit. Then he enters the city, with a passage of the *Korân* in his mouth; and, being arrived at one of the gates of the mosque, says the following ejaculation: *O GOD be favourable to Mohammed, and to the family of Mohammed; O GOD pardon my sins, and open to me the gates of thy mercy and thy grace.* From thence he advances directly to the glorious *parterre of flowers*, as the tomb of the prophet is called; and, at the place where *Mohammed* frequently said his prayers, he prays for the prosperity of that mosque. After which, having made what other stations he thinks proper, he prostrates himself upon the ground, adores GOD, thanks him for his happy arrival in that glorious valley, begs that this visitation may be agreeable to him, and that his divine grace may attend him through the whole course of it. Then approaching the sepulchre, he stands upright at the head of it, turns his face towards the south, or the city of *Mecca*, which is to the south of *Medina*, and takes care not to touch the wall that surrounds it, according to the custom observed by the companions of the prophet themselves. This being done, at the distance of about five or six feet, he repeats again the form of prayer for *Mohammed*, and also

prays for the repose of his two successors *Abu Becr* and *Omar*, who are deposited near him. Then he retires backwards about a pike's length, or a little less, according to the decision of *Abu'l-Laith*, the *Al Fakih*, or doctor of the law, and others of the sect of *Abu Hanifa*. But, according to *Al Shâfi* and *Mâlet*, he ought to turn his back towards the *Kebla*, and consequently his face towards the glorious vestibule, and the illustrious inclosure, as the *Arabs* term the spot on which the sepulchre stands, in order to salute the prophet with the greater cordiality and affection ^a.

WHEN the pilgrim performs this ceremony, he ought to stand upright, with his eyes fixed upon the ground; filled with sentiments of the most profound respect and veneration. He ought to have his heart likewise intirely detached from all worldly affections and concerns, and his mind solely occupied by the thoughts of the majesty of the place; considering himself then as exposed to the immediate view of the prophet, who had formerly been himself visibly present there in the same posture. In this disposition he is to pronounce with a soft low voice, and a true sense of devotion, a form of prayer, too long to be inserted here. Then he prays for himself, his wife, children, and friends, in what manner he pleases; and if any person had desired him to salute the prophet in his name, and recommend him to his prayers, he makes use of another short form, drawn up for that purpose. After which, he takes a turn, posts himself over-against the prophet's face, and, in an erect posture, repeats the formula of appreciation and salutation two or three times. Then he stands opposite to the top of *Abu Becr's* tomb, that *Khalif's* head answering to the level of the prophet's shoulders, according to the common opinion, and prays there for the repose of his soul. From thence he advances to the right, and stops upon a spot over-against the head of *Omar's* tomb, corresponding with the line of *Abu Becr's* shoulders, where he pronounces with an audible voice a prayer for that *Khalif*; and afterwards retiring a little backwards, between *Abu Becr's* and *Omar's* sepulchres, he repeats another; which is succeeded by one for himself, his wife, children, and the whole body of the faithful. The *Friday* following the conclusion of this ceremony, he performs his devotions in the burying-place called *Al Baki*, on account of a traditional saying of *Mohammed*, viz. *That there were two burying places in the world, which shone to the inhabitants of heaven, as the sun and moon did to those of the earth; that is to say, the cemetery of Al Baki at*

^a AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 305, &c. Al Kor. MOHAM. sur. xvii. v. 81.

Medina, and that of Ascalon in Palestine. The *Kâdi Ayad*, in his book, intituled, *Medarec*, affirms, upon the authority of *Mâlec*, that about 10,000 of the prophet's companions died at *Medina*; and that almost all those whose death preceded his, were interred in *Al Baki*. The pilgrim likewise, before his departure from *Medina*, visits the tombs of the principal ladies of the prophet's family, as well as those of his chief domestics, followers, successors, and companions; particularly that of *Othmân Ebn Affân*, the emperor of the faithful, situated in a separate place, under a dome erected by *Osfâma Ebn Menân*, the *Salchite*, one of the *Emirs* of *Salâb'oddin Yusef Ebn Ayub*; that of *Al Abbâs*, under a dome called by his name; that of *Al Hâsan Ebn Ali*, emperor of the faithful, *Zain Al Abedin Ebn Hosein*, *Ebn Mabammed Al Bâker*, with his son *Jaasar*, surnamed *Al Sâdek*, all whose bodies are deposited in one tomb; that of *Fâtema*, the daughter of *Mohammed*, erected by *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*; that of *Fâtema Bint Asad*, the mother of *Ali*, which has a fine dome built upon it; that of *Ibrahim*, the prophet's son, near the remains of *Othmân Ebn Matûn*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf*, *Okail Ebn Abu Tâleb*, and *Abda'llah Ebn Jaasar*, the three last of which are supposed to have been interred in the same sepulchre; that of *Ismael Ebn Jaasar Al Sâdek*, to the west of the dome of *Al Abbâs*, with those of four of the prophet's wives; and that of *Mâlec Ebn Awf*, with others at a small distance from him, which it would be too tedious to enumerate in this place.

WITHOUT the walls likewise of *Medina* there are other tombs that demand the attention of the devout and religious pilgrim; the most remarkable of which are the following. The sepulchre of *Mohammed Ebn Abda'llah Ebn Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, who died a martyr in the *Khalifat* of *Abu Jaasar Al Mansûr*, on which a structure is erected, intended for a dome, but not yet finished. The sepulchres of the martyrs who fell in the battle of *Ohod*, and particularly that of *Hamza*, the prophet's uncle; which contains likewise the corps of his nephew *Abda'llah Ebn Hajash*, who commanded in an expedition undertaken on the side of *Nakbla*. The tombs of *Mosaab Ebn Omoir*, *Saad Ebn Al Rabi'*, *Anas Ebn Al Madre*, *Abu'l Dada*, *Majadder Ebn Ziyâd*, and many others that lie mixed together at the feet of *Hamza*, without any manner of distinction, who are supposed to have lost their lives in defence of the *Mohammedan* faith, and are consequently looked upon as martyrs by the *Moslems*.

* AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 305, 306, &c.
AL MAKIN, p. 102.

† Idem ibid.

THE pilgrim also visits the mosque at *Kaba*, the day after his visitation of *Al Baki* and the aforesaid sepulchres, that is, on *Saturday*, if it be possible. Here, in a most devout manner, he says his prayers with two inclinations ^s.

FROM thence he goes to the well named *Aris*, in which the prophet is reported to have spat. It is likewise said, that *Mohammed's* seal fell out of *Othmân Ebn Affân's* hand into this well; and that he would not suffer any of the *Arabs* ever to look after it; so that it has remained there undiscovered to this day. The well *Aris* is near a mosque, that stands at the entrance of a garden. The pilgrim drinks copiously of its water, and also supplies himself with a sufficient quantity of it for the performance of the sacred ablution. Then he visits the mosque of *Victory*, constructed near the ditch or trench, which gave name to the signal victory obtained there over the nations that had entered into a confederacy against the prophet. After which, he pays his respects to all the other mosques and oratories of *Medina*, which amount to about thirty in number. The inhabitants shew these, as also the wells, in which the prophet used to bathe himself, and of whose waters he frequently drank, to the pilgrims that come thither; and this, that they may not only follow his example herein, but procure for themselves likewise health and benediction. The names of these wells are *Aris*, *Ghars*, *Rawma*, *Bada*, *Bir-Hâ*, and *Al Abn*, whose waters are greatly celebrated by some of the *Moslem* historians ^h.

In fine, as the prophet resided the last ten years of his life chiefly at *Medina*, was buried there, and conferred some very singular privileges upon the inhabitants of that city, as well as *Medina*. upon all the *Moslems* who should at any time perform their devotions in his mosque; the *Mohammedans* have always entertained, as they do at present, the most exalted sentiments of the nobility and excellency of that place. To this likewise they have been farther excited by the exemplary punishment, which they apprehend to have been inflicted upon *Moslem Ebn Okba*, who massacred a great number of the citizens of *Medina* in the 63d year of the *Hejra*, and *Yezid Ebn Meâ-wiyah*, who also behaved in a very hostile manner towards them; both of whom were taken off by a sudden death, and greatly agitated by a desponding sense of their crimes before they expired. As a considerable part of the *Korân* was likewise revealed at *Medina*, and the sepulchre of the prince of the prophets, as the *Moslems* term *Mohammed*, as well as those of his wives, children, and companions, is so frequently visited there, they are induced from hence to think,

^s AL JANNAB. ubi sup.

^h Idem ibid.

that it ought to be esteemed as the asylum of the elect, and, consequently, that a superior degree of respect and veneration is due to it. Hence it comes to pass, that some of the *Mohammedan* doctors consider *Medina* as the most excellent place in the whole peninsula of the *Arabs*; tho' others are of a different opinion. *Abu Hanifa* prefers *Medina* even to *Mecca* itself; but *Mâlec* espouses the contrary notion. However, the *Moslems* unanimously agree, that the spot on which the prophet's tomb stands is the most respectable place in the world. *Al Zamakhshari* mentions a tradition, which asserts, "that he who finishes his days either at *Mecca* or *Medina*, is assured by GOD of being resuscitated with the just on the day of the resurrection."

The conclusion.

THUS have we brought to a conclusion our history of the life and actions of *Mohammed*, the prophet and legislator of the *Arabs*, who laid the foundations of an empire, that, in less than a century, spread itself over a greater part of the world than the *Romans* could ever make themselves masters of. 'Tis true, this mighty empire did not continue in the zenith of its power much above two hundred years; the *Khalifs* being first in a great measure stripped of the regal authority they had all along assumed, by the governors of provinces, about the year of the *Héjra* 325, and afterwards by others, who scarce left them the faintest traces of their former grandeur. As for *Arabia*, in particular, the source of the *Moslem* power, it remained, for about three centuries after the time of *Mohammed*, under the *Khalifs* his successors. But in the aforesaid year of the *Héjra* 325, a great part of that country was in the hands of the *Karmatians*, a new sect, of whom we shall hereafter have occasion to speak, who had committed great outrages and disorders even in *Mecca* itself, and to whom the *Khalifs* were obliged to pay tribute, that the pilgrimage thither might be performed. Afterwards *Yaman* was governed by the house of *Thabatela*, descended from *Ali*, the son-in-law of *Mohammed*, whose sovereignty in *Arabia* some place so high as the time of *Charlemagne*. However, it was the posterity of *Ali*, or pretenders to be such, who reigned in *Yaman* and *Egypt* so early as the tenth century. The present reigning family in *Yaman* is probably that of *Ayub*, a branch of which reigned there in the thirteenth century, and took the title of *Khalif* and *Imâm*, which they still retain. They are not possessed of the whole province of *Yaman*, there being several other independent kingdoms there, particularly that of *Fartach*. The crown of *Yaman* descends not regularly from father to son; but the prince of the blood

royal, who is most in favour with the grandees, or has the strongest interest, generally succeeds. The governors of *Mecca* and *Medina*, who have always been of the race of *Mohammed*, also threw off their subjection to the *Khalifs*, since which time four principal families, all descended from *Hasan*, the son of *Ali*, have reigned there, under the title of *Sbarif*, which signifies *noble*, as they reckon themselves to be on account of their descent. These are the *Banu Kâder*, the *Banu Mûsa Thani*, the *Banu Hâshem*, and the *Banu Kitâda*; which last family now is, or lately was, on the throne of *Mecca*, where they have reigned above 500 years. The reigning family at *Medina* are the *Banu Hâshem*, which also reigned at *Mecca* before those of *Kitâda*. So that, for above 300 years, the successors of *Mohammed* enjoyed little more than the empty title of *Khalif*, which was at last likewise taken from them; a total end having been put to the very name and being of the *Khalifs*, as well as their power and authority, in the year of the *Hegira* 656, or of *CHRIST* 1258, when *Hulaku*, or *Holagu*, the *Tartar* over-ran all the dominions of *Al Musta'sem Ebn Al Mostanser*, and made himself master of *Baghdâd* *.

As for the *Korân*, or the collection of tenets, precepts, and institutions, left the *Arabs* by *Mohammed*, we shall speak of it more largely in another place. That book being put into the form in which we now find it by *Abu Becr*, the prophet's immediate successor, who found the pretended revelations it contains in great disorder; an account of its peculiarities, doctrines, and injunctions, of the manner of its being written and published, of the general design and genius of it, will be more naturally introduced in the life of that *Khalif*. And this our readers will be induced to expect, as without it they can by no means be enabled to form a proper and adequate idea of *Islamism*, the established religion of three of the most potent empires now on earth; nor, consequently, to understand the *Mohammedan* history. We need not inform them, that the empires here hinted at are those of the *Othmans*, commonly called *Ottomans*, or *Turks*, the *Persians*, and the *Indians* under the great *Mogul* †.

* AL MAKIN, in vit. Al Râdi. LA ROQUE, voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 255, 253, 273, 254, &c. GREG. ABUL-FARAJ, hist. dynast. dyn. x. p. 517—521. † AL MAKIN, in vit. Abu Becr. ABUL-FED. aliquo scriptor. Arabic. pass.

C H A P. II.

The History of the Empire of the Arabs, under the first four Khalifs, and those of the families of Omniyah and Abbas, to the taking of Baghdâd by the Tartars.

The news of Mohammed's death occasions a great consternation in Mecca.

THE death of Mohammed occasioned such a consternation in Mecca, that *Otâb Ebn Ofaid*, the governor, hid himself, fearing to be called to an account for his former conduct; and the inhabitants, upon the arrival of this melancholy news, considered themselves as destitute of all manner of protection. But, after the first impressions of fear were worn out, they began to meditate a revolt, and to entertain thoughts of resuming their ancient form of government. Upon which, *Sobail Ebn Amru*, one of the principal of the *Koreish*, who had before been sent by his tribe to treat with Mohammed of a peace in his camp at *Al Hodeibiya*, assembled the chief of them at the door of the *Caaba*, and addressed himself to them in the following terms: *O ye Meccans, ye were the last of the Arabs that embraced Islamism, and will ye be the first that shall renounce it? Can such a procedure as this be pleasing in the sight of GOD?* These words gave their minds a different turn, and prevented them from taking any step that had the least tendency to a defection ^a.

The tumults at Medina, occasioned by the prophet's death, appeased by Abu Becr.

BUT the tumults at Medina, consequential to the prophet's death, were not so easily appeased. The news of this sad event was no sooner published there, than a numerous course of people appeared before his door, crying out, *How can our apostle be dead? Our intercessor, our mediator, has not intirely left us; he is taken up into heaven, as was Jesus, or Isa; therefore he shall not be buried.* Nay, *Omar*, being of the same opinion, drew his sword, and swore, that if any person affirmed Mohammed to be dead, he would cut off his hands and his feet. For, said he, *the apostle of GOD is not dead, but only gone for a season; as Moses, the son of Amrân, was gone from the people of Israel for forty days, and then returned to them again.* The populace, therefore, kept the corps above ground, even after the belly began to swell; nor could the prophet's uncle *Al Abbas*, notwithstanding this, convince them of the reality of his death. Of which *Abu Becr* being apprized, he immediately posted from *Al Senah*, another quarter of the city, and expostulated with them in the following manner: *Do you worship Mohammed, or the GOD of Mohammed? If the latter, he is immortal, and liveth for ever; but if the former,*

^a ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Moham. c. lxii. p. 138.

you are in a manifest error, as he is certainly dead. The truth of which assertion he clearly evinced from several passages of the *Korân*. This produced the desired effect, and not only satisfied *Omar*, but likewise perfectly calmed the minds of the people. The arrival also of *Osama Ebn Zeid* from the camp at *Jorf*, immediately after *Mohammed* expired, not a little contributed to the preservation of the public tranquillity. For, that general ordered the standard of *Islamism* to be planted before the prophet's door, and disposed his troops in such a manner as effectually prevented all commotions; or, at least, all the bad effects of them, and enabled the *Moslems* to proceed to the election of a *Khalif*, or successor of *Mohammed*, without any effusion of blood, as will presently more fully appear ^b.

THE prophet having left no directions before his death concerning a successor, or at least none but such as were known to his wives, who were in the interest of *Omar*, very warm debates arose between the *Mohâjerin* and the *Ansârs* about the right of electing a *Khalif*. The former insisted upon that right, as having attended *Mohammed* in his flight to *Medina*, and declared themselves in his favour before any of the other *Arabs* came in to him; the latter, as having supported him when he was expelled his native city, and enabled him to make head against his enemies, when he and his followers were in a state of persecution. In fine, the disputes on this occasion between the two principal branches of the *Moslems* came to such a height, that a rupture between them must have immediately commenced, had not an expedient for the determination of this arduous affair been proposed by one of the *Ansârs*, who desired that each of the contending parties might be allowed to choose a *Khalif*. This for the present a little amused them; but the *Mohâjerin* not intirely relishing the proposal, *Abu Becr* offered to recommend two persons, *Omar Ebn Al Khatîb* and *Abu Obeidah*, to their choice, and to recognize him of the two upon whom the suffrages of both parties should fall. But this producing no decision, *Omar* swore fealty to *Abu Becr*, and all the *Moslems* upon the spot followed his example; upon which, *Abu Becr* was saluted *Khalif* by both the *Mohâjerin* and the *Ansârs*, and acknowledged the rightful successor of *Mohammed*. It appears from *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Abu Becr* was proclaimed *Khalif*, in the portico or piazza of the *Saâdites*, the very same day that *Mohammed* died ^c.

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^b Idem ibid. & p. 139. AL SHAHRESTANI, AL JANNAB. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 179. AL BOKHAR. in Son. ex tradit. Aych. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 138, 139.

^c AL MAKIN, hist. Saracen. c. ii.

Abu Becr
owes his
election
chiefly to
Omar.

It has been asserted by several of the *Moslem* writers, that *Mohammed*, in his last sickness, appointed *Abu Becr* to officiate for him in the mosque at *Medina*; by which it should seem to appear, that he intended him for his successor. Nay, the prophet's two wives, *Ayesha* and *Hafsa*, who were then present, understood the order given on this occasion as a sort of nomination to the high post that *Abu Becr* afterwards filled, and opposed it to the utmost of their power; but without effect; *Mohammed* telling them in a passion, that they were as bad as *Joseph's* mistress *Zoleikha*, and that none but GOD had given the preference to *Abu Becr*. However, the contest, which happened after the prophet's death, clearly proves that these words of his had no influence in the election of his successor; but that *Abu Becr's* good fortune was chiefly, if not solely, owing to *Omar's* resignation. Notwithstanding which, the last person shewed afterwards an apparent dislike of his former conduct, when he prayed, "that GOD would avert the ill consequences which, it was to be feared, would attend so indiscreet a choice;" adding withal, "that such behaviour would for the future merit capital punishment;" and "that both the person elected and the electors hereafter ought to be put to death, unless the consent of all the *Moslems* render'd valid their election." Nor was *Ali Ebn Abu Taleb*, who, by hereditary right, ought to have succeeded the prophet, at all pleased with what had been done. He expostulated with *Abu Becr* about the manner of his elevation to the *Khalifat*, which was effected without his knowledge; and received for answer, by way of apology, from the new *Khalif*, that the exigency of affairs would not admit of deliberation; and that had the election not been so sudden, the power would have been wrested out of their hands by the opposite party. *Ali* was in *Fatiema's* apartment, when *Abu Becr* had the good fortune to be nominated *Khalif*; where, upon the arrival of the news, he expressed great dissatisfaction at that event. But he found himself obliged to change his note, when the new *Khalif* sent *Omar* with orders to burn the house where he and his friends were assembled, unless he concurred with the other *Moslems* to support the election. However, the better to conciliate his affections, *Abu Becr* seemed desirous of resigning the government, to which *Ali* thought the right of succession belonging to him authorized him to aspire. But perceiving that the people in general were prejudiced in favour of *Abu Becr*, and that therefore, by opposing him in any shape,

p. 15, 16. edit. Tho. Erpen. Lugd. Batavor. 1625. GRÆG. ABU' L-FARAJ, hist. dynastiar. dyn. ix. p. 172. edit. Potock. Oxon. 1863. EUTYCH. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 251. edit. Pocock. Oxon. 1656.

he

he should expose himself to their resentment, *Ali* declared that they would not accept of his resignation. Notwithstanding which, some relate, that he looked upon himself as injured, and did not absolutely come in till after the death of his wife *Fâtema*, who survived her father *Mohammed* but a very few months. It is intimated by *Eutychius*, or *Said Ebn Batrik*, that *Othmân Ebn Affân*, as well as *Omar Ebn Al Kbaitâb*, greatly contributed to *Abu Becr's* election ^d.

By *Ali's* acquiescence in the measures that had been taken, *Many of Abu Becr* seemed to be thoroughly settled in the government ^{the Mos-} of *Arabia*; tho' many of the *Moslems* were still of opinion, ^{lems sa-} that *Ali* ought to be deemed the lawful *Khalif* and *Imâm*. ^{vour Ali's} Which notion has been entertained by a very considerable part ^{Preten-} of the *Mohammedans* even to this day. Nor are there at pre-^{sions.} sent wanting a numerous body of them, who maintain, that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to *Ali's* descendents, notwithstanding they may be deprived of it by the injustice of others, or their own fear. These, however, are called *Shiites*, or *Sectaries*, and looked upon by the *Sunnites*, or *Traditionists*, who consider the *Khalifs* preceding *Ali* as the lawful successors of *Mohammed*, as the worst and most detestable heretics; from whence proceeds that invincible aversion, which has so long reigned between the *Turks* and the *Persians*. Our readers will observe here once for all, that the *Khalifs* did not only succeed *Mohammed* in his regal character, but likewise in his pontifical authority; so that they governed the *Arabs* as the *Maccabean* princes, who were kings and chief priests at the same time, did the *Jews*. Their pontifical authority chiefly consisted in interpreting the *Mohammedan* law, as well as praying and preaching in the public mosques, which on all solemn occasions they used to do. And, indeed, at last this was all the authority they had left them; being stript of all the rest by the governors of provinces, who set up for themselves, as will hereafter more fully appear. The followers of *Ali* teach, that the office of *Imâm* is not a common thing, depending on the will of the vulgar, so that they may set up whom they please; but a fundamental affair of religion, and an article which the prophet himself could not have neglected, or left to the fancy of the common people. Which tenet seems to be levelled at the conduct of the *Moslems*, in their election of *Abu Becr* and the two succeeding *Khalifs*. But, though *Ali*

^d AL BOKHAR. in Son. ex trad. Ayetha, AL JANNAB. p. 291. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED EBN ABDI RABBIHI, MS. Arab. HUNTINGT. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 554. AL MAKIN, hist. Saracen. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup.

was *Mohammed's* cousin-german, and married his daughter *Fâtema*, yet the prophet seems to have had a superior respect for *Abu Becr*, who was his father-in-law, as having been of the most signal service to him. For he did not only most strenuously support him, when he first assumed the prophetic character, but also resolutely asserted the truth of *Mohammed's* account of his night-journey to heaven; from whence he received the honourable surname of *Al Seddik*, or the faithful witness, as has been already observed. Once as the prophet saw him approaching, he said to those about him: *If any one is pleased with viewing a person who has escaped bell-fire, let him look upon Abu Becr. GOD, whose name be blessed, has given man his choice of this world, or that which is with him; and this servant (meaning Abu Becr) hath chosen that which is with GOD.* Such marks of esteem as these could not fail of endearing him to the *Moslems*, and consequently of facilitating his promotion to the *Khalifat*. We must not omit remarking, that when *Ali* acknowledged *Abu Becr* the rightful successor of *Mohammed*, he secured to him the affection of the whole family of *Hâshem* *.

Rebellion
extin-
guished by
Khâled
Ebn Al
Walid.

SOON after *Abu Becr's* accession, many of the *Arabs* refused to pay the *zacât*, or alms, and tribute, *Mohammed* had exacted of his followers, and attempted to shake off the yoke he had imposed upon them. This so alarmed the *Khalif* and his subjects at *Medina*, that, fearing a general revolt, they sent all not able to bear arms to the cavities of the rocks and mountains, and put themselves in as good a posture of defence as the little time allowed them to do this in would permit. In the mean time, *Abu Becr* sent *Khâled Ebn Al Walid* with an army of 4,500 men, to reduce the rebels; who, soon coming up with them, gave them a total defeat, brought off a vast quantity of plunder, and made many of their children slaves. Nor was he content with this. For, being dispatched by *Abu Becr* to *Mâlec Ebn Noweirab*, an eminent person amongst the *Arabs*, famous for his skill in poetry, as well as his horsemanship and bravery, who refused to pay the *zacât*, to bring him over by fair means, he ordered *Derâr Ebn Al Azwar*, who attended him, to strike off his head; which, as he was the chief of the revolters, intirely extinguished all remains of the rebellion, and fixed *Abu Becr* upon the throne. However, as *Mâlec* returned to *Islamism*, offered to pay the money required of him, and was strongly interceded for by *Abd'allah Ebn Amer* and *Kobâdah*; the *Khalif* was not a little displeased at *Khâled's* barba-

* AL SHAHRESTAN. p. 261. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 68. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. lib. iii. c. 1. ABU'L-FARAJ, ABU HOSSEIN. AL JANNABI. IERAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DOKMAK, MS. Arab. LAUD, in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon, 806. 11.

city, and would have put him to death, as he had exceeded the limits of his commission, had not Omar greatly exerted himself in his favour. As for *Khâled*, he was undoubtedly an excellent general, extremely kind to his soldiers, and a zealous *Mohammedan*: but then it must likewise be allowed, that he was a most bitter enemy to the *Christians*, and to those *Moslems* who apostatized; always, when in his power, exercising great cruelties upon them. However, by his conduct and bravery, he conquered Syria, and greatly contributed to the establishment of the *Mohammedan* religion and polity. We are assured by *Eutychius*, that, in the first year of *Abu Becr*, *Yazdegerd*, or *Yezdegerd*, the last king of *Persia*, began to reign^f.

It may not be improper here to acquaint our readers, that Many of in the latter days of *Mohammed*, and after his death, considerable numbers of the *Arabs* quitted his religion, and renounced turned to *Paganism*, *Judaism*, or *Christianity*. *Beidawi* *Mohammedism* reckons them up in the following order. 1. Three companies of the *Banu Modlaj*, seduced by *Dhu'lbamâr Al Aswad Al Ansi*, who set up for a prophet in *Yaman*, and grew very powerful there. 2. The *Banu Haneifa*, who followed the famous false prophet *Moseilama*. 3. The *Banu Asad*, who acknowledged *Toleiba Ebn Khawailed*, another pretender to divine revelation, for their prophet. All these fell off in *Mohammed*'s life-time. 4. Certain of the tribe of *Fezârah*, headed by *Oyeyma Ebn Husein*. 5. Some of the tribe of *Ghatfân*, whose leader was *Korrah Ebn Salma*. 6. The *Banu Soleim*, who followed *Al Fajâah Ebn Abd Yalîl*. The *Banu Yarbu*, whose captain was *Mâlec Ebn Noweirah Ebn Kais*. 8. Part of the tribe of *Tamim*, the proselytes of *Sejâj*, the daughter of *Al Mondar*, who gave herself out for a prophetess. 9. The tribe of *Kendah*, led by *Al Asbath Ebn Kais*. 10. The *Banu Becr Ebn Al Wayel*, in the province of *Babrein*, headed by *Al Hotam Ebn Zeid*. The six last of which apostatized in the *Khalifat* of *Abu Becr*. 11. Some of the tribe of *Ghatfân*, who, with their prince *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayhum*, renounced *Mohammedism* in the time of *Omar*, and returned to their former profession of *Christianity*. To which we may add, 12. *Osud Al Abbasi*, who likewise aspired to the dignity of a prophet, in the reign of *Abu Becr*. Nay, we are told by *Abulfeda*, that, immediately after the death of *Mohammed*, the whole body of the *Moslems*, except the cities of *Medina*, *Mecca*, and *Al Tâyes*, renounced the *Mohammedan* faith;

^f GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 173. AL MAKIN, hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. ii. p. 16, 17. ISM. ABULFED. hist. gen. EUTYCH. annal. Alexandrin. tom. ii. p. 256.

whose defection, the commentators pretend, was foretold by the *Korân*, long before it came to pass. They likewise affirm, that, in conformity to the latter part of the same prediction, the loss of so many renegades was supplied by a considerable, if not equal, number of new converts. Some will have the latter to have been the inhabitants of *Yaman*, and others the *Persians*; the authority of *Mohammed* himself being vouched for both opinions. Others, however, suppose them to have been 2,000 of the tribe of *Al Nakha*, who dwell in *Yaman*, 5,000 of those of *Kenda* and *Bajilah*, and 3,000 of unknown descent, who were present at the famous battle of *Kadesia*, fought in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*, which put an end to the *Persian* empire. The followers of the impostor *Moseilama* now growing formidable to the *Moslems*, the *Khalif* resolved to send an army against him *.

Moseilama was vanquished and killed by Khâled Ebn Al Walid.

Moseilama, as has been already observed, was of the tribe of *Moneisa*, who inhabited the province of *Yamama*, and a principal man amongst them. He headed an embassy sent by his tribe to *Mohammed*, in the ninth year of the *Hegira*, and professed himself a *Moslem*; but, on his return home, being desirous of sharing with *Mohammed* in his power, the next year he set up for a prophet also, pretending to be joined with him in the commission, to recall mankind from idolatry to the worship of the true God. Some, however, pretend, that he might have been a partner with *Mohammed* in his imposture; but that considering himself as superior to him, he renounced all manner of correspondence with him. Be that as it will, he is said to have published written revelations, in imitation of the *Korân*, of which *Abu'l-Faraj* has preserved the following passage, viz. *Now hath God been gracious unto her that was with child, and hath brought forth from her the soul, which runneth between the peritonæum and the bowels.* Whatever might have been his former sentiments, considering afterwards that he might run less risque by acting in conjunction with *Mohammed*, he sent him a letter, offering to go halves with him, in these words: *From Moseilama, the apostle of God, to Mohammed, the apostle of God. Now let the earth be half mine, and half thine.* But *Mohammed*, thinking himself too well established to need a partner, wrote him this answer: *From Mohammed, the apostle of God, to Moseilama, the liar. The earth is God's: He giveth the same for inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth; and the happy issue shall attend those who fear him.* During

* *AL-BRIDAWI*, *ABULFED.* ubi sup. & de vit. *Moham.* p. 138. *AL KOR. MOHAM.* f. v. *D'HERBEL.* bibl. Orient. p. 226. *POCOCK.* not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 77. *AL MAKIN & ABU'L-FARAJ*, ubi sup.

the few months which *Mohammed* lived after this revolt, *Mosfeilama* rather gained than lost ground, and grew very formidable; but *Abu Becr*, his successor, now in the eleventh year of the *Hejra*, resolved to reduce him. He, therefore, first sent *Akramah* and *Serjabil*, two of his experienced commanders, with a body of troops to *Yamama*, with orders to destroy him; and afterwards that consummate general *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, with a powerful army to support them. After the junction of these forces, the *Moslem* army amounted to 40,000 effective men; with which *Khâled* engaged *Mosfeilama* at *Akreba* in a bloody battle, but was at first repulsed with the loss of 1,200 men. However, rallying his troops, he renewed the fight with so much vigour, that the rebels were dispersed, leaving 10,000 of their men dead upon the spot. The impostor himself was slain by *Wahsha*, the negro slave, with the same lance that had before dispatched *Hamza*, the uncle of *Mohammed*. In fine, the victory was so complete, that the apostates, who survived this action, never afterwards gave *Abu Becr* the least trouble, but returned of their own accord to *Mohammedism*.

AFTER this decisive action, the *Khalif* sent a considerable *Al Ola* army under the command of *Al Ola*, to reduce another body of rebels, who committed great disorders in the province of *Bahrein*. This body was formed out of the *Banu Berr Ebn* ^{body of} *Al Wajel*, and headed by *Al Hotam Ebn Zaid*. *Al Ola* soon ^{rebels.} obliged them to submit to *Abu Becr*, and return to the *Mohammedan* religion; having put great numbers of them to the sword, and plundered their country in a dreadful manner. In fine, he executed the *Khalif's* orders with uncommon bravery, and then returned to *Medina* with the immense spoils acquired in the expedition.

THE next impostor, who found employment for *Abu Becr's* *Khâled* troops, was *Toleiah Ebn Khowâiled*, of the tribe of *Asad*, which ^{defeats an-} adhered to him, together with part of the tribes of *Ghatsfan* ^{another} and *Tay*. Against these the *Khalif* ordered *Khâled* to advance ^{rebel call-} at the head of a strong detachment of the *Moslem* forces. *Khâled* coming up with the enemy, engaged them, put them ^{ed To-} to flight, and obliged *Toleiah*, with his scatter'd troops, to retire into *Syria*, where he remained at a town called *Arleb* till the death of *Abu Becr*. Then he went to *Omar*, embraced *Mohammedism* in his presence, and having taken the oath of

^b ISM. ABULFED. in hist. general. & de vit. Moham. p. 159, 160. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 16, 17. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 164, 173, &c. AL BEIDAWI, in Kor. f. v. AL TABAR. apud Al Makin, ubi sup. Vide etiam GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. de vit. Moham. p. 159, 160.

^c AL BEIDAWI, in Kor. f. v. CCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 17.

fidelity to him, returned to his own country and people. *Al Makin* seems to intimate, that, about this time, the *Abfite*, or rather *Anfite*, and *Dibanian* rebels were also overthrown with great slaughter by *Abu Becr* *.

Sejāj sets up for a prophetess. In the eleventh year of the *Hejra*, and the first of *Abu Becr*, *Sejāj Bint Al Mondar*, surnamed *Omm Sâder*, of the tribe of *Tamim*, and the wife of *Abu Qahdala*, a soothsayer of *Yamâma*, likewise set up for a prophetess, in opposition to the *Khalif*. She was followed not only by those of her own tribe, but by several others. Thinking a prophet the most proper husband for her, she went to *Moseilama*, and married him; but after she had staid with him three days, she left him, and returned home. What became of her afterwards we do not find. *Ebn Shohmah* has given us part of the conversation which passed at the interview between those two pretenders to inspiration; but the same is a little too immodest to be translated. 'Tis probable, that, after the death of *Moseilama*, she was either cut off by the *Khalif*, or ceased to disturb the repose of his subjects by her delusions †.

Osfama Ebn Zeid invades Syria. *ABU BECR* having now no enemy to contend with in *Ara-bia*, and being free from all apprehensions of a competitor, resolved next to turn his arms against the *Greek* emperor. He, therefore, ordered *Osfama Ebn Zeid*, who was upon the point of making an irruption into *Syria* at the time of *Mohammed's* decease, in order to revenge his father's death, who was killed in the battle of *Mûta*, to destroy with fire and sword the country on the confines of *Balka* and *Al Darûm*. This enterprize *Osfama* conducted with great success, advanced as far as *Obna*, killed the person who had slain his father *Zeid*, and laid waste the neighbouring territory. Nay, we are told by an *Arab* writer, that this invasion struck the emperor *Heraclius* himself, who was then at *Hems*, or *Emesa*, with terror, and even obliged him to leave *Syria*. But this, for several reasons, we are not inclined to believe strictly true. However, the *Arabs* did undoubtedly penetrate into the imperial territories on the side of *Syria*; and, after having done the *Greeks* considerable damage there, retired, without sustaining any remarkable loss, into their own dominions ‡.

Khâled conquers Irak. SOON after, the *Khalif* sent *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, at the head of a powerful army, to invade *Irak*, and put an end to the kingdom of *Hira*. The province of *Irak*, answering to the *Babylonia* of *Ptolemy*, is bounded on the east by *Susiana*, or *Khûzestân*, and the mountainous region comprehending part

* *AL MAKIN*, & *AL BEIDAWI*, ubi sup.

† *AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 16.

‡ *AL JANNAB*, *AL NAI-SABUR*. Vide etiam *GAGN.* not. ad *Abulfed.* ubi sup. p. 134.

of *Affyria*, *Media*, &c. on the north by part of *Mesopotamia*, or *Diyar Beer*, &c. on the west, by the deserts of *Shâm*, or *Syria*, and the solitudes from it denominated the deserts of *Irâk*, &c. and on the south by the last deserts, and part of *Arabia Deserta*, or the province of *Nejd*. We are told by *Khondemir*, that *Khâled* was sent at this time by the *Khalif* with a body of troops to sustain *Mothanna*, another of his generals, who had been detached before to penetrate into *Irâk*; and that, after the reduction of that province, the last officer was left to preside there. *Khâled*'s usual success attended him in this expedition. He obliged the people of *Irâk*, as well as the inhabitants of the towns and villages of *Sawada*, to pay tribute to *Abu Beer*; which, according to *Al Makin*, was the first tribute-money ever brought to *Medina*. He possessed himself of *Anbâr*, *Dawmat Al Fandal*, and several other places of note, which surrendered at the first summons. He took the city of *Hira*, and fought many battles, wherein fortune always declared in his favour. In fine, he put a period to the kingdom of *Hira*, which had been founded by *Mâlec*, of the descendents of *Cablân*, in *Irâk*; tho', after three descents, the throne came by marriage to the *Lakhmians*, called also the *Mondars* (the general name of those princes, as has been already observed), who preserved their dominion, notwithstanding some small interruption by the *Persians*, till this time, when *Al Mondar Al Maghrûr*, the last of them, lost his life and crown by the arms of *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, *Abu Beer*'s general; who likewise carried away his son *Judi*, and a great number of his subjects, captives with him. Several thousands of them were also slain. The kingdom of *Hira* lasted 622 years eight months. The sum exacted, by way of tribute, of the province of *Irâk*, on this occasion, if *Eutychius* may be credited, amounted to 70,000 pieces of money. As the *Mondars* were under the protection of the kings of *Persia*; whose lieutenants they were over the *Arabs* of *Irâk*, as the kings of *Ghassân* were for the *Roman* emperors over those of *Syria*, this invasion of the *Moslems* was understood as undertaken against the *Persians*. *Hira* stands at a small distance from a branch of the *Euphrates*, and about a parasang to the west of *Cûfa*. We must beg leave to inform our readers, that *Mr. Ockley* is guilty of a mistake, when he asserts *Hira* to have been the imperial seat of *Al Saffah*; since *Anbâr*, on the northern bank of the *Euphrates*, and not far from its confluence with the *Tigris*, in the district of *Baghdâd*, was the residence of that prince. He was the first *Khalif* of the house of *Abbâs*. *Mr. Ockley*'s inattention to *Golius* seems to have occasioned this mistake.

† *Al MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 17. *GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ*, ubi sup. GOLII

The Khalif sends an army into Syria.

BUT the exigency of the Khalif's affairs in Syria put a stop to the rapid progress of Khâled, and obliged him to recall that general out of Irâk. Before the departure of the army under his command, Abu Becr came to a resolution to attempt an invasion of Syria; and having communicated his design to the principal officers of his court, he had the satisfaction to find that they all intirely approved of it. He, therefore, thought fit to send circular letters to the petty princes of Yaman, the chief men of Mecca, Al Tayef, and the other Moslem prefects of Arabia, ordering them to repair with all the forces they could raise as soon as possible to Medina. The purport of the letter was to this effect: *That Abd'allah Atik Ebn Abu Kohâfa wished health, happiness, and the divine mercy and benediction, to them and all true believers; that, after praising the most high GOD, and praying for his prophet Mohammed, he signified to them his intention of taking Syria out of the hands of the infidels; and that he begged leave to inform them, that a war undertaken for the propagation of the true religion was an act of obedience to GOD.* Nor were they deficient in paying a proper regard to the Khalif's commands, all of them appearing at the head of their troops in a very short time at Medina, and pitching their tents round the city. Here they staid, tho' with some little uneasiness, on account of the scarcity of provisions, till the Moslem army, destined to act against the emperor, was completely formed, and in a capacity to begin its march. Then the Khalif, with some of his friends, viewed the troops drawn up in order of battle from the top of a hill; and, after praying to GOD to inspire them with courage, and grant them success, he attended the generals a little way on foot. As they were on horseback, they could not forbear expressing some concern at the Khalif's thus demeaning himself; but he told them, *that it signified little whether they walked on foot or rode, as they all had the same views, viz. the service of GOD, and the propagation of the true religion.* Having then taken leave of them, he addressed himself to Yezid Ebn Abu Sofîân, whom he had invested with the supreme command, in the following terms. *Take care, Yezid Ebn Abu Sofîân, to treat your men with tenderness and lenity. Consult with your officers upon all pressing occasions, and encourage them to face the enemy with bravery and resolution. If you should happen to be victorious, destroy neither old people, women, nor children. Cut down no palm-*

GOLII note ad Alfraganum, p. 118, 119. KHONDEVIR, in Khe-lassa Al Akh. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 66, 74. PROCOF. in Pers. apud Photium, p. 71, &c. EUTYCH. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 256, 257. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 123, 124. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 30.

trees,

trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Spare all fruit-trees, and slay no cattle, but such as you shall take for your own use. Adhere always inviolably to your engagements, and put none of the religious persons you shall meet with in monasteries to the sword. Offer no violence to the places they serve God in. As for those members of the synagogue of Satan, who shave their crowns, cleave their skulls, and give them no quarter, except they either embrace Islamism, or pay tribute. After this salutary and humane advice had been delivered, he returned to Medina, and the army resumed its march for the borders of Syria. We are told by Abu'l-Faraj, that the first body of troops that was ordered to advance towards the frontiers of Syria, under the command of Abu Obeidah Ebn Al Jerah, consisted of 20,000 men °.

THE approach of the Moslem army, and the preparations made to attack him, greatly alarmed the emperor; who calling a council, upon the arrival of this news, inveighed in a very pathetic strain against the wickedness and infincerity of his subjects, whose flagrant impieties, and repeated violations of the rules of the gospel, he considered as the principal causes of the dangers that now threaten'd him. However, he took all the necessary precautions for the defence and security of his dominions. Being then, according to Eutychius, at Damascus, he detached a body of troops to reconnoitre, and even, if a proper opportunity offered, to engage the Arabs. In the mean time Yazid Ebn Abu Sofian, the Moslem general, pursuing his march, advanced first to Ilab, and afterwards to Tudun, a small town in the neighbourhood of Gaza, and not far from the confines of Hejaz. Here they seem to have met with the imperial detachment, sent to get intelligence of their motions; upon which a battle immediately ensued, which ended in the defeat of the Greeks, who had their commander and 1,200 men killed upon the spot, the Arabs losing only 120 men in the action. This was succeeded by many skirmishes and encounters, wherein the Christians generally came off with the worst. The rich spoil acquired by the Arabs was conducted to Medina, as the first-fruits of their expedition, for a present to the Khalif, who thereupon sent an express to Mecca with the news of the advantages his troops had gained. This so animated the inhabitants of that city, that they furnished the Khalif with a strong reinforcement, which was immediately ordered to take the rout of Syria. In the mean time an accident happened, that might have proved of bad consequence to the Moslems, had they not been determined to make every

° AL WAKED. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 174. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 258, 259. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

thing, even ill usage itself, subservient to the propagation of their religion ^p.

*The zeal
of the
Moslems
for the
propaga-
tion of
their reli-
gion.*

ABU BECK, for some particular reasons best known to himself, appointed *Said Ebn Khâled*, an officer of distinguished merit, to command his forces in *Syria*. But understanding afterwards that this choice was disagreeable to *Omar*, by the advice of *Ayesha*, whom he consulted on all emergent occasions, he removed him from that post, and substituted *Amru Ebn Al As*, an excellent soldier, who afterwards conquered *Egypt*, in his room. *Amru* had before applied to *Omar* to procure him the post, as soon as he was informed of its being vacant, and that in a very instant and pressing manner. But *Omar* being unwilling to concern himself in the affair, advised him *not to be solicitous for superiority and dominion in this world, but to consider that he who was not a prince to-day would be one to-morrow*, meaning in a future state. However, the *Khalif*, without any application, being perfectly well acquainted with his abilities, made him general of his army, and, at the same time, exhorted him "to have the salvation of his soul always principally in view; to consider that he must be called to a strict account hereafter for all his actions; not to be inquisitive about other people's affairs; to oblige his men frequently to read the *Korân*; and not to suffer them to discourse of any thing that happened in the times of ignorance, or before the introduction of *Islamism*, as this might probably be the occasion of dissensions amongst them." Then he ordered him to march into *Palästine*, and to support the body of troops commanded by *Abu Obeidah* with such reinforcements, from time to time, as the circumstances of affairs should render necessary. When a messenger was sent by the *Khalif* to *Said*, to demand the standard of him, he resigned it with great patience and alacrity, saying, "It was matter of indifference to him who had the standard, as he was resolved to fight under it, however it might be disposed of, for the propagation of the true religion." So determined were these men, whom God had raised up to be a scourge to the *Christian* church, for the crying iniquities, insincerity, and uncharitable disposition, of its members, to carry their point, that even such gross affronts as these, which would have excited resentment in others, served only the more to animate and confirm them in their resolutions ^q!

The emperor's troops THE emperor receiving advice of the defeat of his forces, that were sent to get intelligence of the *Arabs*, ordered an-

^p AL WAKEDI, EUTYCH. *Alexandrin. annal.* ubi supra.

^q AL WAKEDI, ubi sup.

other body of troops to advance towards the frontiers, and ^{and rout a body} join the imperial army assembled at *Gaza*. They did not ^{of the} continue long inactive here; but soon found an opportunity ^{Arabs.} of engaging the enemy's forces under the command of *Abu Obeidah*, a person of great piety, but not so well versed in military affairs, and gave him an intire defeat. This blow so intimidated the *Moslems*, that *Abu Obeidah* found himself obliged to stand upon the defensive; which so incensed the *Khalif*, that he dismissed him from his post, and recalled *Khâled Ebn Al Walid* from *Irâk*, to put him at the head of the army in *Palestine*. However, *Abu Obeidah* commanded under *Khâled*, and gained good reputation afterwards by his conduct, as will farther appear in the sequel of this history.

KHALED, upon his arrival in the *Moslem* camp, found that ^{The Mos-} *Abu Obeidah* had detached *Serjabil* with a body of 4,000 horse ^{lems ad-} towards *Bostra*, a city of *Syria*. *Damascena*, extremely rich ^{vance to} and populous, which we have already described. The garison ^{Bostra,} of this place, at that time, consisted of 12,000 horse; so that ^{and repulse} it seemed capable of making a brave defence even against the whole *Arab* power. *Romanus*, the governor, being informed of *Serjabil's* approach, resolved to have a personal conference with him; and therefore meeting him at a small distance from the town, he demanded of him the reason of this irruption into his master's dominions. *Serjabil* replied, that they came with a design to force the emperor's subjects either to turn *Mohammedans*, or become tributaries to the *Khalif*; adding, that they had already made themselves masters of *Araica*, *Sachna*, *Tadmor*, and *Hawran*, and doubted not but they should easily reduce *Bostra*. This so intimidated the cowardly governor, that he would have persuaded the people of *Bostra* to pay tribute, rather than stand a siege; which they refusing, he made all the proper dispositions for a vigorous defence. And to convince *Serjabil* of their resolution, the garison made a sally upon his troops, as soon as he came within sight of the town, with so much bravery, that they forced him to retire; and had cut all the *Arabs* to pieces, had not *Khâled*, the new general, come in the critical moment with all his forces to their relief. This changed the fortune of the day, and the assailants were beat back with great slaughter into the town. We are told, that, before the beginning of the action, *Serjabil* said the following prayer: *O Eternal Being, Creator of heaven and earth, who art infinitely great and munificent, who hast promised us victory by the tongue of thy prophet Mohammed, and even the conquest of Syria, Irâk, and Persia, confirm our hopes, and assist*

* EUTYCH. ubi supra, p. 258, 259. AL WAKEDI, ubi supra. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 174.

those who assert thy unity. O GOD, support us as thou didst thy prophet Mohammed. O LORD, endue us with patience, keep our feet sure, and help us against the infidels. Hence it appears, that the *Arab* generals at this time were gifted men, and could pray as well as fight, tho' they were engaged in a very unjust and iniquitous war; in which they have been followed by other more hypocritical fanatics, in a politer country, of a much later date. *Khâled* having reprimanded both *Serjabil* and *Abu Obeidab* for offering to attack a town defended by so numerous a garison with such an inconsiderable force, immediately invested the place. The following day, after he and his troops had performed their morning devotions, some of the soldiers purified themselves with the sacred ablution, and others with the *Al Taïamom*, or friction of themselves with sand. Then he ordered part of his army to possess themselves of certain posts, the occupation of which would facilitate the reduction of the town, and drew up the rest in order of battle. This he did, in order to let the enemy see what they had to expect, and at the same time to be in a posture to repel all the sallies of the besieged.

The Christians defeated by the Arabs.

WHILST matters were in this situation, and the garison had posted themselves in the plains of *Bostra*, with a full resolution to engage the *Moslem* army, the traitor *Romanus* found means to have an interview with *Khâled*, in which he promised not only to embrace *Islamism*, but likewise to deliver up the place to the *Arabs*. However, in order to cover his villainous design, it was agreed between the two commanders, that they should engage in single combat, tho' without any considerable damage to either of them. But *Khâled* fearing lest the enemy should look upon it as a sham engagement, and thereby the plot laid between him and *Romanus* should be rendered abortive, treated his pretended antagonist so roughly, that he very narrowly escaped being killed. After his return, therefore, to the garison, he endeavoured to inspire them with the most exalted sentiments of the enemy's power, as well as of *Khâled*'s personal bravery and conduct; which so enraged them, that had they not been afraid of the emperor's resentment, they would have immediately put him to death. However, they divested him of his authority, and prepared to give the *Arabs* a warm reception, in case they continued the siege. They also elected for their governor an experienced commander, that the emperor had sent some time before at the head of a strong reinforcement into the town. Having made

* AL WAKEDI, ubi sup. ABULFED. in geogr. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. iii. v. 141. & f. v. v. 7. ABULFED. de vit. Moham. p. 83, 84. Vide etiam GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ibid.

these dispositions, the new commandant challenged *Khâled* to fight him in single combat; but whilst that general was preparing to meet him, a young *Arab*, named *Abd'alrahmân*, obtained his permission to answer the challenge. At their first interview, *Abd'alrahmân* called him a *Christian dog*, and defied him; and afterwards, using his horse and lance, with great dexterity, he forced his antagonist to take to his heels, who, being better mounted than the *Arab*, tho' with some difficulty, made his escape. However, this brought on a very brisk action, in which the *Christians* were defeated, and forced to retire with great slaughter into the town; the *Moslems* losing only 230 men on this occasion. Before the beginning of the action, *Khâled* and *Serjabil* offered up their prayers in the following terms: "O GOD, help us, we beseech thee, against these wretches, who pray with idolatrous expressions, and take to themselves another GOD besides thee. Help us, O GOD, who acknowledge thy unity, and affirm that there is no other GOD but thou alone, for the sake of thy prophet *Mohammed*, against these idolaters." After which, *Khâled* cried out, "Fight, fight! Paradise, paradise!" which so animated his men that they fought like lions, insomuch that nothing could stand before them.

In the mean time, *Romanus*, the former governor, found Bosra ^{delivered up} an opportunity of withdrawing himself privately to the *Moslem* camp; where he informed *Khâled* of the miserable situation to which he had been reduced by his attachment to the *Arabs*. Here also he formed a plan, for the delivery of the town into his hands; which had the desired effect. For *Khâled* detaching *Abd'alrahmân* with 100 men to attend *Romanus*, he easily introduced him into the place; where the *Arab* dividing his detachment into four parties of 25 men each, they scoured the four principal streets of the city, crying out, ALLAH ACBAR, &c. GOD IS GREAT, &c. and, with very little opposition, opened the gates to the *Moslem* army. To complete this important conquest, and facilitate the admission of the *Moslem* forces, *Romanus* had conducted *Abd'alrahmân* to the governor, whom he told that he had brought "his friend *Abd'alrahmân* with him to send him to hell." Upon the governor's attempting to make his escape, *Abd'alrahmân* killed him upon the spot, saying, "Tho' you fled from me once in the day-time, it shall not be in your power to serve me so again." After the place was lost, the *Arabs* put many of the miserable inhabitants to the sword; till at last the principal men crying out for quarter, *Khâled* put a stop to the carnage, declaring that the prophet himself used

* AL WAKEDI, ubi sup.

frequently to say, "If any one be killed after he has desired "quarter, that fault is not to be laid to my charge." The next day, *Romanus*, with unparalleled impudence, notified to the people the infamous part he had acted in favour of the *Arabs*; and at the same time gave them to understand, that he had commenced a zealous professor of *Mohammedism*. This so incensed them, that, had he not been defended by a *Moslem* escorte, he would have met with the just reward of his treason and apostasy. The besieged had an intention, after the late defeat, to have wrote for succours to the emperor, whose forces, according to *Said Ebn Al Batrik*, were a little before assembled in a body at *Gaza*. But the progress of the *Arabs* was so rapid, and they pushed the siege with so much vigour, that, had the traitor *Romanus's* machinations not taken effect, that prince's whole power in *Syria* would scarce have been able to support them".

The imperial troops WE are told by the last-mentioned writer, that the emperor's forces fortified their camp at *Gaza*, out of fear, as it should seem, of the *Moslem* army; and that *Patricius*, the imperial general, soon after *Khaled's* arrival from *Irak*, inquiring of *Amru Ebn Al As*, one of *Abu Becr's* commanders; the reason of their irruption into *Syria*, received the same answer from him that *Romanus* had before from *Serjabil*, viz. that they came either to convert the emperor's subjects to *Islamism*, or to exact an annual tribute of them. We must not forget to observe, that the reduction of *Bosra* happened in the twelfth year of the *Hejra* w.

The emperor Heraclius reinforces the garison of Damascus. THE emperor, who was then at *Antioch*, receiving advice of the loss of *Bosra*, and that the *Arabs* were in motion with all their forces to form the siege of *Damascus*, sent *Calous*, one of his generals, with a body of 5,000 men, to reinforce the garison of the latter of those places. *Calous*, upon his arrival at *Hems*, pr *Emesa*, being informed of the depredations committed by the *Arabs*, and that they were in full march for *Damascus*, thought fit to halt at that place, which was well furnished not only with provisions of all kinds, but likewise with men, arms, and military stores. *Hems*, the *Emesa* or *Emessa*; of *Ptolemy*, is situated in a plain between *Aleppo* and *Damascus*, at an equal distance, or five days journey, from each of those cities. The inhabitants breathe a very salubrious air, and the town is surrounded by beautiful gardens and fruitful orchards, which are plentifully supplied with water by a branch of the *Orontes*, called by the *Arabian* geographers *Alâsi*, whose stream approaches within half a mile of the town.

" Idem ibid. SAID EBN AL BATRIK, five EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 258, 259. w EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 260, 261.

Abulfeda relates, that the water of this rivulet is of such a nature, that if a garment be washed by it, neither scorpion, serpent, nor any other venomous creature, will come near it, till it has been soaked in some other water. The same author, from *Ebn Hawkal*, likewise observes, that its inhabitants have the finest complexions, and are the most beautiful, of any people in Syria; as also, that no noxious animals will live in the territory belonging to it. This historian deduces its origin from the *Amalekites*, and places it in long. 61° lat. $34^{\circ} 20'$. From thence *Calous* advanced to *Baalbec*, where he received the same intelligence as before, and found this place in all respects as capable of sustaining a siege as the former. *Baalbec* is a most splendid city of Syria, about three days journey distant from *Damascus*. It is seated on a mountain, and defended by a large and strong citadel. It abounds with trees, rivers, fountains, and all the necessaries, as well as elegancies, of life. Its buildings are most magnificent and superb, and the surprizing remains of antiquity still visible in it indicate a most noble and polite taste. The *Sabians* pretend, that it formerly belonged to them; from whence, in conjunction with other concurring circumstances, we may infer, that it was the *Heliopolis ad Libanum* of the ancients, as *Baal*, amongst the *Syrians*, denoted the sun. *William of Tyre* calls it *Malbec*, as the *Arabs* called *Becca Mecca*. The tract between *Baalbec* and *Damascus* is one of the finest countries in the world. *Abulfeda* places the former city in long. 60° lat. $38^{\circ} 50'$. From this place *Calous* marched to *Damascus*, where he safely arrived, without meeting with the least obstruction from the enemy *.

AFTER the reduction of *Bostra*, *Khâled* ordered *Abu Obeidah* to join him with the body of troops under his command, and then sent an express to the *Khalif* to acquaint him with the success of his arms in Syria. The forces at this time under the conduct of *Amru Ebn Al As* in Palestine amounted to 7,000 men, those led by *Abu Obeidah* to 37,000, and those who obeyed the orders of *Khâled* himself only to 1,500 horse; so that after the junction of them all, which happened a few days after the surrender, or rather the delivery, of *Bostra*, the Moslem army consisted of no more than 45,500 men. With these *Khâled*, having left a garison in *Bostra* of 400 men, marched to *Damascus*, in order to lay siege to that place. Upon his arrival there, he found the citizens divided into par-

* AL WAKEDI, ubi sup. PROL. geogr. lib. v. c. 15. GOLIF not. ad Alfragen. p. 127. ISM. ABULFED. in geogr. SHARIF AL EDRISI, five GEOGR. NUBIENS. p. 118. EBN HAWKAL. apud Abulfed. ubi sup. GUL. TYR. AL AZIZI, apud Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup.

ties and factions, and in a very ill humour, on account of an order they had received from the emperor, to admit *Calous* for their governor, and send *Izrail*, his predecessor, out of the town. For *Izrail* being a man of known bravery, and acknowledged abilities, and *Calous* an utter stranger to them; they were extremely unwilling to comply with that order at this critical juncture, when they were threaten'd with a siege. However, when the *Moslems* approached the town, they found the *Christians* drawn up in order of battle without the walls, and ready to receive them. The two armies no sooner faced each other than *Derâr Ebn Al Azwar*, at *Khâled*'s command, who exhorted him to behave valiantly for the propagation of his religion, charged a body of the *Christians*, of whom he killed four troopers, and six of the infantry; but was at last forced to retire with considerable loss. He was seconded by *Abd'alrahmân*, who had distinguished himself at the attack of *Bosra*; but with no better success. However, this bad beginning did not discourage *Khâled*, who challenged to fight in single combat any man in the *Christian* army. *Calous*, the new governor lately sent by the emperor, being excited thereto in a taunting manner by his predecessor *Izrail*, accepted the challenge; but was foiled by his antagonist, and taken prisoner. Nor had *Izrail*, who afterwards found himself likewise obliged to fight *Khâled*, any better success. For, after *Khâled* had rallied him on account of his name, the angel of death being called *Izrail*, or *Azaail*, by the *Arabs*, telling him that "his name's-sake was at his service, and just ready to carry his soul to hell," he vanquished him, and conveyed him to the *Moslem* camp; where he ordered the heads of both the *Christian* commanders he had in his power to be struck off, because they refused to embrace the *Mohammedan* faith. *Damascus*, pronounced by the *Arabs* *Dimesjk*, and *Dimask*, is the metropolis of *Syria*, and, by reason of the delightful country in which 'tis situated, the fertility of its territory, its beautiful trees, variety of fruits, plenty of fountains, magnificent buildings, &c. is denominated by the eastern writers the paradise of that country. It is a place of vast antiquity, and by some supposed to have derived its name from that of its founder, who, they say, was the son of *Canaan*. It is seated in a plain, surrounded on all sides by mountains, some of which seem to be the *Trachones* of *Strabo*. The inhabitants believe, that *Cain* killed his brother *Abel* in a cave here; and that in another, not far from it, forty prophets were destroyed by the *Israelites*. The air of *Damascus* is most salubrious, and the water excellent. The villages and castles about it are innumerable, and the verdure, the beauty of the flowers, and the abundance of all kinds of the most delicious fruits, of the

neigh-

neighbouring tract so infinitely delightful, that this tract may pass for the *Tempe of Asia*. It extends to about a day's journey out of the city. At the western gate there begins a valley three miles broad and twelve long, planted with various kinds of trees, that is called by the natives *the valley of violets*. Its river, the *Chrysorrhoeas* of the *Greeks*, the fountains of which are in mount *Lebanon*, or *Hermon*, at a village called *Canwa*, five parasangs from the city, is an exceeding great ornament, and of vast advantage, to the place. The *Moslems* pretend, that the four earthly paradises are the *Gouta*, or green garden, of *Damascus*; the *Shibo Bawân*, a most beautiful district in *Persia*; the *Nahar Obulla*, a charming tract, or rather island, near the confluence of the *Obulla* and the *Tigris*; and the *Soghd* of *Samarkând*. *Abulfeda* makes the longitude of *Damascus* to be 60° , and its latitude $38^{\circ} 30'$. It was a city of so great note and eminence, that all the neighbouring part of *Syria* had from it the name of *Syria Damascusena* assigned it by the ancients γ .

AFTER the inhuman butchery above-mentioned, *Khâled* The emperor commanded the heads of the two *Christian* chiefs, or rather martyrs, to be thrown over the walls into the town, in order to intimidate the besieged; but this did not produce the desired effect. For the garison made frequent sallies upon the besiegers, and killed them abundance of men; tho' in these they were generally repulsed, and at last obliged, for the preservation of their men, whose numbers were greatly diminished since the beginning of the siege, to confine themselves within the walls of the town. This so animated the *Arabs*, who were before acted by an enthusiastic spirit, which rendered them insensible of danger, that they redoubled their attacks; *Khâled* having pitched his tent opposite to the east-gate, as *Abu Obeidah* had done his before that called the gate of *Al Jâbiyah*, that they might the more easily sustain each other in case either of them should be pushed. *Al Makin* seems to intimate, that about this time *Khâled Ebn Said* gained a considerable advantage over a body of the enemy, commanded by one of the imperial captains called *Mahan*, and pursued them to the gates of *Damascus*; which probably is to be understood of a party of the garison, that made a sally, and was repulsed by the *Arabs*. The city being thus straitly besieged, an express was dispatched to the emperor; who eluded the vigilance of the enemy, to inform him of the progress made by the *Arabs*, and to desire speedy succours. This so alarmed that prince, that he immediately gave orders for the march of the army he had then on

γ AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM. Abulfed. in geogr. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 120, 121, 128. HADR. KELLAND. in Palæst. illustrat. p. 314, 324.

foot, consisting of 100,000 men, under the conduct of one *Werdân*, who refused at first to accept of the commission, as apprehending himself slighted, because he had not been employed at the beginning of the war, to the relief of *Damascus*. However, at last he took upon him the command of the army; and, after he had taken leave of the emperor and several of the nobility, who attended him part of the way, he marched towards *Damascus* with the utmost expedition; the emperor having above all things recommended it to him, to cut off all supplies from the *Moslem* army that lay then encamped before the town ².

Notwithstanding
which, the
Arabs
carry on
the siege.

In the mean time the garison of *Damascus* was reduced to such extremity, that the citizens offered 1,000 ounces of gold, and 200 suits of silk, to the enemy, provided they would immediately raise the siege. But this *Khâled* absolutely refused to do, unless they would either embrace *Islamism*, or become tributaries to the *Khalif*. Which inflexible firmness of the *Moslem* general was really surprizing, as both he and *Abu Obeidah* had been but just before greatly alarmed by a courier, who had brought them advice, that the imperial army was advanced almost as far as *Aynadin*. Upon the arrival of this news, *Khâled* proposed marching with all his forces, and giving the enemy battle; but this was opposed by *Abu Obeidah*, as such a measure would enable the inhabitants of *Damascus* to procure fresh supplies both of arms and provisions, and consequently render more difficult the reduction of the place. In about six weeks time, the approach of the *Christian* army was sufficiently notified to the besiegers, by the acclamations and other expressions of joy they could perceive in the town; upon which, *Khâled* was again desirous of fighting the *Greeks*; but *Abu Obeidah* still persisted in his former opinion. It was, therefore, at last agreed to detach a body of troops under the command of *Derâr Ebn Al Azwâr*, an excellent officer, but a most implacable enemy of the *Christians* (as, indeed, were all the rest of the *Moslem* generals, except *Abu Obeidah*), to attack the enemy; whilst *Khâled* and *Abu Obeidah*, with the rest of the *Arab* forces, continued the siege. It is intimated by some of the oriental writers, that every gate of *Damascus* had a *Moslem* commander posted with a body of troops before it; and that these commanders were all so attentive to the motions of the besieged, that they were repulsed in every sally they made ².

Khâled *Khâled* fearing lest *Derâr's* intemperate zeal, and violent
defeats the aversion to the *Christians*, should prove prejudicial, if not fatal,

² AL WALED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. 2. p. 17. ³ AL WAKEDI; ubi sup. GOLLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 130.

to his troops, told him, before his departure in quest of the *Greeks*, *emperors* that tho' they were commanded to fight for the propagation of their religion, yet they were not allowed to throw away the lives of their men; and therefore ordered him to retire to the main body of the army, in case he found himself pushed by a superior force. But *Derâr* being deaf to this salutary admonition, with his small body engaged the whole *Christian* army, notwithstanding the vast disproportion of numbers; *Rafi Ebn Omeirah* telling his soldiers, who were struck with terror at the approach of such a multitude, that "the *Moslems* had frequently defeated very formidable armies with a handful of men." He charged the enemy with such bravery, that he penetrated to the spot where the general gave his orders, killed a man by his side, laid his standard-bearer dead at his feet, and carried off the standard itself, that had a cross in it richly adorned with precious stones. Nay, he would, in all probability, have put *Werdân's* army to the rout, had not his son, the commandant of *Hems*, arrived in the heat of the engagement with a body of 10,000 men, and fallen upon the *Moslems* with such fury, that he forced them to retire, and took *Derâr* prisoner. This so discouraged them, that they would have taken to their heels, had not *Rafi Ebn Omeirah* endeavoured to animate them with the following words. "What! don't you know, that whosoever turns his back upon his enemies offends God, and his prophet? And that the prophet declared, that the gates of paradise should be open to none but such as fought for religion? Come on! I'll go before you. If your captain be dead, or taken prisoner, yet your God is alive, and sees what you do." After which exhortation, they returned to the charge with greater fierceness than ever, and maintained their ground; notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy, till succours arrived, with unparalleled bravery. In the mean time, *Khâled* being informed of *Derâr's* fate, and that the *Moslems* under his command were upon the point of being ruined, after having consulted with *Abu Obeidah*, hastened to their relief with all possible expedition; having left *Meisarah Ebn Mesruk*, in conjunction with *Abu Obeidah*, by the direction of the latter, with a considerable body of infantry and 1,000 horse, to repel all the sallies of the besieged. The arrival of a fresh reinforcement, with so able a general as *Khâled* at the head of it, so intimidated the enemy, that a party of them lately come from *Hems* went over in a body to the *Arabs*; upon which, the imperial forces immediately began to give ground, and at last betook themselves to a precipitate flight. Nor did *Derâr* himself, tho' a captive, fail of partaking of the good fortune of this auspicious day. For *Khâ-*

led receiving intelligence, that *Werdân* had ordered him to be conducted to *Hems* by a party of 100 horse, to be presented to the emperor, he immediately sent after him a strong detachment, which coming up with him at *Wadi'l Hayât*, defeated the escorte, and carried him off in triumph to the *Moslem* army, at that time in full pursuit of the *Greeks*. However, the imperial general having rallied his shatter'd troops at *Ajnadin*, and received a reinforcement from the emperor, upon a review, found his army to consist of 70,000 effective men. With these forces, in a council of war, it was resolved to advance towards *Damascus*, and make a second attempt to force the enemy to abandon the siege. *Said Ebn Batrik*, or *Euty chius*, gives us an account of a conference held between *Amru*, whom he wrongly calls *Omar*, *Ebn Al As*, one of the *Moslem* commanders; and *Patricius*, the general who commanded the imperial troops at *Gaza*; as also of a design formed by the latter to assassinate the former, which was discovered by *Werdân*, or *Wardân*, a boy that attended *Amru* to the *Christian* camp; but it is so indistinct and confused, and withal so repugnant to what has been advanced by *Al Wakedi*, whose authority is preferable to that of *Euty chius* in the point before us, that it merits not the least attention ^b.

The garrison of Damascus was soon to be in motion, in order to relieve *Damascus*, sent a circular letter to *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân*, then at *Balka*, a territory upon the confines of *Syria*; *Serjabil Ebn Hasana*, in *vigorous Palestine*; *Meâd*, in *Harrân*; *Nooman Ebn Al Mondar*, at *Tadmor*; and *Amru Ebn Al As*, in *Irâk*; with orders to repair to *Ajnadin* at the head of their respective forces. The purpose of this letter was to the following effect. "In the name of the most merciful GOD. From *Khâled Ebn Al Walid* to *Amru Ebn Al As*, &c. health and happiness. Know that thy brethren the *Moslems* intend to advance to *Ajnadin*, where there is an army of 70,000 *Greeks*, who are upon the point of marching against us, that they may extinguish the light of GOD with their mouths; but GOD preserveth his light in spite of the infidels. As soon, therefore, as this letter of mine reacheth thee, come with those that are with thee to *Ajnadin*, where thou shalt find us, if it pleases the most high GOD." Then, in pursuance of his plan, *Khâled* raised the siege of *Damascus*, and put himself in march for *Ajnadin*, with a full resolution to offer the enemy battle. Immediately after *Khâled's* departure, the garrison of *Damascus* issued out of the place in a body, consisting of 10,000 foot and 6,000 horse, under the conduct of two officers, called *Peter*

^b AL WAKED. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 260—265.

and *Paul*, the latter of whom commanded the cavalry, and the former the infantry. *Paul* fell upon *Abu Obeidah*, and the rear of the *Moslem* army, with so much courage, that he put them into disorder; whilst *Peter* seized upon the women, children, wealth, and baggage, which all had a place assigned them in the rear. *Khâled* being apprized of this, after a short reflection upon the advice he had before given to *Abu Obeidah*, detached *Rafi Ebn Omeirah*, *Kais Ebn Hobeirah*, *Abd' al-ahmân*, and *Derâr Ebn Al Azwâr*, with a body of 8,000 horse, to sustain *Abu Obeidah*; which they did so effectually, that the *Christian* cavalry were all cut to pieces, except about 100 men, who with great difficulty escaped into the town. As for *Peter*, with the infantry, he was so far from supporting *Paul*, as he ought to have done, that, after he had pillaged the *Arabs*, he left him intirely to himself, and made no diversion in his favour. *Paul* was taken prisoner in the action, and would have been immediately put to the sword, had not the *Moslems* been afraid that this barbarity would have been retaliated upon their wives and children, who had all been carried off by *Peter*. Amongst these there were several women of the tribe of *Hamyar*, who rode on horseback, and fought after the manner of the ancient *Amazons*; as also *Khawulah*, the sister of *Derâr*, a woman of great courage and beauty. *Peter* fell desperately in love with this lady. But she was so far from complying with the proposals he made her, that, at the head of the female prisoners, with *Ofeirah*, one of the most resolute of them, she prepared to attack him and his men with some tent-poles they had procured; which so exasperated *Peter*, that he commanded them all to be put to the sword. But when these *Arabian Amazons* were at the last extremity, they had the good fortune to be rescued by *Khâled* and *Derâr*; who, after a very brisk action, killed *Peter* and 3,000 of the *Greek* infantry upon the spot, and pursued the rest to the very gates of *Damascus*. Then they immediately rejoined *Abu Obeidah*, to prevent his being insulted by *Werdân*. After *Khâled* had shewn *Peter's* head to *Paul*, which is said to have drawn tears from him, the barbarian insisted upon his renouncing the *Christian* faith; and, upon his refusing to do this, commanded him instantly to be beheaded. In the mean time, *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofîân* arrived from *Balka*, *Serjabil Ebn Hosanah* from *Palestine*, *Meâd* from *Harrân*, *Amru Ebn Al As* from *Irâk*, and *Noomân Ebn Al Mondar* from *Tadmor*, in the neighbourhood of *Ajnadin*, with their respective forces, all the very same day, being *Friday, July 13th*, in the year of *CHRIST* 633, or of the *Hejra* 12, according to *Al Wakedî*; though, from several circumstances, and particularly from the day *Damascus* was taken, was the very same day

on which *Abu Beer* died, that event indisputably appears to have happened the following year. To which we may add, that the express testimony of *Al Makin* may likewise be produced in support of this opinion. It will not be improper here to remark, that *Balka*, or *Albelkaa*, is a tract of a considerable extent, belonging to Syria, whose principal city is *Amman*, or *Ammon*, a place that we have already taken notice of. The river *Zirkaa* passes by it, and the lake *Zaira* is about a day's journey distant from it. Many remains of antiquity are still visible about *Ammon*, which the inhabitants believe to have been built by *Lot*; who certainly, if he really was the founder of it, chose one of the finest spots of ground in the world for its situation. As for *Harrân*, *Charrân*, *Harran*, *Charra*, or *Arran*, for it went by all these names, it is a very ancient city of *Diyar-Modar*, supposed to have been the first that was built after the deluge; its vicinity to mount *Ararat*, on which the ark rested, giving some countenance to such a notion. It stood about one day's journey from *Edeffa*, and two from *Racca*, or *Aracca*, upon the *Euphrates*. The eastern writers tell us, that this city was the principal seat of the *Sabians*. *Abulfeda* makes its longitude 68° , and latitude $37^{\circ} 50'$, as we find in the copious description he has given us of it. Another town of the same name, called the *Lesser Charrân*, or *Harrân*, by some of the oriental geographers, is situated in the province of *Bahrein*. In the district of the city we are now upon, there is a small tract called *Bettân*, or *Bittân*, famous for the birth of *Mohammed Ebn Jaber Ebn Senân*, surnamed from this place *Albettani*, or *Al Battani*, the *Sabian*, whose works, as well as those of *Thabet Ebn Korra*, born at, or in the neighbourhood of, *Harrân*, are so well known in Europe. *Harrân* was lately inhabited by only a few *Turks* and *Jews*, who had rendered themselves infamous by their robberies and depredations; it having been in a great measure ruined by *Hulaku*, or *Holagu*, the *Tartar*, after he had made himself master of *Baghdád*. *Tadmor*, *Tadmora*, or *Tamor*, the other city here mentioned, stands in the deserts of *Shâm*, or *Syria*, about five days journey from *Aleppo*, two from the *Upper Syria*, and one from the *Euphrates*. The *Greeks* called it *Palmyra*, which name seems very well to correspond in signification with that of *Tadmor*, or rather *Tamor*. This place was the residence of *Zenobia*, which rendered it famous to all succeeding ages. Some suppose it to have been built by *Solomon* the son of *David*, king of *Israel*; which notion seems to be strongly countenanced by Scripture; but others take it still to be of an earlier date. For a further account of this town, which, according to *Abulfeda*, is situated in long. 52° , and lat. 34° , as well as the noble remains of antiquity

quity still visible amongst the ruins of it, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the authors cited here ^a.

AFTER the junction of all the Moslem forces, the imperial The Christian and Moslem troops likewise appearing to the number of 70,000 men, the Moslem armies two armies faced each other at a small distance from *Ajnadin*. The Arabs were struck with terror, at the sight of so numerous a body; tho' all their commanders, and *Kháled* in particular, animated them to the utmost of their power, and exhorted them by all the motives they could suggest to behave like men on the present occasion. *Kháled* told them, that "if they could defeat this army, the Greeks would never afterwards be able to make head against them; that if the enemy put them to flight, they would most certainly be damned for their pusillanimity; that they were not to begin the attack till a proper signal was given; and that they must behave with the utmost bravery." Then he detached *Derár* with a small party to reconnoitre them more fully, that he might have a better account of their countenance and numbers. *Derár*, upon his approach, was attacked by a detachment of 30 horse, that *Werdán* had sent to bring him off to the Christian camp, and with great difficulty made his escape; notwithstanding which, he assured *Kháled* of success, telling him that the enemy would not stand before him. Upon this, that general immediately drew up his army in order of battle; at the same time intreating *Khawlah*, *Oseirah*, and the other Arabian women of distinction, as well as those of an inferior rank, not only to be active themselves, but likewise to make use of all their influence, in order to induce the men to exert themselves in the approaching engagement. This they all promised faithfully to do, declaring that they were ready to lose their lives for the sake of their religion, as well as in defence of every thing else that was dear to them. *Meád Ebn Jabal* and *Noomán Ebn Al Mokarren* led the right wing; *Said Ebn Amer* and *Serjabil Ebn Hasanah* the left; *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofán* guarded the baggage, women, and children, all posted in the rear, with a body of 4,000 horse; and *Khaled* himself, with *Amru Ebn Al As*, *Abd' alrahmán*, the *Khalif's* son, *Kais Ebn Hobeirah*, *Rafi Ebn Omeirah*, and other superior

^a AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in geograph. GOLIS notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 249, 250. JOSEPH. antiquit. lib. viii. c. 6. 2 CHRON. viii. 4. 1 KIN. ix. 18. APPIAN. ALEXANDR. de bel. Syr. p. 201. AL AZIZI, apud Abulfed. ubi sup. Vide etiam ind. geograph. in vit. Saladin. ab Alberto Schult. edit. Lugduni Batavorum, 1732. LOWTHORP'S Philosoph. Transact. abr. vol. iii. p. 492—527. SELLERS'S antiquities of Palmyra, aliàs Tadmor, &c. Lond. 1705. Inscript. Græc. Palmyren. cum vers. Latin. & schol. EDWARDI SMITHI, &c. Rotterd. 1716.

officers, commanded the main body. Before the beginning of the action, a venerable old man, belonging to the *Christian* army, had a conference with *Khâled*, wherein he endeavoured to dissuade the *Moslem* general from engaging the imperial forces, and consequently to prevent the effusion of human blood; but without effect. The *Arab* was determined, unless the *Christians* would renounce their faith, or submit to pay an annual tribute, to leave the decision of the present dispute between the *Khalif* and the *Roman* emperor intirely to the sword ^d.

The Moslems too hard for the Greeks.

THE *Greeks*, finding *Khâled* so averse to an accommodation, made the proper dispositions on their part for an engagement. *Werdân* endeavoured to inspire his men with courage, by representing to them, that they were now to fight for their wives, children, properties, and religion, in fine for every thing that could be esteemed dear and valuable to them; and that if they were overthrown, they must inevitably become slaves to the vilest of enthusiasts and barbarians. Nor did he fail to remind them, that they were more than double the number of the enemy; and that therefore nothing could be more ignominious, or render them more contemptible, than a defeat. After which, the *Armenian* archers began the battle by a general discharge of their arrows, which killed and wounded a great number of the *Moslems*. However, the latter charged the *Greeks* with so much bravery, being animated by the hopes of receiving a crown of martyrdom, and terrified by the apprehension of future eternal punishment, that they forced them to give ground, and would have intirely routed them, had not *Werdân*, by a stratagem, prevailed upon *Khâled* to sound a retreat. As the action hitherto was extremely hot, many of the *Moslems*, but more of the *Christians*, were slain. Of the stratagem just mentioned, tho' it may rather be considered as an instance of the *Arab* genius than a real fact, we shall here beg leave to give our curious readers a short and succinct relation ^e.

WERDÂN finding his men not capable of coping with the *Arabs*, dispatched a messenger, called *David*, to *Khâled*, to desire that the two generals might have an interview the next morning at an appointed place, in order to settle the preliminaries of a future treaty, and thereby prevent the farther effusion of human blood; and, to facilitate this, that the action might be suspended till next morning. In the mean time, *Werdân*, as he was perfectly acquainted with the nature of

^d AL WAKED. ubi sup. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. viii. v. 15, 16.

^e AL WAKED. ubi sup. Al Kor. MOHAM. ubi sup. & alib. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. liv. vii. c. xv. p. 380, 381.

the place he proposed to *Khâled* on this occasion, posted an ambuscade of ten men to seize upon the *Arab* as soon as he should appear; of which *David*, who was to be chiefly instrumental in the deception and circumvention of *Khâled*, had been previously apprized. But this faithless wretch opened the whole affair to the *Moslem* general, who surprized *Werdân's* ambuscade, and placed ten of his own men on the spot they had occupied, that very evening, and the next morning met *Werdân*, as he had desired. *Khâled* first told the imperial commander, that he had orders not to grant him a peace, but upon condition that he either consented to pay the *Khalif* an annual tribute, or prevailed upon the people committed to his care, that is, the emperor's *Syrian* subjects, to embrace *Mohammedism*. But *Werdân* refusing to listen to such ignominious terms as these, *Khâled* shook him, and treated him with great indignity; upon which, he immediately called out to the ambuscade, not knowing that it consisted of *Arabs*, to come and rescue him. His words were scarce uttered, when *Derâr*, with only a pair of breeches on, attended by his nine companions, appeared, seized upon him, and struck off his head. Then they stripped him, carried off the costly garments, gold chains, and jewels, with which he was adorned; and, with his head fixed upon the point of a lance, advanced towards the *Moslem* army. The *Arabs* at first mistook them for *Werdân* and his men, marching in triumph with *Khâled's* head towards them; but were immediately undeceived by *Abu Obeidah*, who knew *Khâled* and *Derâr* at a considerable distance. This is the substance of the account given us of the affair in view by *Al Wakedi*, tho' stript of all the most improbable, not to say fabulous, incidents with which it has been so beautifully embellished by that historian †.

ABU OBEIDAH, who commanded in *Khâled's* absence, immediately informing his troops of what had happened; they defeat the fell upon the *Greeks* with such fury that they almost instantly Christian put them to flight, and made a terrible slaughter of them. *Al army. Wakedi* relates, that, in this fatal battle, the *Moslems* killed 50,000 of the enemy upon the spot; and that the rest escaped to *Casarea*, *Antioch*, and *Damascus*. The *Arabs*, according to the same author, took an immense quantity of plunder of inestimable value, consisting chiefly of banners, crosses of gold and silver, precious stones, gold and silver chains, and arms without number; of all which *Khâled* proposed to make a proper division, after the reduction of *Damascus*. As for the *Moslems*, if *Al Wakedi* may be credited, they lost only 474 men on this occasion; as will more fully appear from the letter

† *AL WAKEDI*, ubi sup.

Kháled wrote the *Khalif* immediately after the action, which has been transmitted down to us by that historian, and is to the following effect. "IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD. From *Kháled Ebn Al Walid* to the successor of the apostle of GOD, upon whom be the divine benediction. I praise GOD, who is the only GOD, and there is none other besides him. I pray also for his prophet *Mohammed*, upon whom be the divine benediction. I praise him likewise, and give thanks to him still more, for delivering the true believers, destroying the idolaters, and extinguishing the light of those that err. I acquaint thee, O emperor of the faithful, that we met with the *Grecian* army under the conduct of *Werdán*, the prefect of *Hems*, who swore by CHRIST, that they would either conquer or die. However, we fell upon them, calling on and trusting in GOD, who supported us, and gave us a complete victory. As it was decreed, that our enemies should be overcome, we slew them on all sides, to the number of 50,000 men. The loss we sustained amounted to no more than 474 men. I date this letter on the 30th of the former *Jomáda*, whilst on my march from *Aynadin* to *Damascus*. Pray for our farther prosperity and success. Farewell! The peace and blessing of GOD be upon thee, and all true *Moslems*." The *Khalif*, upon the arrival of the courier with this great news, prostrated himself; adored ALMIGHTY GOD; and returned him, in the most devout manner, thanks for the divine blessing that had so manifestly attended his arms. Then he read the letter over to himself, and afterwards communicated the contents of it to the grandees of his court. This had such an effect upon the *Arabs*, and particularly the *Koreish*, that many of that tribe, as well as a vast number of others, pressed the *Khalif* for leave to share with their brethren the glory and riches acquired in the *Syrian* expedition. This at last, tho' with considerable reluctance, he granted them, at the earnest request of *Arak* and *Abu Sofián*, who engaged in the most solemn manner, to distinguish themselves for the cause of GOD, and the propagation of their religion. Of this *Abu Becr* informed *Kháled*, in the answer he wrote him; ordering him at the same time, after the arrival of the reinforcement under the command of *Amru Ebn Maadi* and *Malec Al Ashtae*, to lay siege again to *Damascus*, and; after the reduction of that place, to make himself master of *Hems*, *Mearrah*, and *Antioch*. He likewise enjoined him to think upon mortality, and to treat with kindness the *Moslems*. This letter was sealed with *Mohammed's* seal, according to *Al Wakedi*; tho' this must be a mistake, if we can depend upon what has been advanced by *Al Janábi*,

nâbi, who assures us, that the prophet's seal fell into the welf of *Aris* from *Orhmân Ebn Affân's* finger, and was never afterwards found. Be that as it will, the letter was carried to *Khâled* by *Abd'abrahmân*, the same courier who had brought the *Khalif's* advice of the defeat of the *Christian* army, with all possible expedition &c.

In the mean time, *Khâled* arrived with the *Moslem* army before *Damascus*, and formed a second time the siege of that forms the important place. The first thing he did after his arrival was *siege of* to assign the officers of his army their respective posts, in such *Damascus a second time.* a manner that the siege might be carried on with the utmost vigour. *Abu Sofiân* was posted at the little gate; *Serjabil Ebn Hasanah* at the gate of *St. Thomas*, with a body of 2,000 horse; *Amru Ebn Al As* at the gate of *paradise*; and *Kais Ebn Hobeirah* at the gate called *Kaisân*. As for the gate of *St. Mark*, neither the *Arabs* nor the garison approached it; for which reason, amongst the former, it went under the name of *Bab' sâlamah*, or the gate of peace. *Khâled* himself pitched his tent before the east gate, and commanded *Derâr*, with a flying camp, consisting of 2,000 horse, to be in perpetual motion, in order to have an eye upon the enemy's parties, and prevent a surprize. The day after he had made these dispositions, that general received the *Khalif's* letter, and the besieged made a vigorous sally. The action was very hot, and continued almost the whole day; but the *Moslems* being flushed with their late success, and animated by their commanders, who promised them paradise, as well as all the riches of those parts of the East, repulsed the garison, and beat them back into the town with very considerable loss. After the end of the action, *Khâled* sent the letter brought him by the courier to the officers posted at the several gates, for their perusal, and particularly to *Abu Obeidah*; who had taken up his station before the gate named *Al Jabiyah*, at some distance from the city. This blow so intimidated the besieged, that they would immediately have proposed terms of capitulation to *Khâled*, had they not been diverted from their resolution by one *Thomas*; who, according to *Al Wakedi*, was the emperor's son-in-law, and an excellent foldier, tho' not at that time vested with any commission. He represented to them, that the *Arabs* were little better than a contemptible rabble, and much inferior to them in point of conduct, military discipline, and personal bravery. This, however, at first made little impression upon them; they having been witnesses of their surprizing intrepidity on several occasions. But

* Idem ibid. *AL JAWHAR*. p. 395, & seq. *GAON*. ubi sup. p. 402.

at last it was agreed, that the next morning, under his command, they should sally out of the place, and make a vigorous effort to carry the enemy's camp ^h.

THE *Arabs*, at the time the sally was made, were preparing to make a general assault; but *Thomas*, at the head of his troops, did not only prevent them from carrying that design into execution, but likewise drove them from the posts they had occupied with very great slaughter. He killed many of the enemy with his own hand, and, amongst the rest, one of their commanders, named *Abân Ebn Said*, whom, as the *Arabs* say, he shot with a poisoned arrow. This so incensed a virago, to whom *Abân* had been lately married at *Ajnadin*, that she shot the standard-bearer of the *Christians* in the hand upon the very spot where *Abân* was slain. Upon which, the standard fell into the hands of the *Moslems*; who instantly carried it off. Nor could *Thomas* afterwards recover it, tho' he attacked *Serjabil*, in whose possession it was, with unparalleled bravery. For, notwithstanding the military engines from the walls greatly favoured him, having received a wound in the eye from *Abân's* widow, who levelled an arrow at him, he found himself obliged to retire into the city. The *Arabs* very closely followed him for some time, and cut off 300 of his men in the pursuit; but the engines planted on the walls kept them in aw, and, by plying them with repeated volleys of arrows and stones, destroyed abundance of them. This forced them at last to retreat, and permit the besieged to repose themselves after the fatigues they had sustained ⁱ.

The besieged make another sally, but are repulsed.

HOWEVER, *Thomas* resolved to make another effort to force the besiegers trenches, and oblige them to abandon the siege. Having, therefore, dressed his wound, and left a detachment of the garison to defend the gates and the walls, he ordered all the gates to be opened at the same instant; and, at the head of the rest, without any noise, sallied out upon the enemy. As he imagined that part of the camp where *Serjabil* was posted to be the most exposed, he attacked the *Arabs* stationed there with so much courage, that he soon forced them to give way; and would have taken *Serjabil* himself prisoner, or put him to the sword, had not *Abd alrahmân* and *Abân Ebn Othmân* advanced to his relief with a body of horse. This checked the fury of the *Greeks*, and gave the *Moslem* troops that had been thrown into confusion time to rally. In the mean time, *Abu Obeidah*, who was posted at the gate *Al Jabiyah*, as has been already remarked, observing what had happened, possessed himself of a spot of ground between that body of the *Christian* forces

^h AL WAKED, ubi sup. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 129, 130.

ⁱ AL WAKED, ubi sup.

that issued out of the last-mentioned gate and the town, which enabled him to cut off their retreat. This body, therefore, being charged and surrounded on all sides, could neither sustain the shock of the enemy, nor retreat; so that not a single man of it escaped. The other bodies likewise of the *Christians*, engaged in different parts, were at last every-where repulsed, and driven back into the town. The loss of the *Greeks* in this vigorous action was computed by the *Arabs*, according to *Al Waked*, to amount to several thousand men ^k.

THIS last defeat so disheartened the *Christians*, who had lost above half of their men since the beginning of the siege, that they pressed *Thomas*, in order to prevent their total destruction, to permit them to beat a parley; but that commander prevailed upon them to defend the place till he had given the emperor an account of their situation, and learned from him whether or no they were to expect any succours. In the mean time, the *Arabs* pushed the siege, and the garrison, greatly dejected by the bad success that attended the emperor's arms, made but a feeble defence. Nay, the troops that composed it desired *Khâled* for the present to discontinue his attacks, and give them time to come to some resolution about the surrender of the town. But that general being desirous of carrying the place by storm, that the inhabitants might be all put to the sword, and the city plundered by his troops, refused to comply with their request. However, *Abu Obeidah*, a man of quite a different disposition, readily listened to their proposal. For having one night sent a messenger out of the gate before which he was posted, and offered to become tributaries to the *Khalif*, he dispatched to them *Abu Hobeirah*, a person in whom he could confide, to let them know that he accepted of their offer. The officers of the garrison then asked this *Arab* whether or no he had been one of the prophet's companions, as they entertained a great opinion of them, and thought that they might absolutely depend upon their veracity. To this he replied in the affirmative; but at the same time told them, that they might have equally depended upon the faith of the meanest slave in the camp. "For," said he, "we all of us think ourselves under the strictest obligation to perform and make good all the engagements we enter into; this being enjoined every one of us by the *Korân*." Upon this, an hundred of the clergy, and other principal citizens, went to the *Moslem* camp, and were conducted to *Abu Obeidah*; who took them into his tent, and treated them in a very polite manner. They begged to be

They agree to surrender to Abu Obeidah.

^k Idem ibid.

continued in the possession of their churches, in return for the tribute they had agreed to pay to the *Khalif*; but *Abu Obeidah* would not promise them the use of above seven of them. To this they found themselves obliged to submit; and *Abu Obeidah* delivered them an instrument, drawn up by his secretary, tho' without either his name, or those of any witnesses, affixed to it, as he was not the commander in chief. He then demanded hostages of the garison, and sent a detachment of an hundred men to take possession of one part of the town. We must beg leave to observe here, that *Al Wakedi* seems to be mistaken in the name of the person whom *Abu Obeidah* sent to communicate his intentions to the besieged, or at least that his text has been corrupted by some transcriber here. For we are not told by any other Arab writer, that *Abu Hobeirah* was the name of one of *Mohammed's* companions; whereas 'tis very well known, that *Abu Horeira* was one of the most celebrated of them. We would, therefore, if our learned readers would give us leave, emend either *Al Wakedi*, or his translator, by substituting *Abu Horeira* for *Abu Hobeirah* here ¹.

Damascus taken by Khâled *WHILST* matters were in this situation, *Khâled Ebn Said* was killed by a poisoned arrow, that came from the town; which so exasperated *Khâled*, the *Moslem* general, that he instantly resolved to make a general assault. In the mean time, one *Jofas*, a priest, made his escape to the camp, and informed *Khâled*, that the prophet *Damel* had predicted the future greatness of the *Moslem* empire, and offered to introduce him into the city, if he would take him and his family under his protection. To which *Khâled* readily agreed, and sent with him a detachment of an hundred *Hamiyarites*, whose tribe was one of the most warlike of the *Arabs*, with orders to open the gates, immediately after they had taken post in the town, to the *Moslem* army. This they did without the least opposition; so that *Khâled* made himself master of the place without the loss of a single man; notwithstanding which, he put a great part of the garison, together with a vast number of the citizens, to the sword, and pursued the rest to *St. Mary's* church, where *Abu Obeidah* had before posted himself with the troops under his command. As soon as *Khâled* came up, *Abu Obeidah* said to him aloud, *God has saved the believers the trouble of fighting, by delivering the city into my hands in a pacific manner.* At which *Khâled* was extremely incensed, and declared, that as he had taken the place by storm, all the inhabitants, and the garison, should be put to the sword. This occasioned no small bickering between the

¹ Idem ibid. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. v. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Moham. c. lxxii. p. 153. Vide etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. c. v. p. 339.

two commanders; *Abu Obeidah* insisting, that the agreement between him and the citizens should be executed in every part, and *Khâled*, on the other hand, refusing his consent to what was done without his participation. However, several of the officers inclining to the merciful side, as considering that many towns were still to be reduced, which would be defended to the last drop of blood, if it was once known that the *Moslems* violated a treaty they had concluded. *Abu Obeidah* in a great measure carried his point. For it was determined, that *Khâled* should have the disposal of that part of the town which he took sword in hand, and *Abu Obeidah* that of the other, which surrendered to him upon terms, at least till the *Khalif* himself had decided the affair. After this, *Abu Obeidah* prevailed upon *Khâled* to give quarter to every one of the citizens and soldiers of the garison that survived the late carnage, not excepting even *Thomas* and *Herbis* themselves, who were the most disagreeable to him. We must not forget to inform our readers, that *Khâled* forced the east gate at his attack, and that *Damascus* was taken on the tenth of *Rajeb*, after six months siege; or, according to *Al Makin*, on the twenty-third of the latter *Jomada*, and the thirteenth year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 634^m.

THE reduction of *Damascus* was not only of great importance in itself, but likewise opened a way to farther conquests, and added a new lustre to the *Moslem* arms. However, the *Arabs* sustained a very considerable loss at this juncture, by the death of *Abu Becr*, who died the same day that *Damascus* was taken. With regard to the cause of his death, authors are not perfectly agreed. Some say, that he was poisoned by the *Jews*, together with *Hareth Ebn Khaldah*, about a year before he died; but, according to *Ayesha*, he got a fever, by bathing himself on a cold day, which carried him off in fifteen days; during which time, *Omar* officiated for him publicly in the mosque. *Abu'l-Faraj* affirms, that he departed this life on *Monday*, the eighth of the latter *Jomada*; which runs counter to what we find asserted by *Al Makin*. Be that as it will, a little before he expired, the *Khalif* ordered his secretary, *Othmân Ebn Affân*, to draw up his last will and testament in the following termsⁿ.

^m AL WAKED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 174. GEORG. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 17, 18. GOLII not. ad *Al-fragan*. ubi sup. p. 130. ⁿ AYESHA, AL WAKED. ubi sup. ABULFED. in hist. gen. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED EBN ABDI RABBIHI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 18. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 174. MS. Arab. PUCOCK. OXON. num. 362.

His last
testament.

" IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD. This is the testament of *Abd'allah Ebn Abu Kohâfa*, when he was in the last hour of this world, and the first of the next; an hour in which the infidel shall believe, the wicked person be assured of the reality of those things that he denied, and the liar speak truth. I appoint *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb* my successor; therefore hearken to him, and obey him: If he acts right, he will answer the opinion I have always entertained of him; if otherwise, he must be accountable for his own conduct. My intention herein is good, but I cannot foresee future events. However, those who do ill shall hereafter be made fully sensible of the consequences of their behaviour. Fare ye well, and may ye always be attended by the divine mercy and benediction." After the *Khalif* had dictated this will to *Othmân*, he fainted away; but as soon as he came to himself, he asked his secretary whose name he had inserted in the instrument just written? who replied, that of *Omar*. "Then," said *Abu Becr*, "you have punctually observed my directions; tho' had you inserted your own, I should not have had an unworthy successor." *Omar* was no sooner apprized of the *Khalif's* intention to nominate him, than he discovered an uncommon aversion to the supreme authority with which he was soon to be vested; however, he was at last prevailed upon to acquiesce in what *Abu Becr* had done. Before the *Khalif* expired, he prayed to GOD to bless the choice he had made; to inspire the *Moslems* with sentiments of concord and unanimity; to render their affairs prosperous and flourishing; and to enable them to propagate the doctrines of the *Korân* in the most effectual manner, as by the prophet *Mohammed*, in his last moments, they had been most strictly enjoined.

When, and
by whom,
the *Korân*
was di-
gested into
its present
form.

WHEN *Mohammed* died, he left his pretended revelations in great disorder, and not digested into the method in which we now find them. This, according to *Abu Jaafar*, was the work of his immediate successor *Abu Becr*. That prince considering, after the defeat of *Moseilama*, that many of those who could read and repeat the *Korân* had been slain in *Yamâma*, was afraid lest any part of it should be lost; and therefore ordered the whole to be collected, not only from the palm-leaves and skins on which they had been written, and which were kept between two boards or covers, but also from the mouths of such as had gotten them by heart. This transcript formed a considerable volume, called by the *Arabs* *Al*

◦ GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 75. MS. Arab. Pocock. Oxon. num. 362. ubi sup. EUTHYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. anal. tom. ii. p. 264, 265. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

Mosḥaf, which, in their language, signifies a *book* or *volume*. It was probably penned by *Othmān Ebn Affān* and *Zeid Ebn Thâbet* under the inspection of *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, who succeeded *Abu Becr*. The whole, when completed, was committed to the custody of *Hafsa*, one of the prophet's widows, as has been already observed. This work seems to have been begun in the first year of *Abu Becr*, soon after the defeat of *Mosailama*, as may be inferred from *Al Makîn*; though in all likelihood it was not finished long before the death of that prince. Nor does it appear from the *Moslem* historians, that *Abu Becr* did any thing more than range the chapters of the *Korân* in their present order; which he probably did without any regard to time, the longest being generally placed first; though some have imagined, that he was really the compiler of that book. *Mohammed* himself perhaps left every chapter, or *Sûra*, as complete as we now have it, excepting such passages as his successor might add, or correct, from those who had gotten them by heart. Soon after *Abu Becr* had finished his transcript of the *Korân*, many copies of that book found their way into *Irâk*, as well as those parts of *Syria*, or *Shâm*, that bordered upon *Arabia* P.

BUT notwithstanding this, the original, in the care of *Hafsa*, the daughter of *Omar*, was not published by authority, according to *Abulfeda*, till the *Khalifat* of *Othmān*. That prince observing the great disagreement in the copies of the *Korân*, in the several provinces of the *Moslem* empire, those of *Irâk*, for example, following the reading of *Abu Musa Al Ashari*, and the *Syrians* that of *Macdûd Ebn Aswad*, he, by advice of the companions of the prophet, ordered a great number of copies to be transcribed from that of *Abu Becr*. This was done under the inspection of *Zeid Ebn Thâbet*, who had been before employed by *Abu Becr* on a similar occasion, as has been already remarked, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobair*, *Said Ebn Al As*, and *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hâreth*, the *Makbuzmite*; whom the *Khalif* directed, wherever they disagreed about any word, to write it in the dialect of the *Koreish*, in which it was at first delivered. These copies, when made, were dispersed, by *Othmān's* command, in the several provinces of the empire, and the old ones burnt and suppressed. Tho' many things in *Hafsa's* copy were corrected by the above-mentioned supervisors, yet some few various readings still occur. The *Korân* thus emended, by the care of *Othmān*, came out first in the thirtieth year of the *Hejra*; which seems to have given occasion

P ISM. ABULFED. in vitis *Abu Becr* & *Othmān*. *ABU JAAFAR*, *AL TABAR.* apud *Georg. Al Makîn*, ubi sup. p. 18. ut & ipse *AL MAKIN*, *ibid.*

to *Eutychius*, as well as *Joannes Andreas*, an eminent *Moslem* doctor of *Sciatinia*, in the kingdom of *Valencia*, who became a convert to the *Christian* religion in the year of our Lord 1487, to assert, that the chapters of the *Korân* were then first collected into one volume. But this can by no means be admitted, as it runs counter to the express testimony of *Abulfeda*, an author of superior credit; nor will it easily be believed, that a work of such importance could have possibly escaped the diligence and zeal of *Othmân's* two predecessors. To which we may add, that *Abu Jaafar* and *Al Makin*, as cited above, put the point now insisted on beyond dispute.

As it is impossible to entertain just sentiments of the *Mohammedan* worship, and consequently to have a proper and adequate idea of many things related by the *Moslem* historians, without being acquainted with the genius, spirit, and design of the *Korân*; we shall here beg leave once for all to lay down a brief and succinct account of the peculiarities, doctrines, precepts, and institutions of that famous book. Nor will, we persuade ourselves, so useful and necessary a digression, tho' for some time it will interrupt the thread of the *Arab* history, prove unacceptable to our learned and curious readers.

Several
names of
the Ko-
rân.

As for the word *Korân*, derived from the verb *karaa*, to read, it signifies properly, in *Arabic*, the reading, or rather, that which ought to be read; by which name the *Mohammedans* denote not only the intire book or volume of the *Korân*, but also any particular chapter or section of it; just as the *Jews* call either the whole Scripture, or any part of it, by the name of *Karâh*, or *Mikra*, a word of the same origin and import. The *Moslems* also call the collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of their prophet, which is a sort of supplement to the *Korân*, directing the observance of several things omitted in that book, the *Sonna*; in like manner as the *Jews* have denominated the book containing their oral traditions the *Mishna*, which answers to the former piece, wrote in imitation of it, both in name and design. It may not be amiss to observe, that the *Korân* is stiled by the generality of *Christian* writers the *Alcoran*, or *Alkoran*; tho' this manner of writing does not so well become one even moderately versed in the *Arabic* language. For, the syllable *Al* in that word is only to be considered as the *Arabic* article, signifying the; and and therefore it ought to be omitted when the *English* article is prefixed.

† ISM. ABULFED. in vit. Abu Becr & Othmân, 'GAGN. ubi sup. tom. i. p. 349, 350. ABU JAAFAR & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. &c. vol. i. p. 118. JOANNES ANDREAS, SALE'S prelinim. disc. p. 65, 66. † LUDOVICUS MARRACC. de Alcoran. c. i. p. 33. 1 atavii, 1698. NEHEM.

THE *Mohammedans* likewise imitate the *Jews* in the division of their sacred volumes into *Sûras*, *Sowar*, or chapters, and verses; as also in pointing out the various readings. There was lately, at least, if it be not still, extant a MS. of the *Korân*, written in this curious and accurate manner by *Mohammed Ebn Mahmud Ebn Mohammed*, of *Samarkand*, who flourished about the year of the *Hejra* 754, or of *CHRIST* 1353, according to *Maracci*. The *Korân* is sometimes honoured with the appellation of *Al Forkân*, from the verb *faraka*, to divide, or distinguish; in the same notion that the *Jews* use the word *Perek*, or *Pirka*, from the same root, to denote a section, or portion of Scripture. At other times it is called *Al Mosbâf*, the volume, and *Al Kitâb*, the book, by way of eminence, which answers to the *Biblia* of the *Greeks*; and *Al Dhikr*, the commemoration, or admonition, because the words of *GOD* are preserved from oblivion, and men admonished, by it. Several of the *Moslems* likewise frequently stile it THE WORD OF *GOD*, as we *Christians* do the sacred writings of the *Old* and *New Testament*. Other titles also it is distinguished by, which it would be superfluous and unnecessary to enumerate here.

It has been observed by *Reland* and *Marracci*, that the *Mohammedans*, in imitation of the *Jewish Masorites*, have number'd not only the words but even the letters of the *Korân*, in order to prevent any corruption or depravation of the text. They have likewise in some MSS. distinguished the word *GOD* with a red mark; which not a little contributes to the discovery of the sense and meaning of the passage wherein it occurs. As for the general, or primary, division of the *Korân*, this is made into 114 larger portions of very unequal length, which we call chapters, but the *Arabs Sowar*, in the singular *Sûra*, a word rarely used on any other occasion, and properly signifying a row, order, or regular series; as a course of bricks in building, or a rank of soldiers in an army. It is the same in use and import with the *Sûra*, or *Tora*, of the *Jews*, who also call the fifty-three sections of the *Pentateuch* *Sedârim*, a word of the same signification. The first chapter of the *Korân*, stiled *Al Fâtihat*, is held in great veneration by the *Mohammedans*, who give it several honourable titles; as the chapter of prayer, of praise, of thanksgiving,

NEHEM. viii. SIMON. hist. crit. du vieux Test. lib. i. c. 9. SALE, ubi sup. p. 56, 57.

* GOL. in append. ad gram. Arab. Erpen. 175, 177. MOHAMMED EBN MAHMUD EBN MOHAMMED AL SAMARKAND. apud Marracc. ubi sup. MAIMON. præf. in Seder Zeraim, p. 57. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xxv. Vide etiam LUDOVIC. MARRACC. ubi sup.

of treasure, &c. They esteem it as the quintessence of the whole *Korân*, and often repeat it, as the *Christians* do the *Lord's prayer*, both in their public and private devotions. It is divided into seven parts, or verses, and repeated in prayer at every incurvation ^t.

It appears from the title *Al Fâtihat*, that the chapter last-mentioned is only a sort of preface or introduction to the rest; which seems to be the reason why the said title was neither taken from the matter treated of, nor the divine person mentioned therein, nor yet from the first word of note, in the same manner as the *Jews* named their *Sedârim*, as were those of the other chapters, by which they are distinguished in the manuscript copies, and not by their numerical order. It must here be remarked, that some of the chapters having been revealed, according to the impostor, at *Mecca*, and others at *Medina*, the noting the different places that were the scenes of *Mohammed's* pretended revelations makes a part of the titles of several chapters. Some of the chapters are said to have been revealed partly at *Mecca*, and partly at *Medina*; but as to others, the commentators on the *Korân* have not been able to determine to which place of the two they belong. Every chapter is subdivided into smaller portions, of very unequal length also, which we customarily call verses; but the *Arabic* word is *Ayât*, the same with the *Hebrew Othoth*, and signifies *signs*, or *wonders*; such as are the secrets of *GOD*, his attributes, works, judgments, and ordinances, delivered in those verses. Many of these have their particular titles also, imposed in the same manner as those of the chapters. The first chapter of the *Korân* is so celebrated amongst the *Mohammedans*, that whole treatises have been written upon it, as we are informed by *Reland*, who met with a book that pretended to point out all the mysteries it contains ^u.

Editions. THE principal editions, or ancient copies, of the *Korân* may be reduced to seven; two of which were published and used at *Medina*, a third at *Mecca*, a fourth at *Cûfa*, a fifth at *Basra*, a sixth in *Syria*, and a seventh called the common or vulgar edition. Of these editions, the first makes the whole number of the verses 6000; the second and fifth, 6214; the third, 6219; the fourth, 6236; the sixth, 6226; and the

^t HADRIAN. RELAND. de relig. Mohammedic. lib. i. p. 24, 25. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1717. MARRACC. ubi sup. GOL. ubi sup. 177. MAIMON. ubi sup. p. 55. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. i. ALBERTUS BOBOVIUS, de precib. Mohammed. p. 3, & seq. AL HASAN, AL BEIDAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. &c.

^u LUDOVIC. MARRACC. not. & refutat. in sur. prim. Alcoran, p. 1, 2, 3. Patavii, 1698. HADRIAN. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 89. Vide etiam MARRACC. prodr. par. prim. p. 34.

last, 6225. But they are all said to contain the same number of words, namely, 77639; and the same number of letters, viz. 323015. It must here be observed, that the *Mohammedans* have not only imitated the *Jews* in superstitiously numbering the very words and letters of their law, but have likewise taken pains to compute the number of times each particular letter occurs in the *Korân*. Of this *Reland*, from a manuscript in his possession, has given us an evident proof. That manuscript makes the number of words contained in the *Korân* to amount to 99464. The difference of the copies has prefixed to some chapters two or more titles. The *Moslems* believe, that not only every chapter and verse, but likewise every word of the *Korân* had a divine original *.

SOME of the chapters of the *Korân* are so short, that they do not consist of above three or four verses; tho' others contain three hundred, and in general they are of a sufficient length. But besides the foregoing unequal divisions of chapter and verse, the *Mohammedans* have also divided that book into sixty equal portions, which they call *Abzâb*, in the singular *Hizb*, each subdivided into four equal parts, in imitation of the *Jewish* division of the *Mishna* into sixty portions, called *Massétoth*. However, the most usual division of the *Korân* is into thirty sections only, named *Ajzâ*, from the singular *Jaz*, each of twice the length of the former, and in the like manner subdivided into four parts. At the head of every *Sûra*, except the ninth, is prefixed the following solemn form, by the *Mohammedans* called the *Bismillah*, IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD; which form they constantly place at the beginning of all their books and writings in general, as a peculiar mark or distinguishing characteristic of their religion, it being accounted a sort of impiety to omit it. The *Jews* for the same purpose used the expression, IN THE NAME OF THE GREAT GOD, or IN THE NAME OF THE LORD; and the eastern *Christians*, that of, IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST. But *Mohammed* seems to have derived his form from that of the ancient *Persians*, prefixed to their books, especially those of the highest antiquity amongst them, *Benâm Yezdân bakhaisgher dâdâr*, that is, IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL JUST GOD. This may be inferred not only from the similitude, or rather identity, of expression observable in both forms, but likewise from the word *YEZDAN*, answering to the *Arabic* *ALLAH*, which was a name held in great veneration

* *RELAND*, ubi sup. p. 25, 26, 27. *MARRACC*. de *Alcoran*, c. i. p. 33, 34.

ration anciently amongst the *Persians*, and appropriated by them to the Supreme Being alone *.

IN relation to the authority of the auspicatory form above-mentioned, as well as that of the titles of the chapters, the *Moslem* doctors differ in their opinions. The more moderate consider them only as human additions; whereas the more stanch and rigid part of them think, that they are no less the word of GOD than the text itself. The same origin they seem to assign to certain letters of the alphabet, with which twenty-nine chapters of the *Korân* begin, some with a single one, others with more. These the *Mohammedans* believe to be the peculiar marks of the *Korân*, and to conceal several profound mysteries, which were perfectly understood by no one but their prophet. However, several conjectures, the uncertainty of which sufficiently appears from their disagreement, have been offered upon them. As the signification, therefore, of these characters, which are not always the same, has not hitherto been determined, and as the more sober *Mohammedans* confess that GOD alone knows the meaning of those prefixed to the seventh chapter of the *Korân*; it would be altogether superfluous, if not wholly impertinent, to expatiate farther upon them here †.

Stile.

THE *Arabs* give us very pompous descriptions of the stile of the *Korân*, which is generally taken to be beautiful and fluent, or, as we would rather chuse to express it, calculated to please the ear, especially where it imitates the prophetic manner, and Scripture phrases; which are, however, not seldom very improperly applied. That the author of the *Korân* affected the prophetic stile, not only in the words he chose, but likewise in the sentences he sometimes thought proper to select, as also in the change of tenses and persons that frequently there appears, must be allowed by every one who reads that book, and is but moderately versed in the sacred writings. He uses the preterperfect and future tenses reciprocally for each other; and passes from the third person to the first, as well as the second, and *vice versa* from the first to the third, as we find done by the prophets of the *Old Testament*. The stile is concise, and often obscure, adorned with bold figures, after the eastern taste, enlivened with florid and sententious expressions, and in many places, especially where

* HADRIAN. RELAND. ubi sup. GOL. ubi sup. p. 178. MAIMON. ubi sup. p. 57. HYDE, hist. rel. vet. Pers. c. i. p. 14. & c. xi. p. 177. † GOLIIUS, in append. ad gram. Arab. p. 182. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 59, 60. LUDOVIC. MARRACC. not. & refutat. in sur. seqt, Alcoran. p. 270.

the majesty and attributes of GOD are described, sublime and magnificent. Tho' the book be written in prose, yet the sentences generally conclude in a long continued rime, for the sake of which the sense is often interrupted, and unnecessary repetitions too frequently made; the *Arabs* being so mightily delighted with this jingling, that they employ it in their most elaborate compositions, which they also embellish with frequent passages of and allusions to the *Korân*. It is next to impossible, therefore, to understand them, without being tolerably well acquainted with that book, which is written with the utmost elegance, as the critics in this kind of literature assert, in the dialect of the tribe of *Korciſh*, the most noble and polite of all the *Arabians*, but with some mixture, tho' very rarely, of other dialects. It is looked upon to be the standard of the *Arabic* tongue, and inimitable by any human pen; tho' some sectaries have been of a different opinion. However, as these are considered as a sort of heretics, the orthodox *Moslems* insist upon the *Korân's* being a permanent miracle, greater than that of raising the dead, and alone sufficient to convince the world of its divine original. *Al Ghazâlî* maintains, that it subsisted in the essence of GOD from all eternity; and *Ahmed Ebn Abd'alhalim*, that it contains all other sacred books, and all times, past, present, and to come. The generality of the *Mohammedans* esteem it as infinitely superior to the production of any created being, which is, indeed, asserted in the *Korân* itself; tho' some of them mentioned by *Ismâel Shahinshah*, *Shahar Settani*, and others, are of a different opinion. But of these, and the principal tenets they maintain, we shall speak more fully hereafter ^z.

THE principal, or grand, article of faith insisted on in the *Design* *Korân*, as has been already observed, is the unity of GOD; to restore which point *Mohammed* pretended was the chief end of his mission. In the belief of this he proposed to unite the *Christian*, *Jewish*, and *pagan Arabs*; the last of which were by far the most numerous and powerful. The worship of one eternal invisible GOD he established under the sanction of certain laws, and the outward signs of certain ceremonies, partly of ancient and partly of novel institution. These he enforced by setting before his followers rewards and punishments, both temporal and eternal; obliging them at the same time to pay obedience to him, as the prophet and ambassador

^z LUDOVIC. MARRACC. de Alcoran. c. ii. p. 34. AHMED EBN ABD'ALHALIM, apud Marracc. de Alcoran. c. vi. p. 43. AL GHAZAL. apud Marracc. ubi sup. p. 44. ISM. SHAHINSH. SHAHAR. SETTAN. aliique scriptor. apud Marracc. ibid. Vide etiam GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, & SALE's prelim. disc. sect. iii. &c.

of GOD, who, after the repeated admonitions, promises, and threats of former ages, was at last to establish and propagate GOD's religion on earth by force of arms, and to be acknowledged chief pontif in spiritual matters, as well as supreme prince in temporal. He maintained, that there never was, nor ever can be, more than one true orthodox religion; since tho' particular laws, or ceremonies, are subject to alteration, yet the substance of it, being eternal truth, is not liable to change, but continues immutably the same. He moreover taught, that whenever this religion became neglected, or corrupted in essentials, GOD reformed and readmonished mankind thereof, by several prophets, of whom *Moses* and *Jesus* were the most distinguished, till the appearance of *Mohammed*, who is their seal, no other being to be expected after him. And the more effectually to engage the *Moslems* to hearken to him, a great part of the *Korân* is employed in relating examples of dreadful punishments formerly inflicted by GOD on those who rejected and abused his messengers; several of which stories, or some circumstances of them, are taken from the *Old* and *New Testament*, but many more from the apocryphal books and traditions of the *Jews* and *Christians* of those ages, set up in the *Korân* as truths in opposition to the Scriptures, which the *Jews* and *Christians* are charged with having altered. Such are the histories of *Adam* and *Eve*, of *Cain* and *Abel*, of *Enoch*, of *Noah*, of *Abraham* *Isaac* and *Jacob*, of *Ishmael*, of *Moses* and *Pharaoh*, of *Saul* *David* and *Solomon*, of *Ezra*, of *Jesus Christ* and the blessed Virgin *Mary*, &c. as also of the *Seven Sleepers*, of the martyrs under the tyrant *Dunaan*, &c. To which may be added those of *Alexander the Great*, *Aesop*, and others extracted from profane authors. A considerable part of the *Korân* is likewise taken up in giving necessary laws and directions, in frequent admonitions to moral and divine virtues, and above all to the worshipping and reverencing of the only true GOD, and resignation to his will. Besides which, there are a great number of passages which are occasional, and relate to particular emergencies. For, whenever any thing happened which perplexed and gravelled *Mohammed*, he had constant recourse to a new revelation, as an infallible expedient in all nice cases; and he found the success of this method answer all, even his most sanguine expectations. It was certainly a politic contrivance of his to bring down the whole *Korân* at once to the lowest heaven only, and not to the earth; for if the whole had been published at once, innumerable objections might have been made, which it would have been very hard, if not impossible, for him to solve. But as he pretended to have received it by parcels, as GOD saw proper that they should

should be published for the conversion and instruction of the people, he had a sure way to answer all emergencies, and to extricate himself with honour from any difficulty which might occur. This shews him to have been a man of genius and art, and to have answered at least in part the character already given of him. In his descriptions of the joys of paradise, of the torments of hell, and of the day of judgment, he is pretty prolix; tho' these are chiefly made up of most absurd and ridiculous fables. He enjoins in the strongest terms frequent prayer, alms, the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, the fast of *Ramadân*, and, in fine, an observance of all his other rites and institutions. The points in the *Korân* that relate to moral and theological virtues he undoubtedly borrowed of the *Christians* and the *Jews*; the former of which he treated with more lenity than the latter. In several places of this book, he is very severe upon those who had incurred his displeasure, and especially such of these delinquents as were his own relations. However, amongst the articles it contains, many excellent things occur, which seem not unworthy of even a *Christian's* perusal. According to *Al Zamakhshari*, the matter of the *Korân* is divided into *assimilated* and *wisely disposed*; the former of which contains every thing obscure, parabolical, ænigmatical, and abrogated by GOD, that is to be met with in this book; and the latter every thing clear, open, indisputable, free from all doubt, of standing and perpetual obligation ^a.

THO' *Mohammed* was undoubtedly the principal author, *The au-* and chief contriver, of the *Korân*; yet that he had no small *thor.* assistance both in the formation and execution of his design from others, is beyond dispute. This the *Meccans* failed not to object to him, when he insisted, as a proof of its divine original, that a man so utterly unacquainted with learning as himself could not possibly compose such a book. They urged, as an objection to its authority, that he had one or more assistants in the forgery; tho' he had taken his measures so well, that they found it extremely difficult to discover the person, or persons, suspected of this confederacy. One says it was *Jabar*, or *Habar*, a *Greek*, servant to *Amer Ebn Al Hadrami*, who could read and write well; another, that they were *Jabar*, or *Habar*, and *Yefâr*, two slaves, who followed the trade of sword-cutlers at *Mecca*, used to read the Pentateuch and Gospel, and had often *Mohammed* for their auditor, when he passed that way. Another tells us, that it was one *A'ish*, or *Tâish*, a domestic of *Al Haweiteb Ebn Abd Al Uzza*, who

^a GOLIUS, in append. ad gram. Arab. Erpen. p. 176. LUDOVIC. MARRACC. de Alcoran. c. iii. p. 34, 35. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. apud Marracc. ibid.

was a man of some learning, and had embraced *Mohammedism*. Another supposes it was one *Kais*, a *Christian*, whose house *Mohammed* frequented. Another, that it was *Addās*, a servant of *Othā Ebn Rabīa*; and another, that it was *Salmān* the *Persian*, as has been already observed. So far the commentators on the *Korān*, whose traditions differ greatly in this affair. Nor are the *Christian* writers less divided in their opinions, in relation to the person, or persons, who enabled *Mohammed* to draw up a plan of, and compose the *Korān*. Some of them pretend, that *Abdallāh Ebn Salām*, the *Jew*, who was so intimate with *Mohammed*, and whom *Dr. Prideaux* confounds with *Salmān*, the *Persian*, a very different man, was assisting to him in the compiling his pretended revelations. The greatest part of them, however, maintain, that the chief help *Mohammed* had in contriving the *Korān*, was from a *Nestorian* monk, named *Sergius*, supposed to be the same person with the monk *Boheira*, with whom *Mohammed* in his younger years had some conference at *Bosra*, a city of *Syria Damascena*, where *Boheira* then resided. *Mr. Sale*, indeed, offers a frivolous objection to this opinion, of no manner of weight; which we have already answered in the life of *Mohammed*, and therefore shall pass it over here. Nor can any thing be more weak than what the impostor himself advances in opposition to this notion, viz. that neither the *Jews* nor the *Christians* could afford him any assistance in the composition of the *Korān*, since both of them spoke a foreign language; whereas the person who composed this piece, drew it up in the most elegant *Arabic*, and consequently must have been an *Arabian*. For, tho' the language made use of in the *Korān* be the pure, perspicuous, or, as the *Moslems* stile it, the defecated *Arabic*; yet the tenets and sentiments therein contained might have been derived from a foreigner, as, for the most part, they undoubtedly were, who was even a stranger to the beauties and elegancies at least of the *Arabic* tongue, if not to the very rudiments and first principles of it. In fine, there were both *Christians* and *Jews* amongst the *Arabs* themselves, when *Mohammed* first entered upon his mission; some of whom might either have translated into the politest *Arabic* the materials sent by *Boheira*, or, in conjunction with that monk, furnished the pretended prophet with materials for the *Korān*. Nay, it may be inferred from even what has been admitted by *Mr. Sale*, that *Warakah Ebn Nawfal*, a *Christian Arab*, who could write in the *Hebrew* character, and was tolerably well versed in the Scriptures, *Khadijah's* cousin, was at least one of *Mohammed's* coadjutors in framing the book of the *Moslem* law. For, in confirmation of what *Mohammed* had declared to *Khadijah* concerning his mission, he assured her,

her, that the same angel, who had formerly appeared unto *Moses*, was then sent to *Mohammed*. From whence it appears, that from the very beginning he acted a part with *Mohammed* in the propagation of his imposture; and therefore may be justly suspected to have had a hand in the *Korân*. To what has been said we may add, that, according to *Al Zamakhshari*, *Abu Fakiâh* affirmed *Nodbar Ebn Hareth Ebn Abd Al Dar*, an Arab of some learning, to have instructed *Mohammed* himself in the tenets and doctrines of the *Korân*; which, if admitted, will amount to an evident proof, that the pretended prophet was not the author of every part of that book. Nay, some of the Arab writers themselves have allowed, that the monk *Sergius*, or *Boheira*, instructed *Mohammed* in the principles both of the law and the gospel. We are told by *St. John of Damascus*, who flourished about an hundred years after *Mohammed*, and lived at *Damascus*, in his days the residence of the *Khalifs*, that *Mohammed* had, and therefore received from others, a thorough knowlege of the holy Scriptures, both of the *Old* and *New Testament*. He also relates, that the impostor formed the plan of his new religion from the conferences and conversations he had with the *Arians* of that time ^b.

BUT however this may be, the *Mohammedans*, at least the *Manner of* generality of them, deny that the *Korân* was either composed *publishing* by their prophet, or any other mortal for him. They believe *the Ko-* it to be of divine original, nay eternal and uncreated; main-*rân*. taining that the first transcript of it has been from everlasting by GOD's throne, written on a table of vast bigness, called the *preserved table*, on which are also recorded the divine decrees past and future. They also affirm, that a copy of the *Korân* from this table, in one volume on paper, was by the ministry of the angel *Gabriel* sent down to the lowest heaven, in the month of *Ramadân*, on the night of *power*; from whence *Gabriel*, according to them, revealed it to *Mohammed* by parcels, some at *Mecca*, and some at *Medina*, at different times, during the space of twenty-three years, as the exigency of affairs required. However, he had the whole shewed him, which they tell us was bound in silk, and adorned

^b AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, Liber Agar, GUADAGNOL, tract. c. x. sect. 1. JOANNES ANDREAS, de confusion. sectæ Mohammedan. c. i. BELLONIUS, lib. iii. c. 2. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xvi. & f. xxv. YAHYA, JALLALO'DDIN, RICARDI confutat. legis Saracenicæ, c. xiii. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 23—29. Lond. 1718. GAGN. not. in Abulfed. de vit. Mohammed. p. 74. AL MASUDÎ, ABU'L HASAN AL BECRI, in Kor. Vide etiam LUDOVIC. MARRACC. de Alcoran. c. iv. p. 35—42. & SALE's notes on the *Korân*, p. 223, 224. JOAN. DAMASCEN. lib. de hæresib.

with gold and precious stones of paradise, once a year; but in the last year of his life he had the favour to see it twice. Many of the aforesaid parcels consisted only of a few verses, say they, brought by *Gabriel* at once from the lowest heaven, or, in the stile of the *Arabs*, the orb of the moon; which were afterwards written down from time to time by *Mohammed's amanuensis*, in such or such a part of such or such a chapter, till they were completed, according to the directions of the angel himself. The ninth and the hundred-and-fifth chapters only are supposed to have been delivered whole to *Mohammed*; so that 'tis not to be wondered at that little or no connection should be visible between the parts of the others. As for the twenty-second chapter, the eleventh and twelfth verses of it were said to be revealed at *Medina*, and the others at *Mecca*. There are many repetitions in the *Korán*, which render it very disagreeable to an elegant ear. The want of connection, so visible almost throughout the whole, gives a great degree of incertitude to many expressions, makes several passages appear little better than downright jargon, and introduces into various parts of this book a strange mixture of absurdity and confusion. The first parcel pretended to be revealed, is generally agreed to have been the first five verses of the ninety-sixth chapter. The confusion above-mentioned, which is acknowledged by an eminent *Mohammedan* writer, amounts to a sufficient proof, that some passages of the *Korán* at least are so absolutely unintelligible as not to admit of an exposition ^c.

NOT only the prophet's amanuenses, but several likewise of his followers, took copies of the revealed passages, after they had been communicated by him to the former of these, for their private use; but the far greater number of the *Moslems* got them by heart. The originals, when returned, were put promiscuously into a chest, without any order of time; for which reason it is uncertain when many passages were said to be revealed. The *Korán* does not only contain many articles extracted out of the sacred writings of the *Old and New Testament*, but many fictions likewise out of the *Talmud*, as well as some out of *Mohammed's* own brain; so that he was supplied with materials for it by the *Christians*, *Jews*, idolatrous *Arabs*, and his own fertile imagination. That the devil also, after he had transformed himself into an angel of light, or at least

^c AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xcvi. JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL GHAZAL. ABU JA'AFAR apud AL MAKIN, YAHYA, MOHAMMED EBN AED'ALLAH ZEMANIN, AL TABAR. apud Marraccium, de Alcoran. p. 39, 40. ut & ipse MARRACC. ibid. & p. 41—45.

assumed the form of such an angel, and taken the name of *Gabriel*, might have suggested some points to him, is judged not improbable by *Marracci* ^d.

BESIDES the variations in the copies of the *Korân* already *Various* mentioned, there are others occasioned by the different man-*readings*. ners of reading of the *Mokri's*, or *readers*, whose peculiar study and profession it was to read the *Korân* with its proper vowels. This the want of vowels in the *Arabic* character, when the prophet's pretended revelations were first committed to writing, rendered absolutely necessary. The greatest part of the variations at present observable in the copies of the *Korân* are such as have arisen from the diversity of vowels affixed to the same words by different *readers*, seven of whom especially are in great repute amongst the commentators on the *Korân*. For the characters, or marks, of the *Arabic* vowels were not used till several years after *Mohammed*. We must beg leave here to remark, that the *Korân* was first penned in the *Cufic* character; and that part of this book in that character on vellum was brought from *Egypt* by Mr. *Greaves*, which is still preserved in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford* ^e.

As there are many passages in the *Korân*, which are mani- *Passages* festly contradictory, and destructive of each other, in order *abrogated*. to obviate any objection that may be drawn from thence to the authority of that book, the *Moslem* doctors are obliged to have recourse, how absurd soever this may be, to the doctrine of *abrogation*. They pretend, that God, in the *Korân*, commanded several things, which were afterwards, for good reasons, abrogated and revoked; all which have been collected in one small volume by the *Imâm*, *Abu Hashem Hebatallah*, who, in the preface to his work, has given us a particular account of the nature of them. That author distinguishes them into three kinds: the *first*, where the letter and the sense are both abrogated; the *second*, where the letter only is abrogated, but the sense remains; and the *third*, where the sense is abrogated, tho' the letter remains. In this manner do they endeavour to fix the inconsistencies and absurdities of their own capricious and most infamous impostor upon that Divine Being, who is the source and fountain of all truth, which is ever uniform and consistent with itself, and *with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning* ^f.

^d AL MAKIN & ABULFED. ubi sup. MARRACC. ubi sup. c. iii. p. 34, 35, 38, 41, &c.

^e SALE's prelim. disc. p. 66.

Univ. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 396. Lond. 1748. ^f ABU HASHEM HEBATALLAH, apud Ludovic. Marracc. ubi sup. p. 42, 43. ut & ipse MARRACC. ibid. JAM. i. 17.

OF the first kind of abrogated passages were several verses, which, by the tradition of *Ans Ebn Malec*, were, in the pretended prophet's life-time, read in the chapter of *repentance*, but are not now extant; for a farther account of which we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the aforesaid *Imâm*, *Abu Hashem Hebatallah*, and *Marracci*. Of the second kind is a verse called the verse of *stoning*, which, according to the tradition of *Omar*, afterwards *Khalif*, was extant while *Mohammed* was living, tho' it be not now to be found; for the words of which the curious may have recourse to the above-mentioned authors. Of the last kind are observed several verses in sixty-three different chapters, to the number of 225; all of which have been enumerated by the above-mentioned *Imâm*. It must be here observed, that tho' for the most part the abrogated passages precede those that revoke them, as in the order of nature they ought to do, yet there are not wanting instances in the *Korân* of passages abrogating those that follow them; of which two, contained in the second and thirty-third chapters, are particularly eminent. This, which by the way *Mr. Sale*, with his usual ingenuity, has thought fit not to touch upon, is as absurd as if a prince should repeal a law before he had enacted it, or at least before the promulgation of it. No good reason, certainly, can be assigned either why some of *Mohammed's* moral decisions, perfectly right and rational in themselves, as they undoubtedly were, should have been cancelled, or why the preposterous method of *abrogation* here mentioned should have been observed. But these are only a taste of the numerous absurdities with which the book of the *Mohammedan* law, however it may have been cried up by some pretended *Christians* in this wicked and licentious age, abounds.

Disputes concerning the creation of the Korân.

BUT notwithstanding this, the *Korân* is held in the highest reverence and esteem amongst the *Mohammedans*. They stile it, by way of eminence, the book of GOD, as the *Christians* do their bibles, believing that every part, nay every word, of it came from heaven. They call it the *true book*, the *book sent by GOD*, the *rule void of all obliquity*, the *director of men and demons*, the *perpetual miracle*, the *greatest of miracles*, the *most excellent of all holy books*, the *most elegant of compositions*; and honour it with many other very extraordinary appellations. Nay, *Ahmed Abd'alhalim* affirms the *Korân* to be the quintessence of all other sacred books; and *Abu Mohammed Mostafa Ebn Al Sayyed Elusan*, surnamed *Al Fannâbi*, says it contains 60,000 miracles. However, tho' it is the be-

§ *ABU HASHEM HEBATALLAH & MARRACC. ubi sup. Al Kor. MOHAM. l. ii, xxxiii. SALE'S prelim. disc. p. 66, 67.*

lief of the *Sonnites*, that the *Korân* is uncreated, and *Mohammed* himself is said to have pronounced him an infidel who asserted the contrary; yet the sect of the *Motâzalites*, and the followers of *Iſa Ebn Sobeih Abu Mûſa*, ſurnamed *Al Mozdâr*, accuſed thoſe who maintained that opinion of infidelity, looking upon them as aſſertors of two eternal beings. Nay, this point was controverted with ſo much heat, that it occaſioned a ſort of perſecution under ſome of the *Khalifs* of the family of *Abbâs*; *Al Mamûn* making a public edict, declaring the *Korân* to be created, which was confirmed by his ſucceſſors *Al Mûtaſem* and *Al Wâthek*, who whipt, imprifoned, and put to death thoſe of the contrary opinion. But at length *Al Moſawakkel*, who ſucceeded *Al Wâthek*, revoked the former edict, releaſed thoſe that were imprifoned on that account, and permitted every man to believe what he pleaſed in the point before us. *Al Ghazâlî* intimates, that the original idea of the *Korân* only was really in GOD, and conſequently co-eſſential and co-eternal with him; but that the copies of it were created, and the work of man; by which he ſeems to have reconciled, however difficult at firſt fight that may appear to be, both the foregoing opinions ^h.

It muſt likewiſe be here obſerved, that *Iſmael Shabînſhab* and *Shahar Settani* aſſure us, that the *Motâzalites*, together with their leader *Al Mozdâr*, and *Ibrahim Al Nodhûm*, aſſerted the *Korân* to have nothing miraculous in it, in reſpect to ſtile or compoſition, excepting only the prophetical relations of things paſt, and predictions of things to come. Nay, they ſcrupled not to maintain, that had GOD left men to the guidance and direction of their own natural faculties and powers, the *Arabs* might have compoſed ſomething even ſuperior to the *Korân* in eloquence, method, and purity of language. However, theſe ſectaries, or rather heretics, are cenſured by the aforeſaid writers, as well as the body of the *Sonnites*, for holding ſuch impious tenets. *Al Fakhedh*, the chief of a ſect bearing his name, uſed to term the *Korân* a body, which might ſometimes be turned into a man, and ſometimes into a beaſt; which ſeems to agree with the notion of thoſe who aſſert the *Korân* to have two faces, one of a man, the other of a beaſt; thereby probably alluding to the double interpretation it will admit of, according to the letter or the ſpirit. It was *Ahmed Ebn*

^h AL JANNAB. & AHMED EBN ABD'ALHALIM apud Marracc. ubi ſup. p. 43, 44. AL GHAZAL. ibid. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocock. not. in ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 220. ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid. ISM. ABULFED. ubi ſup. & Pocock. p. 219. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, p. 245, 253, 257, 262. AL MAKIN, in vit. Al Mamûn. AL GHAZAL. in prof. fid. Vide etiam ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. apud Al Makin, ubi ſup. & MARRACC. ubi ſup. p. 43, 44, 45.

Abu David Ebn Abd'almalic, his *Visir* or *Wazir*, who excited the *Khalif Al Wâthek* to the cruelties above-mentioned ¹.

WE must beg leave here farther to remark, that *Al Mozdâr* had two disciples, who had both the name of *Jaasar*, and who settled the point relating to the creation of the *Korân* in the following manner. GOD, said they, created the *Korân* on the *preserved table*, from whence it cannot be transferred any whither else, since it is impossible for the same thing to be in two places at once. But the copies of the *Korân* read by the *Moslems* are written by human hands. Which seems equivalent to what has been advanced by *Al Ghazâlî*, who tells us, that the *Korân* is read and pronounced with the tongue, written in books, and kept in the memory; and yet is eternal, subsisting in GOD's essence, and not possible to be separated thence by any transmission into mens memories, or the leaves of books. But this amounts to no more than a bare assertion, that the original idea of the *Korân* was in the divine mind from all eternity; which may, with equal truth and propriety, be affirmed of the original ideas of all created beings, and therefore infers no superior excellency in that book. The foregoing distinction of the contents of the *Korân* into *assimilated* and *wisely disposed*, or, in other words, *allegorical* and *literal*, is admitted by all the orthodox *Mohammedans*. The former comprehends the more obscure, parabolical, and ænigmatical passages, as well as such as are repealed or abrogated; the latter those which are plain, perspicuous, liable to no doubt, and in full force. For the explication of these the knowledge of many things is requisite; as namely, whether the passage was revealed at *Mecca*, or at *Medina*; whether it be abrogated, or does itself abrogate any other passage; whether it be anticipated in order of time, or postponed; whether it be distinct from the context, or depends thereon; whether it be particular or general; and, lastly, whether it be implicit by intention, or explicit in words. But for a farther account of the rules observed by the commentators on the *Korân*, in their expositions of that celebrated book, our curious readers may have recourse to the writers cited by *Marracci*, which we have pointed out here, who will give them full and ample satisfaction in this affair ^k.

¹ ISMAEL SHAHINSHAH & SHAHAR SETTANI, apud Marracc. ubi sup. p. 44. ut & ipse MARRACC. ibid. ABULFED. & AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocock. ubi sup. p. 222. AL JAHEDEH, apud Marracc. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ^k AL MAKIN, ubi sup. AL GHAZAL. ubi sup. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iii. AHMED EBN MOH. AL THALEBI, in princip. expof. Alc. YAHYA EBN AL SALAM AL BASRI, in princip. expof. Alc. MARRACC. ubi sup. p. 44, 45.

As the *Mohammedans* are taught to believe such extraordinary things of the *Korân*, 'tis no wonder they should hold it *The honour* in so exceeding high a veneration. They will not suffer it to *be read, possessed, nor even touched by any of a different persuasion*; so that if it is found in the possession of either a *Jew* or a *Christian*, it may prove of fatal consequence to him. Nor do the *Moslems* themselves so much as touch it without being first washed or legally purified; which lest they should do by inadvertence, they write these words on the cover or label, "*Let none touch it, but they who are clean.*" They read it with great care and respect, never holding it below their girdles. They swear by it, consult it on all weighty occasions, carry it with them to war, write sentences of it in their banners, as they formerly at least did upon their coins, and adorn it with gold and precious stones. In fine, they consider it as the most perfect composition that ever appeared in the world; as predicted by the law and the gospel, and corroboratory of both; as preserved in a particular manner by the immediate hand of providence, and as containing mysteries that are fully comprehended and understood by God alone. But notwithstanding these exalted notions, they are so far from thinking the *Korân* to be either profaned or debased by a translation, that they have taken care to have it translated into the *Persian*, *Malayan*, and other tongues; tho', out of respect to the original *Arabic*, these versions are generally, if not always, interlineary. However, they entertain by far the highest sentiments of the original *Arabic*; believing, that God will never suffer it to receive the least addition, defect, or alteration¹.

BEFORE we take upon us to particularize the doctrines and *Islâm the* positive precepts of the *Korân*, which relate to faith and religious duties, we must beg leave to inform our readers, that *name of* *Mohammed* gave to his religion the name of *Islâm*, or, as 'tis *the* frequently termed by *Christians*, *Islamism*; which word properly denotes *resignation*, or *submission*, to the service and commands of God. Some, however, interpret it *the saving* religion, and derive it from the *Arabic* word *Aflama*, the fourth conjugation of *Salama*, importing *to enter into a state of salvation*. From which root is likewise deduced the word *Moslem*, denoting, in the *Arabic* language, *a true believer*, or *professor of Islamism*. Some of the *Mohammedans* pretend, that the true religion was generally professed till *Abel* was murdered; but others, that it remained till the days of

¹ LUDOVICUS MARRACCIUS, ubi sup. p. 45. HADRIAN. RE-
LAND. de relig. Mohammedic. p. 265. & p. 25, 26, 27. SALE's
prelim. disc. p. 69.

Noah. They also believe that *Islamism* was the religion of all the prophets; and that it universally prevailed in *Arabia* till the time of *Amru Ebn Lohai*, king of *Hejâz*, the great introducer of idolatry into that country ^m.

The divi-
sion and
funda-
mental
points of
Islamism.

It has been already observed, that *Mohammed* comprehended the whole substance of his doctrine under these two propositions, or articles of faith; viz. that there is but one God, and that himself was the apostle of God. By virtue of the latter of which articles all such ordinances, as he thought fit to establish, are received by his followers as of divine institution. The *Moslems* divide their religion into two parts; *Imân*, i. e. *faith*, or *theory*, and *Dîn*, i. e. *religion*, or *practice*. The former consists of the two articles, or propositions, above-mentioned; which include in them the six following particulars: a belief in God; in his angels; in his scriptures; in his prophets; in the resurrection, and day of judgment; and in God's absolute decree and predetermination both of good and evil. The points relating to practice are prayer, as well as every thing relative and preparatory to it; *zacât*, or alms, the payment of which *Mohammed* very artfully made one main article of his religion, as it enabled him always to keep on foot a considerable body of troops; fasting in the month of *Ramadân*; and the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. The definition of *Islamism* laid down here, as it includes both the *Imân* and *Dîn*, is no other than that given by *Mohammed*, as the *Moslems* pretend, to the angel *Gabriel*. Which definition, or description, according to them, was likewise approved of, and rendered absolutely authentic, by the testimony of that angel ⁿ.

The exist-
ence of
angels as-
serted in
the Ko-
rân.

A belief of the existence of angels, and their purity, is strongly insisted on in the *Korân*. Nor can he escape the imputation of infidelity, who either denies that there are such beings, or hates any of them, or asserts any distinction of sexes amongst them. They believe them to be the servants of God, that are constantly employed in his immediate presence, and execute his commands on all occasions. Their pure and subtil bodies, they think, were created originally of fire, or rather light, and are free from those animal functions that distinguish the inhabitants of this terraqueous globe from those of the aerial regions. They maintain, that these excellent beings can assume various forms; that some of them adore God in different postures, whilst others either sing

^m JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 80. Vide etiam Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ii. & f. xxxvi. GOLII lex. Arab. in voce *Salama*, & PRID. life of Mahom. p. 11.
ⁿ Al Kor. MOHAM. pass. HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. et alib. SALE, ubi sup. p. 71.

praises to him, or intercede for mankind. They likewise believe, that they are of different orders; but that the highest of these ought not to be considered as objects of worship. Some of them, according to the *Moslems*, are deputed to take an account of our actions here, others to convey the souls of men to the places assigned them after their departure out of this world, and others to preside over hell, and keep guard against the devils there. They moreover hold, that some of them carry the throne of God; and that, in general, they are impeccable. *Al Beidawi* relates, that the tribes of *Khazâah* and *Kenâna*, in particular, denominated the angels the daughters of God°.

THE principal of these angels, according to the *Mohammedans*, are *Gabriel*, *Michael*, *Azrail*, and *Ijrafil*. *Gabriel* they call the *holy spirit*, and the *angel of revelations*, because he appeared to *Mohammed* sometimes in his own and sometimes in a human form, and revealed to him the *Korân*. *Michael* they take to be the friend and protector of the *Jews*; which notion is not only countenanced, but even confirmed by the prophet *Daniel*. *Azrail* they denominate the *angel of death*, because he is supposed to separate mens souls from their bodies; and they apply the name of *Ijrafil* to the angel whose office it will be to sound the trumpet on the day of the resurrection. It is to be observed, that the offices of these four angels are described almost in the same manner in the apocryphal gospel of *Barnabas*, only the two last are there called *Raphael* and *Uriel*. The *Oriental*s believe *Michael* to be one of the *Cherubim*, which *Dr. Hyde* takes to have been the same order of angels with that of the *Seraphim*; tho' from the *Psalmist* we may possibly infer the truth of the contrary opinion. Be that as it will, this learned gentleman seems not to be much mistaken, when he insinuates, that the *Seraphim* of the *Hebrews* answered to the *Teraphim* of the *Chaldees*; the *Sabin* of the former frequently corresponding with the *Thau* of the latter. The *Teraphim* were probably images of the angels, which the ancient *Chaldees* and *Syrians* carried about with them. These the *Arabs* denominated *Ijrafin*; and one of their authors has defined them to be the *angels of figures*, or *images*, i. e. angels of whom the aforesaid nations made themselves images, which they considered as a sort of tutelary deities, and consulted them on all extraordinary occasions P.

THE

° *Al Kor. MOHAM.* f. ii. & xxxviii. *JALLAI O'DDIN*, *AL ZAMAKHSHAR*. *YAHYA*, *ALBEIDAWI*, *HADR. RELAND.* ubi sup. p. 13—17. P *Al Kor. MOHAM.* f. ii, vi, xiii, lxxxvi. *JALLAI O'DDIN*, *ALBEIDAWI*, *HYDE*, *hist. rel. vet. Pers.* p. 262, 271, 272.

THE *Mohammedans* also believe, that two guardian angels attend on every man, to observe and write down his actions; and that they are changed every day. Which notion, as well as almost every other concerning angels, their prophet and his disciples seem to have borrowed from the *Jews*; who, according to the *Jerusalem Talmud*, learned the names and offices of those beings from the *Persians*. This last nation, from the remotest antiquity, acknowledged the ministry of angels, and their superintendency over the affairs of the world. *Gabriel* they called *So:ûsh* and *Revân bakhs*, or *the giver of souls*; *Azraël* went amongst them by the name of *Mordâd*, or *the giver of death*; and to *Michael* they assigned that of *Beshter*, supposing him to provide sustenance for mankind. The usual appellation given by the *Moslems* to the devil is *Eblis*, which Mr. *Reland* deduces from a word signifying *despair*; tho' we are rather inclined to believe it a corruption of the *Greek* name *Diabolos*. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers pretend, that he worshipped God 80,000 years before the creation of *Adam*, but was then infected both with envy and infidelity. He was expelled heaven, according to the *Korân*, for refusing to pay homage to *Adam* at the command of God. The first name of *Eblis*, whilst in a state of innocence, was *Azazil*, derived, as should seem, from the *Hebrew* word *azazel*, signifying a goat; which has induced *Reland* to imagine, that *Mohammed* received that name from the *Jews*; and that therefore this people looked upon the goat as an animal sacred to the devil. *Eblis* is sometimes also stiled *Al Sheitan*, or *Satan*, in the *Korân*; which name is likewise applied by *Al Jauhari* to the rebellious *Genii*, whom the *Arabs* take to be distinct from devils, wicked men, and even the most obstinate of brutes themselves.

THE *Genii* here mentioned, according to the *Moslem* notion of them, are an intermediate order of creatures, created of fire, but of a grosser fabric than angels. These the *Mohammedans* suppose to be mortal, to eat and drink, and even to propagate their species. Some of them, we are told, were converted on hearing the *Korân*; *Mohammed* having pretended to be sent for their conversion, as well as that of men. Some of the *Orientals* believe them to have inhabited the world for many ages before *Adam* was created, and relate

DAN. x. 13, 20, 21. TARG. ad Psal. cxxxvii. 7. MENAGIAN. tom. iv. p. 333.

9 Al KOR. MOHAM. f. x. TALMUD HIEROS. in Rosh nashana. HYDE, ubi sup. c. xix, xx. HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 189, 190, 193. SHAHABODDIN ABU'L ABBAS AHMED, apud Hadr. Reland. ibid. Al KOR. MOHAM. f. xv, xviii. ABU'L KASEM, in observ. MStis ad Alcoran. apud Reland. ubi sup. p. 194. Al KOR. MOHAM. f. vii, viii. AL JAUHAR. AL BEIDAWI.

many

many fabulous particulars of them, and their princes. The *Arabs* imagine, that these *Genii*, whom they call *Fin*, haunt all solitudes and deserts in the evening; so that, when they find themselves in such places at that time, they generally address themselves to the chief of these *Genii* in the following terms: *I fly for refuge to the Lord of this valley, that he may defend me from the foolish amongst his people.* Hence it appears, that the *Arabs* believe the *Genii*, some of whom, or at least of a species similar to them, they call *Peri*, or *fairies*, some *Div*, or *giants*, and others *Tacwins*, or *fates*, to be placed at a very small distance from the surface of the earth, if they may not be considered as proper inhabitants of it. That *Mohammed* and his followers borrowed their notions of these beings also from the *Jews*, appears from hence, that the latter entertain almost the very same sentiments of a sort of demons called *Shedim* that the *Moslems* do of their *Fin*, or *Genii*; as also of their *Peri*, *Div*, and *Tacwins* ¹.

THE *Moslems* hold it necessary for a believer to admit, that GOD vouchsafed mankind several revelations of his will that preceded the *Korân*. All which revelations, or, in other words, the books that contained them, they consider as the word of GOD, and consequently assign them a divine original. The number of these sacred books were, according to them, an hundred and four; of which ten were given to *Adam*, and not twenty-one, as we find intimated by *Hottinger* and *Marracci*, the authors followed by them seeming only to assert, that the first book revealed to *Adam* consisted of one-and-twenty leaves. Fifty of them were revealed to *Seth*; thirty to *Enoch*, from his knowledge surnamed *Edris*, supposed by *Abd'allah Mohammed Ebn Sokeiker Anhaswâli* to have been translated to heaven on the tenth day of the month *Al Mobarram*; ten to *Abraham*; one, comprehending the *Pentateuch*, to *Moses*; one, containing the *Psalms*, to *David*; another, or the *Gospel*, to *Jesus*; and the last, after which no more revelations are to be expected, by his followers denominated the *Korân*, to *Mohammed*. All which divine books, except the four last, they agree to be now intirely lost, and their contents unknown; tho' they stigmatize with the name of *infidel* every person who entertains the least doubt of their real existence in former ages. The *Pentateuch*, the *Psalms*, and the *Gospel*, they say, have been so grossly corrupted by the *Jews* and the *Christians*, that the copies of those books at

¹ Al Kor. MOHAM. f. lv. JALLALO'DDIN, in Al Kor. f. ii. & xviii. ut & ipse AL KOR. f. lv, lxxii, lxxiv, &c. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 369, 820, &c. AL BEIDAWI, Lib. ZOHAR. Vide etiam GEMARA, in Hagig¹.

present in their hands are by no means to be depended upon. The principal reasons urged in support of this opinion may be seen in the beginning of *Ismael Ebn Ali's* history, and the *Prodromus* of *Marracci*; but as they have been all fully answered by the last author, and several others, it would be superfluous to enumerate them here. The *Jews*, in particular, are frequently reflected on in the *Korân* for falsifying and corrupting their copies of the *Law*; several instances of such pretended falsifications and corruptions being hinted at in that book. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers also, and particularly *Ahmed Ebn Zin Alabeddin*, a noble *Persian*, who penned a treatise in *Persic* against the *Christian* religion, assert, that not only the *Pentateuch*, but the *Psalms* likewise, and even the *Gospel*, have undergone many alterations; but herein they follow merely their own prejudices, and the fabulous accounts of spurious legends. The *Moslems* have an *Arabic* and a *Persic* version of the *Psalms* of *David*, translated, according to *Mr. Reland*, from some of our copies; to which are added certain prayers of *Moses*, *Jonas*, and others; but *Mr. D'Herbelot* considers this version as a manifest and palpable corruption of that sacred book whose name it bears. We are told by an eminent traveller, that a copy of the *Pentateuch*, tho' very much corrupted, is to be found amongst them; the truth of which seems to be doubted by *Mr. Sale*. Be this, however, as it will, they most certainly have a *Gospel* in *Arabic*, attributed to *St. Barnabas*, wherein the history of *Jesus Christ* is related in a manner very different from what we meet with in the true *Gospels*, and correspondent to those traditions which *Mohammed* has followed in his *Korân*. From these, or some other forgeries of the same stamp, the *Mohammedans* quote several passages, of which there are not the least footsteps in the *New Testament*. As for the *Korân*, they believe this not so liable to corruption as the *Pentateuch* and the *Gospel* have always been, and defy both men and geni to produce a chapter like any part of it.

Of the
prophets.

THE prophets, or messengers of God to mankind, were, according to the *Moslems*, endued with the power of performing miracles, free from great sins, and errors of a pernicious nature, professors of one and the same religion, that is *Islâm*,

* HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. c. iv. p. 17—29. HOTTING. hist. Orient. p. 22. MARRACC. in prodrom. Alcoran. p. 80. KESÆUS, JALLALO'DDIN; ISMAEL EBN ALI, in princip. suæ hist. & apud Marracc. in prodrom. p. 12, 13, 14. ut & ipse MARRACC. ibid. AHMED EBN ZIN ALABEDDIN, apud Marracc. ubi sup. p. 14. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 924. TERRY's voyage to the East Indies, p. 277. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 74. MENAGIAN. tom. iv. p. 321, &c. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. xvii.

notwithstanding the different laws and institutions they observed. They communicated to mankind the knowledge of several occult points, relating to the divine nature and attributes, to the resurrection, to future rewards and punishments, &c. that God was pleased to reveal to them, for the instruction and edification of his people. Some of these they allow to have been more excellent than others, tho' the lowest of them they believe to have arrived at a degree of perfection not attainable by any but those who were honoured with the prophetic function. The number of the prophets sent at various times into the world amounted, says one of the *Moslem* traditions, to no less than 224,000, or, as another will have it, to 124,000. Of these 313 were apostles, and six brought new laws or dispensations, which successively abrogated the preceding, viz. *Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed*. The first place they give to the revealers and establishers of new dispensations, and the next to the apostles. *Mohammed*, according to them, was the most noble of the prophets, and the first of all creatures. The most excellent of men, next to the order of prophets, in the opinion of the *Turks, Arabs, and Moors*, who are *Sunnites*, was *Abu Becr*, then *Omar*, then *Othmán*, and, lastly, *Ali*; but the *Persians*, the *Indians*, and some other *Moslems* subject to the *Persians*, who are *Shiites*, place *Ali* immediately after *Mohammed*. The next to these, in point of rank and dignity, according to the *Mohammedans*, were the six chief companions of the prophet, *Talha Ebn Obeid'allah, Al Zobeir Ebn Al Awám, Saad Ebn Abi Wakkás, Zeid Ebn Saba, Abd'alrahmán Ebn Awf, and Abu Obeidah*. These are succeeded by *Mohammed's* other companions, and they by that generation of men to whom the *Arab* prophet was more immediately sent, who, in the order of saints, are followed by *Al Ghazáli*, and all the other *Moslems*, celebrated for their piety and good works. The *Mohammedans* take notice of the writings of *Daniel*, and several other prophets, which they cite on certain occasions, but esteem them as inferior in point of authority to the sacred books above-mentioned †.

As the *Moslems* are not agreed in their opinion of the precise number of the prophets, so a belief of any particular number of these holy men is not required of them as an article of faith. But whoever either denies the veracity of any of these prophets, or even doubts of it, or hates the meanest of them, is considered as an infidel. Nor is this to be wondered at, as *Mohammed* acknowledged the divine authority of

† RELAND. ubi sup. c. v. p. 29—47. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ii, & alib. SALE, ubi sup. p. 75, 76.

the *Pentateuch*, wherein the names of some of these prophets are to be found, as well as of the *Psalms* and the *Gospel*, which likewise mention several of them. Nay, he often appeals to the agreement of the *Korân* with those sacred writings, and to the prophecies which he pretended were therein concerning himself, as proofs of his mission. His followers also fail not to produce several texts even from our present copies of the *Old* and *New Testament*, in support of their master's cause. But, for a perfect account of these, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to Dr. *Prideaux* and *Marracci*, who in this point will give them full and ample satisfaction ^u.

Of the

state after
death, the
examina-
tion of the
sepulchre,
and the
resurrec-
tion.

THE *Mohammedans* believe a general resurrection and a future judgment, as has been already observed. Some of them also maintain, that not only the whole race of mankind, but that likewise of genii, shall die, and then be raised again. They acknowledge an intermediate state both of the body and of the soul after death. As soon as the former is laid in the grave, they say it is received by an angel, who gives it notice of the approach of two terrible angels, named *Monker* and *Nakir*, who order the dead person to sit upright, examine him concerning his faith, as to the unity of GOD, and the mission of *Mohammed*, and punish him in a dreadful manner, if he does not give a satisfactory account of his belief in both those particulars. This notion, called by the *Moslems* the *examination of the sepulchre*, was certainly borrowed by *Mohammed* from the *Jews*, amongst whom it was very anciently received. It is not only founded on an express tradition of the prophet, but also plainly hinted at, tho' not directly taught, in the *Korân*, as the commentators agree; and yet it is utterly rejected by the *Motâzalites*, or the followers of *Wâsel Ebn Atâ*, the scholar of *Hasan* of *Basra*. With regard to the soul, they hold that when it is separated from the body by the angel of death, who performs his office with ease and gentleness towards the good, and with violence towards the wicked, it enters into that state which they call *Al Barzakh*, or the interval between death and the resurrection. The word *Barzakh*, or *Barzakh*, primarily signifies any partition, or interstice, which divides one thing from another; but is used by the *Arabs* not always in the same, and sometimes in an obscure sense. They seem generally to express by it what the *Greeks* did by the word *Hades*; one while using it for the place of the

^u RELAND. ubi sup. p. 47. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 92—95. AL SHAHRESTAN. & SAFIODDIN, apud Pocock. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 183. AL JANNABI, apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 185. ut & ipse POCOCK. ibid. p. 183—186. LUDOVIC. MARRACCI. prodr. ad refut. Alcoran. p. 14—31.

dead, another while for the time of their continuance in that state, and another while for the state itself. It is defined by their critics to be the *interval*, or *space*, between this world and the next, or between death and the resurrection. If the departed person was a good believer, they say two angels convey his soul to heaven, that a place may be assigned it there, according to its degree and merit. For they distinguish the souls of the pious faithful into three classes; the first of prophets, whose souls are admitted into paradise immediately; the second of martyrs, whose spirits, according to a tradition of *Mohammed*, rest in the crops of green birds, which eat of the fruits and drink of the rivers of paradise; and the third of others, concerning the state of whose souls before the resurrection, there is a variety of opinions. We must beg leave here to remark, that infidels only, according to the *Moslem* notion of a future distribution of rewards and punishments, will remain for ever in hell; and consequently, that not a single believer, however vicious and abandoned his course of life may have been, shall perish everlastingly. However, they believe, that the wicked amongst the faithful, if that term may be allowed, shall be punished hereafter in one of the stories, or apartments, of hell, in proportion to the number and guilt of the sins they committed here; after which they are to enter paradise, where they will be for ever inconceivably happy. The *Moslem* doctors maintain, that a person who either desires not paradise, or fears not hell, or has not an awful sense of the resurrection, is guilty of a most malignant and damnable species of infidelity ^w.

THO' some of the *Mohammedans*, and particularly *Ebn Sina*, have thought that the resurrection will be merely spiritual, and others, who allow man to consist of body only, that it will be merely corporeal; the received opinion is, that both body and soul will be raised. As to the manner of the resurrection, concerning which their doctors dispute with great subtilty, and the ridiculous notion of the incorruption, or rather incorruptibility, of the bone called by the *Arabs* *Al Ajb*, which we name the *os coccygis*, or rump-bone, we shall beg leave to refer our curious readers to the learned Dr. *Pocock*, for a farther account of them. It may not, however, be im-

^w AL GHAZAL. POC. not. in port. *Mosis*, p. 241, &c. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. viii, xlvii, &c. HYDE, in notis ad Albertum Bobovium, de visit. ægrot. p. 19, 20. AL SHAHRESTAN. & Autor SHARH AL MAWAKEF, apud Pocock. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 211, 212. EBN KHALECAN, in vita Wafeli. AL BEIDAWI; POC. not. in port. *Mosis*, p. 247, 248. EBN MARUF, apud Gol. lex. Arab. col. 254. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xxiii. HYDE, in not. ad Bobov. ubi sup. p. 19. RELAND. ubi sup. c. vi. p. 47—61.

proper to observe, that *Mohammed* was supplied with the foregoing notion by the *Jews*; who report almost the same things of the bone *Luz*, that the *Arab* prophet does of his *Al Ajb*. The time of the resurrection, according to the *Moslems*, is known to GOD alone. However, they say the approach of that day may be known by certain signs which are to precede it. These signs they distinguish into two sorts, the lesser and the greater; the former of which are in number eight, and the latter seventeen; a most particular and satisfactory account of which may be met with in Mr. *Sale's Preliminary Discourse*, extracted by Dr. *Pocock* from the best *Oriental* authors. We must not omit remarking, that, according to the *Mohammedan* belief, the irrational animals will also be restored to life at the resurrection, that they may be brought to judgment, and have vengeance taken on them for the injuries they did one another whilst in this world; as also that *Azraël*, the angel of death, together with all the other angels, men, and brutes, then remaining, will die, the very moment *Israfil* shall sound the trumpet the second time at the resurrection. The first blast of this trumpet, which they believe will be sounded three times, the *Moslems* call the blast of consternation; at the hearing of which all creatures in heaven and earth shall be struck with terror, except those whom GOD shall please to exempt from it. The second they denominate the blast of examination; when all creatures both in heaven and earth shall die, or be annihilated, except those which GOD shall please to exempt from the common fate. These, some say, will be the angels *Gabriel*, *Michael*, *Israfil*, and the angel of death, who yet will afterwards die, at the command of GOD. Some, however, suppose, that the creatures destined not to taste of death, which are mentioned in the *Korân*, are the angels who bear the throne of GOD; as also the black-eyed damsels, and other inhabitants of paradise. The space between the second and third blasts, according to *Yahya*, will be forty days; tho' others believe it will amount to as many years. The third and last blast the *Moslems* term the blast of resurrection, when *Israfil*, who, together with *Gabriel* and *Michael*, will be previously restored to life, and standing on the rock of the temple of *Jerusalem*, shall, at GOD's command, call together all the dry and rotten bones, and other dispersed parts of the bodies, even the very hairs themselves, to judgment. This angel likewise having set the trumpet to his mouth, and called together the souls from all parts, will throw them into his trumpet, from whence, on his giving the last sound, they will fly forth like bees, and fill the whole space between heaven and earth, and then repair to their respective bodies, which the opening earth will suffer to arise;

and the first who shall so arise, according to a tradition of *Mohammed*, will be himself. Nothing, according to some of the *Moslems*, shall survive the general exanimation, preceding the resurrection, except GOD alone, with paradise and hell, the inhabitants of those two places, and the throne of glory. Notwithstanding what has been advanced, the *Korân* seems to intimate, that *Israfil's* trumpet will sound but twice; however, in relation to this point, the commentators are divided in their opinions. To the creatures that shall be exempted from death some add the spirit who bears the waters on which the throne of GOD is placed, the *preserved table*, wherein are registered the divine decrees, and the pen wherewith they are written; all which things the *Mohammedans* imagine were created before the beginning of the world. Which notion, as well as most others relating to the resurrection, they have undoubtedly derived partly from some mistaken passages of Scripture, and partly from the *Jewish Talmud*. The throne of GOD, as they pretend, consists of gems of an inestimable value, being of a size and refulgency exceeding all description *.

THAT the day of judgment will come most inevitably, and with sudden violence, the *Mohammedans* infer from the beginning of the fifty-sixth chapter of the *Korân*. This day in that book is called *the hour*, as we find it termed by our Saviour himself in Scripture. That the resurrection preceding this judgment will be general, and extend to all creatures, angels, genii, men, and animals, according to the *Moslem* doctrine, has been already observed; which doctrine they endeavour to support by the authority of the *Korân*. That passage, however, which is produced to prove the resurrection of brutes, has been otherwise interpreted by some of the commentators. Those who are destined to be partakers of eternal happiness will arise in honour and security; but those who are doomed to everlasting misery in disgrace, and under dismal apprehensions. As to mankind, they say, that they will be raised perfect in all their parts and members, and in the same state as they came out of their mother's womb, that is, bare-footed, naked, and uncircumcised. Others, however, allege the authority of their prophet for a contrary opinion. *Mohammed* is also said to have farther taught, that the whole race of mankind shall be assembled at the last day, distinguished into three classes. The first, of those who go on foot, consisting of

* EBN SINA, sive AVICENNA, Poc. ubi sup. p. 117—254, 255, &c. Bereshit Rabbah, &c. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 79—83. Al Kor. MOHAM. pass. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 47—61. YAHYA, TALMUD HIEROS. in Massechet Pefachim. KESSÆUS, apud Hadr. Reland. ubi sup. p. 49, 50. ut & ipse RELAND. ibid.

such believers whose good works have been few; the second, of those that ride, who are in greater honour with God, and more acceptable to him; the third, of those who creep groveling with their faces on the ground, which will be composed wholly of the infidels, whom God shall cause to make their appearance with their faces on the earth, blind, dumb, and deaf. The last of which classes will be subdivided, according to another tradition of *Mohammed*, into ten sorts of wicked men, on whom God shall on that day fix certain discretionary marks. We must not forget to observe, that the resurrection seems to be called in the *Korán* the *meeting of God*, in agreement with an expression of the same import used by the apostle *St. Paul*; nor that many of the ancient *Arabs*, according to a manuscript of *Levinus Warnerus*, believed a future resurrection, as well as an universal judgment, before the birth of *Mohammed* †.

*The beings
to be judg-
ed.*

THE *Moslems* maintain, that not only mankind, but the genii and irrational animals also shall be judged on the great day of final retribution; when the unarmed cattle shall take vengeance on the horned, till intire satisfaction shall be given to the injured. With regard to men, they hold, that when they are assembled together, they will not be immediately brought to judgment, but the angels will keep them in their ranks and order while they attend for that purpose. Which attendance, some say, is to last forty years, others seventy, others 300, and, lastly, others no less than 50,000; each of them vouching their prophet's authority in support of his opinion. During this space, they will stand looking up to heaven, but without receiving any information or orders thence, and are to suffer grievous torments, both the just and the unjust, though with manifest difference. For the limbs of the former, particularly those parts which they used to wash in making the ceremonial ablution before prayer, shall shine gloriously, and their sufferings shall be light in comparison, lasting no longer than the time necessary to say the appointed prayers; but the latter will have their faces obscured with blackness, and disfigured with all the marks of sorrow and deformity. After they have all waited the limited time, God will appear to judge them; *Mohammed* undertaking the office of intercessor, after it shall have been declined by *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, and *Jesus*, who shall beg deliverance only for their own souls. God, they say, who will come on this solemn occasion in the clouds, surrounded by angels, and incircled with glory, will produce the books wherein the actions

† *Al Kor. MOHAM.* f. lvi. & f. vi. *JOHN* v. 25, &c. *SALE*, ubi sup. p. 85, 86. *1 THESS.* iv. 17. *HADR. RELAND.* ubi sup. p. 271.
of

of every person are recorded by their guardian angels, and will command the prophets to bear witness against those to whom they have been respectively sent. Then, continue they, every one will be examined concerning all his words and actions uttered and done by him in this life. They must then give an account of their time, how they spent it; of their wealth, by what means they acquired it, and how they employed it; of their bodies, wherein they exercised them; of their knowledge and learning, what use they made of them. It is said, however, that *Mohammed* has affirmed, that no less than 70,000 of his followers should be permitted to enter paradise without any previous examination; which seems to be contradictory to what has been advanced above. As to the length of the day of judgment, the *Korân* in one place tells us, that it will last a thousand years, and in another fifty thousand. To reconcile which apparent contradiction, the commentators are forced to have recourse to several absurd expedients, and evasive shifts. The place where the angels, genii, men, &c. will be assembled to judgment, as the *Moslems* pretend, cannot be precisely determined. Both the *Korân* and the traditions of *Mohammed* suppose that it will be on the earth; but in what part neither of them has expressly declared. Some affirm, that the *Arab* prophet mentioned *Syria* for the place; others, a white and even tract of land, without inhabitants or any signs of buildings. *Al Ghazâli* imagines it will be a second earth, consisting, as he supposes, of silver; and others, an earth which has nothing in common with ours but the name. The two last notions may perhaps have been taken from the *new heaven* and the *new earth* mentioned in Scripture, or at least from some apocryphal book not unknown to the primitive *Christians*; such as the *Revelation of St. PETER*, where something similar to them is to be found. An *Arabic* version of this last piece is to be met with in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford*.*

BUT whatever length the day of judgment may be of, as *The fate* well as the space assigned by the *Mohammedans* for the attendance of the resuscitated before their trial, they tell us the trial itself will last no longer than while an ewe may be milked, or at farthest than the space between the two milkings of a she-camel. *Fallâlâ'ddin* affirms, that God will judge all creatures in half a day; and others, that this will be done in less

* *Al Kor. MOHAM. f. vi. MAIMONID. More Nev. par. iiii. c. 17. SALE, ubi sup. p. 86, 87, 88. AL GHAZAL. MS. Hifpano-Arabic. apud RELAND. ubi sup. p. 56, 57. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. xxxii. lxxix. AL BEIDÂWI, AL ZAMAKHSAR. REV. XXI. f. JOAN. GAGN. not. ad lfm. Abulfed. de vit. Mohammed. c. xix. p. 37, 38.*

time than the twinkling of an eye. The *balance*, wherein all things shall be weighed on this great day of trial, is, according to the *Moslem* description of it, of so vast a size, that its two scales, one of which hangs over paradise, and the other over hell, are capacious enough to contain both heaven and earth. This balance, if we may believe the *Mohammedans*, will then be held by the angel *Gabriel*; the books wherein the words and actions of the creatures to be judged are written, will also then, as they affirm, be thrown into the scales; and, according as those wherein the good or the evil actions are recorded shall preponderate, sentence will be given. Those whose balances laden with their good works shall be heavy will be saved, but those whose balances are light will be condemned. After this will follow that mutual retaliation, according to which every creature will take vengeance one of another, or have satisfaction made them for the injuries which they have suffered; the manner of giving which satisfaction will be, by taking away a proportionable part of the good works of him who offered the injury, and adding it to those of him who suffered it. This will be the method of God's dealing with mankind. As to brutes, after they shall have likewise taken vengeance one of another, he will command them to be changed into dust; wicked men being reserved unto more grievous punishment. With regard to the *genii*, some of the *Moslems* maintain, that such of them as are true believers will have no other reward than the favour of being converted into dust; whilst others judge, that, as they are capable of putting themselves in the state of believers, as well as men, they must deserve to be amply rewarded for their faith, as well as to be punished for their infidelity. These, therefore, assign the believing *genii* a place near the confines of paradise, where they will enjoy sufficient felicity. But the unbelieving *genii*, it is universally agreed, will be punished in hell eternally, with the infidels of mortal race. It may not be improper to observe, that, under the denomination of unbelieving *genii*, the *Mohammedans* comprehend also the devil and his companions. This sufficiently appears from the interpretation of the word *genii* given us by some of the commentators on the *Korân*, to omit other authorities that occur *.

The bridge AFTER all created intelligent beings have had their respective fates allotted them, the *Mohammedans* hold, that those who are to be admitted into paradise will take the right-hand way, and those who are destined to hell-fire the left; but that

* AL ZAMAKHSHAR YAHYA, POC. not. in Port. Mos. p. 278—282. AL-KOR. MOHAM. f. ii. vi. xviii. JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI, SALE's prelim. disc. p. 89, 90, &c.

both of them must first pass the bridge, called in *Arabic* *Al Sirât*, which they say is laid over the midst of hell, and describe to be finer than an hair, and sharper than the edge of a sword. Over this bridge the good will pass, say the orthodox *Moslems*, (for the *Motazalites* reject the whole notion as a fable) with wonderful ease and swiftness, like lightning, or the wind, *Mohammed* himself leading the way; whereas the wicked will soon miss their footing, and fall down headlong into hell, which is gaping beneath to receive them. This ridiculous fiction *Mohammed* undoubtedly borrowed from the *Magians*; some of the *Arabs* in his time being of their religion, and *Persia*, where this prevailed, at a small distance from him. For they taught, that on the last day all mankind will be obliged to pass a bridge, which they call *Pûl Tchînavar*, that is, *the strait bridge*, leading directly into the other world; on the midst of which they supposed that two angels, named *Mihr-Izâd* and *Reshn-Izâd*, will stand, and require of every man a strict account of his actions, which they will weigh in the manner here mentioned. Nor are the *Jews*, after whom *Mohammed* so frequently copied, altogether silent as to this bridge; tho' what the *Persian Magi* believe of the balance held by the angel *Mihr*, wherein mens actions will be weighed at the day of judgment, comes nearer to the *Mohammedan* opinion than the *Jewish* notion, from whence some have imagined it to be derived. However, the *Magi* seem not to have been intirely consistent with themselves in what they have related of the angels posted on the bridge *Pûl Tchînavar*, *Tchînavad Pûl*, or simply *Tchînavad*, *Tchina-var*, and *Tchînûr*, for it went by all these names; or at least Dr. *Hyde* has given us a confused and indistinct account of their sentiments in this particular. In one place we are told, that *Mihr* will hold the balance, and *Sorûsh*, *Surûsh*, or *Ufrûsh*, the other angel, supposed to be more fierce than *Mihr*, will precipitate the condemned souls from the bridge into hell; in another, that the latter angel takes care of the balance, and the former inspects the weight of mens actions, determines the fate of every individual of the human race, and is in fine the proper dispenser of rewards and punishments. Neither of which accounts strictly agrees with the *Sad-der*, or liturgy of the ancient *Persians*, containing an ample and complete collection of the precepts and canons of *Zerdusht*; in which these two angels are denominated *Mihr-Izâd* and *Reshn-Izâd*, and have both the same office assigned them, viz. to weigh the actions of mankind in the balance of justice and equity, in order to make a true estimate of them. Notwithstanding which, Dr. *Hyde*, without naming his guide, ventures to affirm, in direct opposition to the *Sad-der*, that *Mihr*, who represents the di-

vine mercy, will hold the balance in his hand, and *Sorāsh*, who represents GOD's justice, will precipitate those that are condemned from the bridge into hell; and has been followed herein by the learned Mr. Sale. But as the authority of the *Sad-der* is preferable to any other in the point before us, our curious readers will by no means be displeased that we adhere so closely to it here ^b.

The Mohammedan notion of hell, and its torments.

AMONGST the *Moslems* a tradition prevails, that at the last day hell will be dragged towards the divine tribunal by 70,000 halters, each halter being hawled by 70,000 angels; and that it will come with great roaring and fury. This notion, which represents the receptacle of damned spirits as a huge and monstrous animal, seems to have been taken from the author of the *Apocalypse*, who intimates, that, after the general judgment, *death and hell, or Hades, shall be cast into the lake of fire*. Be that as it will, the *Mohammedans* are taught, that hell is divided into seven stories, or apartments, one below another, designed for the reception of as many distinct classes of the damned. The first, which they call *Jebennam*, a name apparently deduced from the *Gebenna* of Scripture, they say, is destined for the wicked *Mohammedans*, who, after having been there punished according to their demerits, will at length be released. The second, named *Ladhā*, they assign to the *Jews*; the third, denominated *Al Hotama*, to the *Christians*; the fourth, named *Al Sair*, to the *Sabians*; the fifth, called *Sakar*, to the *Magians*; the sixth, by them termed *Al Jahim*, to the idolaters; and the seventh, which is the lowest and worst of all, going under the name of *Al Hawiyat*, to the hypocrites, or those who outwardly professed some religion, but in reality were of none. In these apartments, over each of which they believe there will be posted a guard of nineteen angels, the wicked, according to them, will suffer a variety of torments, both from intense heat and excessive cold. The degrees of these will also vary, in proportion to the crimes of the sufferer, and the apartment he is condemned to. It must be remarked, however, that, according to the *Mohammedan* system, the infidels alone will be liable to eternity of damnation; it being reckoned heretical amongst the *Moslems* to assert, that any one will in a future state be doomed to everlasting punishment, but such as die in their infidelity. The time which the believers shall be detained in hell, according to a tradition handed down from

^b Poc. ubi sup. p. 282—289. AL GHAZAL. AL MOSTATRAF, AE FIRAUZABAD. in Kam. GOLIVS, in lex. Arab. HYDE, de relig. vet. Persar. p. 245, 262, 266, 401, 402, 403, &c. Lib. SAD-DER, part. i. apud Hyd. ubi sup. p. 436. SALE, ubi sup. p. 89, 90.

Mohammed, will not be less than 400 years, nor more than 7000; and at the end of their respective terms of punishment, they will be released by the mercy of God, at the intercession of their prophet. Hence it appears, that *Mohammed* by no means denied the reality of a place of future punishment, in the same manner as do our modern deists, as some *Christian* writers have maintained; as also, that he never held, with *Origen* and his followers, that devils and impenitent sinners should at last be saved, as others have believed. For most of the circumstances relating to hell, and the state of the damned, *Mohammed* seems to have been indebted to the *Jews*, and in part to the *Magians*; both of whom agree in making seven distinct apartments in hell, tho' they vary in other particulars. The former place an angel as a guard over each of these infernal apartments, and suppose he will intercede for the miserable wretches there imprisoned, as do the *Mohammedans*. They also teach, that the wicked will suffer a diversity of punishments, and that by intolerable cold as well as heat; and believe those of their own religion shall also be punished in hell hereafter, according to their crimes, but will soon be delivered thence, when they shall be sufficiently purged from their sins, by their father *Abraham*, or at the intercession of him or some other of the prophets. The *Magians* allow but one angel to preside over all the seven hells, who is named by them *Vanand Yezad*, or, as those words are pronounced by the vulgar, *Vunmund Izud*, and, as they teach, assigns punishments proportionate to each person's crimes; restraining also the tyranny and excessive cruelty of the devil, who would, if left to himself, torment the damned beyond their sentence. They also mention and describe various kinds of torments, wherewith the wicked will be punished in the next life; among which they reckon extreme cold to be one, not admitting fire, out of respect, as it seems, to that element, which they take to be the representation of the divine nature. However, they consider hell as a subterranean prison, full of smoke and darkness, where devils in human and hideous forms exercise the greatest cruelty upon the damned. They likewise affirm, that serpents, frogs, and crows, all which animals are extremely disagreeable to the *Persians*, will, by their perpetual hissing, and croaking, heighten the punishment to which those wretches must be for ever consigned.

BETWEEN

* JALLALO'DDIN. REV. XX. 14. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xv, xl, xliii, lxxiv. Poc. not. in Port. Mos. 289—291. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 60, 61. MACCOVIUS, in theol. polem. p. 119. & apud Reland. ubi sup. p. 174. ut & ipse RELAND. ibid. THOMAS A JESU, apud Reland. ubi sup. p. 196—198. ut & ipse RELAND. ibid.

Of the
wall be-
tween pa-
radise and
hell.

BETWEEN hell and paradise the *Moslems* suppose a partition, called by them *Al Orf*, and more frequently, in the plural, *Al Arâf*, which is mentioned in the seventh chapter of the *Korân*. The word seems to be derived from the verb *arafa*, which signifies *to distinguish* between things, or *to part* them; tho' some of the commentators give another reason for the imposition of this name. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers imagine *Al Arâf* to be a sort of *limbo*, for the patriarchs and prophets, or for the martyrs and those who have been most eminent for sanctity, amongst whom they say there will be angels also in the form of men; tho' others of them are of a different opinion. From the foregoing chapter of the *Korân* it seems probable, that this intermediate partition is a sort of purgatory for those, who, tho' they deserve not to be sent to hell, yet have not merits sufficient to gain them immediate admittance into paradise, and will be tantalized here for a certain time with a bare view of the felicity of that place. The notions of the partition here described *Mohammed* must either have borrowed from the *Jews*, or have deduced from what we find related of the great gulph of separation in the Scripture^d.

Of Mo-
ham-
med's
pond.

BEFORE the righteous enter paradise, as the *Mohammedans* are taught to believe, they will be refreshed by drinking at the pond of their prophet; which he describes to be an exact square, of a month's journey in compass. The water of this pond is supplied by two pipes from *Al Cawthar*, one of the rivers of paradise, being whiter than milk, and more odoriferous than musk, with as many cups set around it as there are stars in the firmament. This water likewise, according to one of the prophet's traditions, is sweeter than honey, cooler than snow, and smoother than cream. Its banks are of chrysolites, and the vessels to drink thereout of silver; and those who drink of it shall never thirst. The word *Cawthar* signifies *abundance*, especially of *good*. 'Tis probable that the pond here mentioned, as well as the river *Al Cawthar*, its source, owed its origin to the *pure river of water of life*,

MILLIUS, de Mohammedismo ante Mohammed. p. 412. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 368, &c. Nishmat hayim, f. 32, 82, &c. Gemar. in Arubin, f. 19. Zohar, ad Exod. xix, xxvi. 2, &c. HYDE, de rel. vet. Pers. p. 245. Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni, par. xi. f. 86, 116. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ii, iii. BARTOLOCCII bibliothec. Rabbinic. tom. ii. p. 128. & tom. iii. p. 421. HYDE, ubi sup p. 182; 399, 400, &c.

^d Al Kor. MOHAM. f. vii. JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI, D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 121, &c. Midrash, Yalkut Sioni, f. 11. LUKE xvi. 26. HYDE, in not. ad Albertum Bobovium, de visitat. ægrotor. p. 19. OXON. ii, 1690.

clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of GOD, and of the Lamb, that occurs to us in the *Apocalypse*, in conjunction with the water given by our Saviour, of which those that drink shall never thirst. For the foregoing description both of this pond and the river *Al Cawthar*, we have been obliged to *Al Ghazali*, an author in great repute amongst the *Mohamedans* *.

WITH regard to paradise, tho' frequently mentioned in *Of para-* the *Korân*, the *Moslems* in their sentiments are not perfectly *dise.* agreed. The *Motazalites*, and some other sectaries, assert, that this happy region, or delightful garden, will be created hereafter, and consequently suppose it to be different from the paradise from which *Adam* was expelled. But the orthodox maintain, that it was created before the world, and is situate above the seven heavens, directly under the throne of GOD; tho' *Mohammed* seems to have placed it in the seventh heaven, as may be inferred from the second chapter of the *Korân*. The earth of it, as some pretend, consists of the finest wheat flour, or of the purest musk, or, as others will have it, of saffron. Its stones, as the *Moslems* believe, are pearls and jacinths, the walls of its buildings enriched with gold and silver, and the trunks of all its trees are of gold; among which the most remarkable is the tree called *Tûba*, or the tree of *happiness*, concerning which many ridiculous things have been fabled by the commentators on the *Korân*. The rivers of paradise, according to *Mohammed*, are one of the principal ornaments thereof. Some of these rivers, his followers say, flow with water, some with milk, some with wine, and others with honey; all of them taking their rise from the root of the tree *Tûba*. The garden also, as they pretend, is watered by a great number of lesser springs and fountains, whose pebbles are rubies and emeralds, their earth of camphire, their beds of musk, and their sides of saffron. The *Korân* seems to insinuate, that one distinct paradise will be prepared for men, and another for genii; or, as some imagine, two gardens to each person, one as a reward due to his works, and the other as a free and superabundant gift. Some of the fruits of these gardens, we are told, will resemble those eaten here on earth; but others will be of a new and unknown species, such as mortal eye never beheld †.

BESIDES these delicious fruits, there will appear in the garden, or rather gardens of paradise, as we are taught by *Mo-*

* AL GHAZALI, AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, REV. xxii. 1. JOHN iv. 14. Vide etiam EUTHYM. ZIGABEN. in panopl. dogmat. inter SYLBURGII Saracenic. p. 29.

† AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii, xlvi, lv. YAHYA, AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, RELAND. ubi sup. p. 31, 61, 199—205.

hamed in the fifty-fifth chapter of the *Korân*, vast numbers of agreeable and beauteous damsels, whom neither men nor genii have deflowered, kept in pavilions from public view, and called, from their large black eyes, *Hâr al ayan*, the enjoyment of whose company will be one of the principal felicities of the faithful. These, they suppose, will lie on green cushions and beautiful carpets, having before been cleansed from all impurities incident to the sex. The happy mansion wherein these resplendent and ravishing girls reside, which is also to be the residence of all true believers, the *Mohammedans* call *Al Jannat*, or the garden; and sometimes *Jannat al Ferdaws*, the garden of paradise, *Jannat Aden*, the garden of Eden, *Jannat al Mâwa*, the garden of abode, *Jannat al Naïm*, the garden of pleasure, and the like. By which several appellations some understand so many different gardens, or at least places of different degrees of felicity, (for they reckon no less than an hundred such in all) the meanest of which will afford its inhabitants so many pleasures and delights, that no creature could sustain them which had not the abilities of an hundred men. And these, as *Mohammed* has declared, will be given by GOD to every believer hereafter, in order to qualify him for a full enjoyment of them. Some of the *Moslim* doctors, according to *Jallâl'eddîn*, maintain, that these charming girls will be the proper inhabitants of paradise, as they will be produced originally there; whilst others of them are of opinion, that they will be translated from this globe we are seated upon to that blessed place *.

AFTER the righteous have refreshed themselves by drinking at *Mohammed's* pond, they will arrive, if we will believe *Al Ghazâli*, at two fountains, springing from under a certain tree near the gate of paradise; of one of which they will drink, in order to purge their bodies, and carry off all excrementitious dregs, and wash themselves in the other. As soon as they present themselves before the gate itself, each person will there be met and saluted by the two beautiful youths, of celestial extraction, appointed to serve and wait upon him; as also by two angels, bearing the presents GOD has sent him. After this, they shall enter paradise; tho' no person's good works, according to *Mohammed's* declaration, not even his own, will gain him admittance. No one will be saved by his own merits, but merely by the mercy of GOD. However, if any credit be due to the *Korân*, the felicity of each person will be proportioned to his deserts; and there will be abodes of different degrees of happiness. The most eminent of these will be reserved for the prophets, the second for the doctors and

* Al KOR. MOHAM. l. iv. AL BEIDAWI, JALLÂL'EDDIN.

teachers

teachers of God's worship, the next for the martyrs, and the lower for the rest of the blessed, according to their several merits. *Mohammed*, as he himself says, will enter paradise first, and after him the poor, five hundred years before the rich. He also farther informs us, that the majority of the inhabitants of paradise will consist of the poor, and the greater part of the wretches confined in hell of women. Immediately after their admission; as the *Moslems* fable, they will be entertained by Gob, who will reach out to them with his hand the whole earth, resembling a huge and monstrous loaf of bread, holding it like a cake. The 70,000 believers, who will be admitted into paradise without examination, as the generality of the commentators suppose, will feast upon the ox *Balâm*, and the fish *Nân*, the lobes of whose livers, according to them, will suffice 70,000 men. This seems to intimate, that those believers only will be permitted to feed upon that part, which the *Moslems* consider as the most elegant dish that can even in paradise be prepared. From this feast every one will be dismissed to the mansion designed for him, where he will enjoy such a profusion of delights as will vastly exceed both his expectation and comprehension. These will consist of seventy-two most lovely wives at least, a tent immensely rich, a prodigious number of servants, a surprizing variety of species of food served in dishes of gold, many sorts of the most delicious liquors brought them in vessels of the same metal, the richest wines void of an inebriating quality, most magnificent furniture and garments answerable to the delicacy of their diet, a numerous train of attendants, and in fine every thing that a sensualist or voluptuary can desire. Every sense will be gratified, every passion indulged. And that the pleasures of paradise may be tasted in their utmost height, the *Moslems* assert, that the inhabitants of that place will enjoy a perpetual youth, and be raised in their prime and vigour, that is, with the strength of a person about thirty years of age; which, as they affirm, will likewise happen to the damned, that they may be the more sensible of that extreme torment they must to all eternity endure. The *Mohammedans* believe, that hell has seven gates, and paradise eight; the former of which may be shut, and the latter opened, by fasting a certain number of days. By virtue of which notion, such a fast is strictly enjoined by the *Sonna*; nor do the orthodox *Moslems* fail to have recourse to one of their prophet's oral traditions in support of this opinion ^b.

* AL GHAZALI, KENZ AL ASRAR, AL BEIDAWI, JALLAL'ODDIN, AL KOR. MORAM. ubi sup. & alib. SALE's prelim. disc. sect. iv. HADR. RELAND. de relig. Mohammedic. lib. i. c. xi. p. 109—113.

As for those believers, whose sanctity was most transcendently conspicuous, and who arrived at an uncommon degree of perfection, in this world, an inexhaustible source of the most sublime and refined pleasures, infinitely superior to any thing hitherto described, according to the *Moslem* opinion, will be prepared for them. These, the *Moslems* say, will enjoy *such things as eye hath not seen, nor hath ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive*; an expression most certainly borrowed from Scripture. The *Korân* does not only intimate, but even expressly declare, notwithstanding what has been already advanced, that *their reward shall be most excellent, and that they shall even receive a superabundant addition*, or, in other words, that their reward will vastly exceed the merit of their good works. Which additional recompence *Al Ghâzali* supposes will be the beatific vision, or, as the *Mohammedans* sometimes term it, the favour of beholding God's face morning and evening; which will give such exquisite delight, that, in respect thereof, all the other pleasures of paradise, how great soever, will be lightly esteemed. This seems to imply, that the more sober and rational *Mohammedans* believe the principal happiness of the blessed to consist in spiritual enjoyments; and that the sensual paradisaical pleasures mentioned in the *Korân*, and by the commentators on that book, are to be taken in an allegorical sense. That such a notion is consonant to the genius of all the wiser *Moslems*, Dr. Hyde owns himself convinced from an answer he received to some queries relating to paradise from the *Morocco* ambassador, who therein assured him, that paradise bore not the least resemblance to any place here on earth. To which we may add, that Mr. *D'Herbelot* affirms *Mohammed* to have placed the *summum bonum*, or *chief good*, in the beatific vision, or the fruition of the immediate divine presence, to all eternity; and likewise to have maintained, that wherever that was there must be paradise of course. Nay, some of the *Arab* philosophers assert, that as soon as a soul, arrived at an exalted degree of perfection, leaves the body, it immediately tastes an ineffable pleasure and inconceivable complacency resulting from its nature and disposition; and that such souls as these more or less resemble the divine nature itself in proportion to the higher or lower degree of perfection to which they attain. Notwithstanding which, the contrary is so evident from the whole tenor of the *Korân*, that altho' some *Mohammedans*, whose understandings are too refined to admit such gross conceptions, look on their prophet's descriptions of the pleasures of paradise as parabolical, and are willing to receive them in an allegorical or spiritual sense; yet the general and orthodox doctrine is, that the whole is strictly to be believed in

in the obvious and literal acceptation. Which truth is so apparent and clear, that even Mr. Sale himself, however prejudiced he might have been in favour of the *Mohammedan* superstition, could not refuse his assent to it. Nor, indeed, would the depraved sensual taste of the *Arabs*, when *Mohammed* assumed the prophetic character, and set up for a legislator and reformer amongst them, permit him to appoint a spiritualized and intellectual paradise hereafter for his believers. He then found himself obliged to accommodate to the *Arab* disposition and constitutional bent his religious as well as his civil institutions. A point so clear as this could not be denied either by the count *de Boulainvilliers* or Mr. Sale, who have even endeavoured to defend the expediency of it, as has been already observed ⁱ.

THAT the *Jews* and *Persian Magi* supplied *Mohammed* with most of those notions relating to paradise, which his followers have all along embraced as undoubted truths, may be easily evinced from some good authors. The former describe the future mansion of the just as a delicious garden reaching to the seventh heaven, having three gates and four rivers, answering to those of the garden of *Eden*, flowing with milk, wine, balsam, and honey. Their *Behemoth* and *Leviathan*, which they pretend will be slain for the entertainment of the blessed, are so apparently the *Balâm* and *Nân* of *Mohammed*, that his followers themselves confess he is obliged to them for both. The *Rabbins* likewise mention seven different degrees of felicity, and say the highest will be of those who perpetually contemplate the face of God. The *Persian Magi* committed the care of the *Hurâni behisht*, or *black-eyed nymphs of paradise*, as well as of all terrene affairs, to the angel *Zamiyâd*, who, amongst them, presided over the earth, and the twenty-eighth day of the month *Isphendârmaz*, which the *Indo-Persians* pronounce *Spendarmoz*, called from him *Zamiyâd*. We are told likewise by the *Sad-der*, that those who are liberal in giving of alms shall be hereafter rewarded in paradise with the possession of several such beautiful girls. From the *Magians*, therefore, *Mohammed* seems to have derived the notion of his *Hûr al oyân*, or paradisaical ladies, whose charms have been represented as so attractive in the *Korân*. He also seems in some respect to have been obliged, for his

ⁱ ISA. lxiv. 4. 1 COR. ii. 9. AL GHAZALI, AL KOR. MOHAM, f. x. & Poc. in not. ad Port. Mos. p. 305. RELAND. ubi sup. lib. ii. sect. xvii. p. 199—205. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, HYDE, in not. ad Albertum Bobovium, de visitat. ægrotor. p. 21. D'HERBEL. & POCOÏKIUS, apud Reland. ubi sup. p. 203, 204. SALE, ubi sup. p. 101, 102, 103. Monf. le Comte de BOUTAINVILL. vie de Mahom. pass.

accounts of the felicity of the faithful in the next life, to the sacred writings themselves; the penmen of which were necessitated sometimes to represent the celestial enjoyments by corporeal images, it being impossible to convey to the apprehensions of the generality of mankind an idea of spiritual pleasures, without introducing sensible objects. But then the descriptions given us by these writers, particularly that laid down by our Saviour of the future state of the blessed, and that exhibited to us by St. *John* of the mansions destined for their future residence, are void of the most distant intimation of sensual delights, and all the ridiculous absurdities relating to paradise, that so frequently occur in the *Korân*. On the contrary, our Lord utterly explodes all such preposterous notions; which are so far from becoming an inspired apostle, such as the *Moslems* take *Mohammed* to have been, that they are repugnant to the fundamental principles of even natural religion itself.*

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WITH regard to women, tho' some of the most ignorant *Mohammedans* seem to exclude them from the joys of paradise, as not allowing them to have any souls, according to several *Christian* writers; yet that *Mohammed* himself entertained a far different opinion, and assigned some of them habitations in that delightful place, may be inferred from several passages of the *Korân*. Nay, that good women, after death, will have a mansion assigned them, different from that of the men, where they will enjoy all sorts of delights, is, according to Sir *John Chardin* and others, the prevailing opinion amongst the *Mohammedans*. In confirmation of which, we are assured by Dr. *Hyde*, that he was informed by a female captive, who had been made a prisoner at the reduction of *Bada*, and was at *Oxford* in *May* 1687, with whom he had a conference in *Turkish*, that the *Moslems* believed the souls of all the faithful, both men and women, after the dissolution of the vital union here, to be received into paradise. She also reprehended an ignorant *Turkish* youth, taken likewise at *Bada*, for presuming to differ from her in this particular. She farther declared, that, according to the *Turkish* doctrine, every individual of the human race should be hung over paradise and hell, at the resurrection, by a single hair only; and that,

* *Gemar. Tânieth, f. 25. Beraceoth, f. 34. & Midrash rabboth, f. 37. Megillah, Amkoth, p. 78. Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni. Gen. ii. 10, &c. Gemar. Bava Bathra, f. 78. Rashi, in Job i. Pœc. not. in Port. Mos. p. 298. Nishmat hayim, f. 32. Midrash, Tehillim, f. 11. Sad-der, port. v. HYDE, de rel. vet. Persar. p. 258, 265, 266. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. x. LUKE xxii. 29, 30, &c. MATT. xxii. 30. REV. xxi. 10. & xxii. 1, 2. JOHN xiv. 2. HARR. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 199—205. SALE, ubi sup. p. 101, 102.*

upon the rupture of this hair, the righteous should drop into the former, and the wicked into the latter of those places. The doctor also produces the testimony of *Ali Beigh*, a writer of good repute amongst the *Moslems*, in support of the same opinion¹.

THE next article of faith, insisted on by the *Korân*, is *Of God's* God's absolute decree, and predestination both of good and evil. For the *Sonnites* maintain, that whatever hath or shall come to pass in this world, whether good or bad, proceedeth intirely from the divine will, and is irrevocably fixed and recorded from all eternity in the *preserved table*. The *Motazalites*, however, or followers of *Wâsel Ebn Atâ*, held that God was not the author of evil, but of good only, and that man was a free agent, (which was also one of the distinguishing tenets of the *Kadarians*) and consequently denied absolute predestination. Of the article here mentioned *Mohammed* made great use on several occasions, and particularly at the battle of *Ohad*, fought in the third year of the *Hijra*, in which he was vigorously repulsed by the *Koreish*. In order the more effectually to still the murmurs of his party on their defeat, he represented to them, after the end of the action, that the time of every man's death is decreed and predetermined by God; and that those who fell in that battle could not have avoided their fate, had they staid at home. In fine, nothing could be better calculated than this doctrine for the advancement of *Mohammed's* designs; since, by representing to his followers, that all their caution could not avert their inevitable destiny, or prolong their lives for a moment, it encouraged them to fight without fear, and even desperately, for the propagation of their religion^m.

THE four fundamental points of religious practice, required *Of prayer*, by the *Korân*, are prayer, giving of alms, fasting, and the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. Under prayer are comprehended those *previous* legal washings or purifications, which are preparatory there-*purifications* to; of which there are two degrees, one called *Ghoûl*, being a total immersion of the body in water; and the other *Wodû*, which is the washing of their faces, hands, and feet, after a certain manner. The first is required in some extraordinary

¹ GRELLOT, voyage de Constant. p. 275. RICAUT's present state of the Ottoman empire, l. ii. c. 21. HORNBEEKIUS, in summa contro. p. 16. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iii, iv, xiii, xvi, xl, xlviii, lvii, lx, lxvi. CHARD. voy. tom. ii. p. 328. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 205—209. ALI BEIGH, apud Hyd. in not. ad Albertum Bobovium, ubi sup. p. 21. ut & ipse HYD. ibid. SALE, ubi sup. p. 102, 103.

^m AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xlii, xlvii. AL BRADAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. JALLALO'DDIN, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 238—241.

cases only; the latter is the ordinary ablution in common cases, and before prayer, and must necessarily be used by every person before he can enter upon that duty. We have already observed, that *Mohammed* borrowed these purifications either from the *Jews*, or his own countrymen; it being certain, that the pagan *Arabs*, long before the birth of that impostor, used such lustrations. Some of the *Moslems*, however, pretend that they are as ancient as *Abraham*, who, they say, was enjoined by God to observe them, and was shewed the manner of making the ablution by the angel *Gabriel*, in the form of a beautiful youth. Others deduce the matter higher, and imagine that these ceremonies were taught our first parents by the angels. Besides these washings, there is another purification, performed by defrication, enjoined in the fifth *Sûra*, or chapter, of the *Korân*. It is called *Al Tay-amom*, which properly denotes the action of taking any thing from the surface, as fine sand or dust from the surface of the earth; whence it comes to signify the rubbing of the parts of the body with fine sand or dust, in lieu of water. The words of the *Korân*, enjoining this ceremony, are the following: *If ye be sick, or on a journey, or any of you cometh from the privy, or if ye have touched women, and ye find no water, take fine clean sand, and rub your faces and your hands therewith.* Which passage, the *Mohammedans* say, was revealed during the war of *Al Mostalek*, in the sixth year of the *Hejra*; tho' their pretended prophet seems not to have been so much indebted to his own cunning as to the example of the *Jews*, or perhaps that of the *Persian Magi*, for this expedient. The former of those nations prescribes lustration by dust or sand, where water cannot be had, in their *Talmudical* pandects; and the latter think a triple friction of their faces and hands with dust, when water is not at hand, before morning-prayer, is a duty incumbent on every person; tho', in order to a perfect purification, water must afterwards be used, and the morning-prayer repeated. But for a farther account of these and other particulars relative to the origin of this institution, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the *Sad-der*, as well as a learned author, whom we have frequently had occasion to cite in the preceding part of this work.

BESIDES

* *Al Kor. MOHAM.* f. iv. & alib. *RELAND.* ubi sup. p. 66—87. *Poc. not. in Port. Mos.* p. 356, &c. *MARK* vii. 3, &c. *HERODOT.* lib. iii. c. 198. *AL JANNAB.* in vit. *Abrah.* *Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab.* p. 303. *Pseudevang. S. BARNAB.* vers. *Hispan.* c. 29. *AL KESSAI, Al Kor. MOHAM.* f. v. v. 7. *Cod. Berachoth*, cap. ii. in *Gemar.* fol. 15. 1. *Poc. not. miscel. ad Port. Mos.* p. 389. *Geo. CEDREN. hist. compend.* p. 250. *Lib. Sad-der, port. lxxxiv.* apud

BESIDES the aforesaid purifications, the *Mohammedans* have another rite, which they consider likewise in a similar view, and that is circumcision. Tho' this be not directly required in the *Korân*, it is yet held by the *Mohammedans* to have been originally of divine institution. 'Tis probable this rite was derived from *Ismael* to his descendants, as well as the other *Arabs*, and particularly the *Hamyarites*, with whom they were intermixed. The *Ismaelites*, according to *Josephus*, were circumcised when about twelve or thirteen years old, at which time their father *Ismael* underwent that operation; nor do the *Mohammedans* circumcise their children before they can pronounce the profession of their faith; that is, somewhere between the ages of six and sixteen, or thereabouts. Tho' the prevailing opinion amongst the *Moslems* is, that the precept injoining circumcision was originally given to *Abraham*; yet some of them have not scrupled to assert, that *Adam* was taught it by the angel *Gabriel*. It must here be remarked, that the females, as well as the males, are circumcised amongst the *Mohammedans*; which agrees with what we find related of the *Arabian* women, in this particular, by *Strabo*. According to *Galen*, the rite of circumcision was performed on the *Egyptian* girls by an incision of the *nympha*, in the same manner as it is upon those of the *Mohammedans* at this day. The *Egyptians* circumcised their children, both male and female, in the fourteenth year of their age. That the *Moslems* do not confine this operation, as some writers suggest, to the thirteenth year, because *Ismael* was circumcised at that time, is evident from the example of *Mohammed*, the son of *Sultan Morad III.* upon whom the operation was performed in the sixteenth year of his age; not to mention other instances of this kind that occur. The *Moslems* also think, that combing the hair, cutting the beard, paring the nails, pulling out the hairs of their arm-pits, and shaving their private parts, are all points of cleanliness, and necessary in order to internal purification; which induces them to make these, as well as the foregoing lustrations, likewise indispensable duties.

apud. Hyd. de relig. vet. Pers. p. 477. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. cap. xliii. p. 83. ABU MOHAMMED ABD'ALLAH EBN ABI ZEID, in system. theol. MS. apud HADR. RELLAND. ubi sup. p. 81, 82. JOAN. GAGN. not. ad ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 83, 84. ° ALBERTUS BOBOVIUS, de circumcis. p. 22. PHILOSTORG. hist. eccl. lib. iii. JOSEPH. ant. lib. i. c. 23. GENES. xvii. 25. Pseudevang. BARNAB. vers. Hispan. c. 23. HADR. RELLAND. ubi sup. p. 75. STRAB. lib. xvi. GALIEN. de us. part. lib. xv. AMBROS. de patr. Abr. lib. xv. c. 11. POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 303. AL JANNAB. in vit. Abrah. AL GHAZALI, SALE, ubi sup. p. 106, 107. ORIGEN. in philocal. c. xxiii. p. 77.

As we have already given some account of the duty of prayer, we shall touch only here in a cursory manner on some of the most material particulars relating to it. With regard to public prayer, for the stated times of which *Mohammed* pretended to have received the divine command from the throne of God himself, when he took his night-journey to heaven, and which are frequently insisted on in the *Korán*, it must be performed by every conscientious *Moslem* at least five times a day, as has been already observed. At these times, of which public notice is given by the *Muedhdhins*, or *Criers*, from the steeples of their mosques, every *Mohammedan* prepares himself for prayer, which he performs either in the mosque or any other place, provided it be clean, after a prescribed form, and with a certain number of praises or ejaculations. He uses also certain postures of worship; all which have been particularly described by several authors. It is likewise requisite that he should turn his face, whilst he prays, towards the temple of *Mecca*; being directed thereto by a nich made within the mosque, called *Al Mebráb*, and, without, by the situation of the doors opening into the galleries of the steeple. There are also tables calculated for the ready finding out the *Keblah*, or part to which he ought to pray, in places where there is no other direction. The *Mohammedans*, during the time of divine service, never appear in sumptuous apparel, tho' they are obliged to be decently cloathed, lest they should seem proud and arrogant. They oblige likewise their women to perform their devotions at home, or at least not to approach the mosques whilst the men are there. But notwithstanding the numerous particulars comprized in the *Mohammedan* institution of prayer, many of which, especially the appointment of the *Keblah*, as has been already remarked, were borrowed from the *Jews*, the inward disposition of the heart, according to the *Moslem* doctors, is principally to be regarded in the discharge of this duty. This, they say, is the life and spirit of prayer; the most punctual observance of the external rites and ceremonies here mentioned being of little or no avail, if performed without due attention, reverence, devotion, and hope. We are told by an *Arab* writer, that thirteen things are requisite in public prayer: the intention; the magnification, and its formula; the station, or erect posture of the body; the reading of the first chapter of the *Korán*; the incurvation of the body; the second erection of the body; adoration; the former session; the latter session; the latter confession, and its formula; and, lastly, the order to be observed in the performance of these acts of devotion. The principal points relating to public prayer, mentioned in the *Sonna*, are: purification of the parts of the body from all kinds of pollutions; decent garments,

garments, proper to appear in on so solemn an occasion; the choice of a clean place to discharge this duty in; the knowledge of the stated time of public worship; the conversion towards the *Keblah*, or temple of *Mecca*; the former admonition, or convening of the people to prayer; the latter admonition; the former confession; and the form of the prayer to be used. For a perfect and complete knowledge of all which particulars, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the authors cited here. It may not be improper to remark, that the *Turks* and *Tartars*, who are *Sonnites*, perform the sacred ablution after a manner different from that of the *Persians*, who are *Shiites*; and that, according to *Cedrenus*, a *Jew*, at the point of death, was baptized by the *Christians*, before the time of *Mohammed*, with sand in the *Syrtes of Africa*, where no water could be procured.

THE next fundamental duty required by the *Mohammedan* Of alms. religion, and on which great stress is laid in the *Korân*, is the giving of alms; which are of two sorts, *legal* and *voluntary*. The latter are left to every one's liberty, to give more or less, as he shall think fit; but the former are of perpetual and indispensable obligation. The former kind of alms some think to be properly called *Zacât*, and the latter *Sadakât*; tho' this name be also frequently given to the legal alms. They are called *Zacât*, either because they *increase* a man's store, by drawing down a blessing thereon, and *produce* in his soul the virtue of liberality; or because they *purify* the remaining part of one's substance from pollution, and the soul from the filth of avarice. They seem to have obtained the name of *Sadakât*, because they are a proof of a man's *sincerity* in the worship of God. We are told, that the *Khalif*

P ISM. ABULED. de vit. Moham. p. 38. ABU HOREIRA, Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ii, v, vii, xx, xxix, xxx, &c. JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 38, 39. ABU MOHAMMED ABD'ALLAH EBN ABI ZEID, in suo systemat. theologic. MS. IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED AL HALEBI, in suo systemat. MS. fol. 9. col. 2. HOTTING. hist. eccl. tom. viii. p. 470—529. ALBERT. BOBOV. in liturg. Turcic. p. 1, &c. GREL. voy. de Constant. p. 253—264. CHARDIN, voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 388, &c. SMITH, de morib. ac instit. Turcar. ep. i. p. 33, 40, &c. HYDE, de rel. vet. Perf. p. 8, 9, 126. ALGHAZALI, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 305. Gemar. Berachoth. GENES. xix. 27. xxiv. 63. xxviii. 11, &c. DAN. vi. 10. MILLIUS, de Mohammedismo ante Mohammed. p. 427, &c. HYDE, de rel. vet. Perf. p. 5, &c. MAIMONID. in epist. ad profess. relig. Poc. ubi sup. p. 306. Gemar. Bava Bathra, & Berachoth. 1 KIN. viii. 29, &c. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 54. HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 87—99. GEORG. CEDREN. historiæ. compend. p. 250.

Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz used to say, that *prayer carries us half-way to God, fasting brings us to the door of his palace, and alms procures us admission.* And, indeed, this duty is often recommended, jointly with prayer, in the *Korân*; the former being held of great efficacy in causing the latter to be heard of God. Alms, according to the prescriptions of the *Mohammedan* law, are to be given of five things. 1. Of cattle, that is to say, of camels, kine, and sheep. 2. Of money. 3. Of corn. 4. Of fruits, viz. dates and raisins. And, 5. Of wares sold. In order to render alms efficacious, six things, as we are told by an *Arab* author, are requisite. 1. That the giver be a *Moslem*. 2. That he be free. 3. That he be the lawful possessor of that out of which he gives alms. 4. That he possess this in a proper quantity. 5. That he be in possession of it about a year. 6. That the cattle, of which alms are given, be either fed by the proprietor, or sent to pasture by him. The portion given in alms is usually about one part in forty, or two and an half *per cent.* of the value; tho' in some cases a much larger portion than this is reckoned due. At the end of the fast of *Ramadân*, every *Moslem* is obliged to give in alms for himself, and for every one of his family, if he has any, a measure of wheat, barley, dates, raisins, rice, or other provisions commonly eaten. The legal alms were at first collected by *Mohammed* himself, who employed them as he thought fit, to the relief of his poor relations and followers, but chiefly to the maintenance of those who served in his wars, and fought, as he termed it, for the cause of God. The *Khalifs*, his successors, for some time continued to do the same. The foregoing rules relating to alms seem to have been derived from the *Jews*, as well as many other of *Mohammed's* institutions; they being called by that people *Sedaka*, i. e. *justice*, or *righteousness*, greatly recommended by their *Rabbins*, and even preferred by them to sacrifices. A *See* is paid for every head, after the conclusion of the fast of *Ramadân*, whether they be free or slaves, infants or adults, men or women, according to *Abd'allah Ebn Abi Zeid*. The *Moslems* rank giving of alms amongst those duties denominated by them *Fard*, or of *divine institution*; so that it is more obligatory than any thing enjoined by the *Sonna*, or recommended to them by even the most authentic tradition. *Mohammed* is said, by *Al Peidawi* and *Jallâl'addin*, to have declared, that whoever pays not his legal contribution of alms duly, shall have a serpent twisted about his neck at the resurrection⁹.

THE

⁹ Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ii, & alibi pass. LUKE xi. 41. D'HERBEL. Bibl. Orient. p. 5. ABD'ALLAH EBN ABU ZEID, HADR. RE-
LAND.

THE third fundamental point of religious practice, enjoined *Of fast-*
the *Mohammedans*, is fasting; a duty deemed of so great mo-
ment by their prophet, that he usually called it *the gate of re-*
ligion. It was also held in such esteem by that great *Moslem*
doctor *Al Ghazáli*, that he reckoned it *one fourth part of the*
faith. According to the *Mohammedan* divines, there are three
degrees of fasting. 1. The restraining the belly and other
parts of the body from satisfying their lusts. 2. The restrain-
ing the ears, eyes, tongue, hands, feet, and other members;
from sin. And, 3. The fasting of the heart from worldly
cares, and restraining the thoughts from every thing besides
GOD. The *Moslems* are obliged, by the express command
of the *Korán*, to fast the whole month of *Ramadán*, because
on that month, as they pretend, the *Korán* was sent down
from heaven, from the time the new moon first appears, till
the appearance of the next new moon; during which time
they must abstain from eating, drinking, and women, from
day-break till night, or sun-set. In order to render the dis-
charge of this duty effectual and meritorious, three things are
requisite. 1. That the person who fasts should be a *Moslem*.
2. That he should be arrived at puberty. And, 3. That he
should not labour under any mental indisposition. The pre-
ceding injunction of the *Korán*, relative to the fast of *Rama-*
dán, the *Mohammedans* observe so strictly, that, while they
fast, they suffer nothing to enter their mouths, or other parts
of their body, esteeming the fast broken and null if they smell
perfumes, take a clyster or injection, bathe, wash their face
or hands, or even purposely swallow their spittle; some being
so cautious that they will not even open their mouths to speak,
lest they should breathe the air too freely. The fast is also
deemed void, if a man kiss or touch a woman, by any acci-
dent emit seed, has any menstuous blood drop upon him, be-
comes mad, or apostatizes from the faith, during the season
of fasting, or if he vomit designedly. We must not omit ob-
serving, that, in his ordinances concerning fasting, *Mohammed*
seems to have followed the guidance of the *Jerus*, no less than
in the foregoing particulars; and that, besides the fast of *Ra-*
madán, some others are commanded by certain authentic tra-
ditions. The extraordinary favour of GOD, on the day of

LAND. ubi sup. p. 99—109. CHARDIN, voy. de Perse, tom. ii.
p. 415, &c. MATTH. vi. 1. (ed. Stéph.) 2 Cor. ix. 10. Gemar.
in Bava Bathra, in Gittin, & in Rosh hashan. LEVIT. xix. 9.
10. DEUT. xxiv. 19, &c. Gemar. Hierosol. in Peah, & MAIMON.
in Halachoth Mataboth Aniyim, c. vi. Confer Pirke Avoth, v.
9. LUKE xix. 8. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, SALE, ubi sup.
p. 109, 110, 111.

the resurrection, is promised to those persons who fast only one day in the month of *Sbaabân*, by the *Sonna* ^r.

Of the pilgrimage WITH regard to the fourth point of practice, or the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, this is esteemed by the *Moslems* as so necessary and indispensable a duty, that, in their opinion, he who dies without performing it, cannot possibly be in a state of salvation. Of the time and manner of this pilgrimage, as well as of the temple of *Mecca*, the chief scene of the *Mohammedan* worship, we have already given a full and ample account in the life of *Mohammed*; and therefore an enumeration of the ceremonies used on that occasion must necessarily be deemed superfluous here. However, it may not be improper to observe, that they were almost all of them derived from the pagan *Arabs*, to whom they were known many ages before the *Moslem* prophet made his appearance in the world; particularly the compassing of the *Caaba*, the running between *Safâ* and *Merwâ*, and the throwing of the stones in *Mina*; which were confirmed by *Mohammed*, tho' with some alterations in such points as seemed the most liable to exception. These rites are still most religiously observed by the *Mohammedans*. However, it is acknowledged that the greater part of them are of no intrinsic worth, neither affecting the soul, nor agreeing with natural reason, but altogether arbitrary, and commanded merely to try the obedience of mankind, without any farther view; and are therefore to be complied with, not because they are good in themselves, but because GOD has so appointed. This was *Mohammed's* declaration, which his followers consider as a decision of infinite and unerring wisdom itself. Notwithstanding which, it must be owned, that the ceremonies prescribed to those who perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, are both silly and ridiculous in themselves, and to be condemned as relicks of idolatrous superstition. However, it cannot be denied, considering the nature of mankind, that *Mohammed* acted like a consummate politician, when he yielded some points of less moment to the *Arabs*, in order to gain the principal. And for this reason it was, that he found it much easier to abolish idolatry itself, than to eradicate the superstitious bigotry with which the *Arabs* in general, if we except only the tribes of *Tay* and *Khathâam*, and some of the posterity

* AL GHAZALI, AL MOSTATRAF, AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. ii. AL BEIDAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. JALLALO'DDIN, POC. not. in *carmen Tograi*, p. 89, &c. Siphra, fol. 252. 2. Tosephoth ad Gemar. Yoma, fol. 34. & MAIMON. in *Halachoth Tanieth*, c. v. f. 5. Gemar. Tanith, f. 12. & Yoma, fol. 83. & Es Hayim, Tanith, c. i. RELAND. ubi sup. lib. i. c. xi. p. 109—113. SALE, ubi sup. p. 111—114.

of *Al Hareth Ebn Caab*, who used not to go in pilgrimage thereto, were addicted to the temple of *Mecca*, and the rites performed there. After several fruitless trials, therefore, to wean them from that place of worship, which was held by them in such excessive veneration, especially by the people of *Mecca*, who had a particular interest to support that veneration, he found himself obliged to compromise the matter, and, rather than to frustrate his whole design, to allow them to perform the pilgrimage thither, and, after the example of their pagan ancestors, to direct their prayers to the *Caaba*. The *Moslems* pretend, that God shewed *Abraham* the spot where the *sacred house* at first stood, and also the model of the old building, which had been taken up to heaven at the flood. They likewise believe, that the origin of the *Caaba*, as a place of religious worship, is clearly revealed in the second and twenty-second chapters of the *Korân* *.

HAVING thus given a brief description of the positive precepts contained in the *Korân*, we must now beg leave to touch upon some of the principal of those of a negative kind that occur in this celebrated book. The first of these is the prohibition relating to the drinking of wine, under which name all sorts of strong and inebriating liquors are comprehended, which we meet with in several passages of the *Korân*. Some, however, suppose, that only drinking to excess is there forbidden; and that a moderate use of wine is allowed by the *Mohammedan* law. But the more received opinion is, that even the smallest quantity of wine, or other strong liquors going under that name, ought not to be drunk by any *Moslem*. Nay, the more conscientious *Mohammedans* are so strict in this particular, especially if they have performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, that they hold it unlawful not only to taste wine, but to press grapes for the making of it, to buy or to sell it, or even to maintain themselves with the money arising from the sale of that liquor. Some of the more rigid *Moslems* assert, that coffee comes under the prohibition that declares the use of wine to be unlawful, as the fumes of it have a certain effect upon the imagination. The generality, however, of the orientals (at least this seems to appear from their constant practice) are of a different opinion. This drink, which was first publicly used at *Aden*, in *Arabia Felix*, or *Yaman*,

* Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 310, & seq. AL GHAZALI, ABU JAAFAR EBN TOFAIL, in vit. Hai Ebn Yqkdhan, p. 151. edit. Pocock. AL KOR. MOHAM. l. ii. AL FAIK, de tempor. ignor. Arabum, apud Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Mohammed. p. 322. ISAI. lxiv. 6. AL SHAHRESTANI, AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 171. RE-LAND. ubi sup. c. xii. p. 113—122. SALE, ubi sup. p. 114—122.

about the middle of the ninth century of the *Hejra*, and thence gradually introduced into *Mecca*, *Medina*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, and other parts of the *Levant*, has been the occasion of great disputes and disorders, having been sometimes publickly condemned and forbidden, and again declared lawful and allowed. It has been frequently found by experience, in *Constantinople* and other larger cities of the *Ottoman* empire, that the use of coffee has proved of pernicious consequence to the state, the persons drinking it having often been engaged in plots, and forming schemes against the government; for which reason it has sometimes been there forbidden, even when the drinking of wine itself has been connived at by the people in power. However, the use of coffee is at present generally tolerated, and prevails almost intirely throughout the east, as well as that of tobacco; tho' the more religious make a scruple of taking the latter, not only because it inebriates, but also out of respect to a traditional saying, or rather prediction, of their prophet. Opium also and beng, or the leaves of hemp in pills or conserve, are esteemed unlawful by the rigid *Mohammedans*, because they intoxicate as wine does, tho' not so much as mentioned in the *Korân*. Several reasons have been assigned for the prohibition of inebriating liquors, so much insisted on by the *Mohammedan* law; but the following is that given in the *Korân*, viz. because the ill qualities of these liquors surpass their good ones, the common effects thereof being quarrels and disturbances in company, and neglect, or at least indecencies, in the performance of religious duties. Some of the *Moslems* abstain from wine only during the month of *Ramadân*; and others again drink it copiously in that month, tho' so solemnly appointed for a fast by the *Korân*. Some of the *Mohammedan* doctors maintain, that their prophet only prohibited the immoderate use of the strongest or most generous wines, and that therefore all his followers may drink these in moderation, and the thinner or weaker wines in what quantities they please, provided they do not injure their health by such indulgence, without running counter to any of the negative precepts of the *Korân*. Be this, however, as it will, the *Persians*, as well as the *Turks*, are very fond of wine, and on this account, as well as for some political reasons, indulge themselves in the use of it. They are likewise so extremely addicted to coffee and tobacco, that the *Turks* say, *a dish of coffee and a pipe of tobacco are a complete entertainment*; and the *Persians* have a proverb, that *coffee without tobacco is meat without salt*. We are told by *Abd al-kâder Mohammed Al Ansâri Al Ghezâri Al Hanbalî*, a manuscript copy of whose treatise concerning coffee is lodged in the *French* king's library, that the liquor extracted from that

that plant was common from times immemorial in *Ethiopia*. What that author has written about the origin and progress of the drink of coffee was taken, if he may be credited, from *Shahab'uddin Ebn Abd'aljaasar Al Maleki*, another *Arab* author, who lived near the time that coffee was first used at *Mecca*, and wrote upon the same subject. From the *Arabic* MS. of *Levinus Warnerus*, cited by *Spanhemius*, and by us already referred to, it sufficiently appears, that the more devout pagan *Arabs* totally abstained from wine long before the birth of *Mohammed*.

GAMING also, as well as the use of all intoxicating liquors, *Of the* is expressly condemned in the second and fifth chapters of the *prohibi-Korân*. The original word *Al Meisar*, which there occurs, *tion of* properly denotes a particular game performed with arrows, *gaming*-and much in vogue amongst the pagan *Arabs*. But by *lots* there we are plainly to understand all games whatsoever, which are subject to chance or hazard, as dice, cards, &c. For a full account of the game *Al Meisar*, or the manner of casting lots by arrows, performed by the division of a young camel into ten or twenty-eight parts, our curious readers may consult the authors here referred to. The games prohibited by the *Korân* are reckoned so ill in themselves, that the testimony of him who plays at them is by the more rigid *Mohammedans* judged to be of no validity in a court of justice. Chess is almost the only game allowed by the *Mohammedan* doctors to be lawful (tho' this has not been admitted by some of them) as depending wholly on skill and management, and not at all on chance. But then it is allowed under the following restrictions, *viz.* that it be no hindrance to the regular performance of their devotions; and that no money or other thing be played for or betted; which last the *Turks* and *Sonnites* religiously observe, but the *Persians* and *Moguls* do not. *Al Bei-*

^t Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ii, iv, v, xvi, & alib. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, AL ZAMAKHSHARI, D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 696. SMITH, de morib. & institut. Turcar. ep. ii. p. 28, &c. CHARDIN, ubi sup. p. 212, 344, &c. RELAND, ubi sup. p. 78, 79, 80. AED'ALKADER MOHAMMED AL ANSARI, apud D'Herbel. art. *Cabvab*. V. Le Traite historique de l'origine & du progres du Café, a la fin du voy. de l'Arabie heure. de la Roque. RELAND, ubi sup. p. 80. & in dissert. miscell. tom. ii. p. 280. CHARD. ubi sup. tom. ii. p. 14, 60, 68, &c. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 200. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 62, &c. AL KODAI, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 175. Fortalit. fid. lib. iv. confid. 5. BUSBEQ. epist. iii. p. 255. MAUNDEVILLE's travels, p. 170. AED'ALKADER MOHAMMED AL ANSARI AL GHEZIRI AL HANBALI, MS. in biblioth. Gallor. reg. MS. LEVIN. WARNER. & SPANHEM. in-product. ad histor. Nov. Testament. sæc. vii.

dawi expounds a passage of the *Korân*, relating to the prohibition of gaming, of idols, and is followed herein by several other commentators; but others, with more probability, of the carved pieces, or men, with which the pagan *Arabs* played at chess, being little figures of men, elephants, horses, and dromedaries; and this is supposed to have been the only thing which *Mohammed* disliked in that game: for which reason the *Sunnites* play with plain pieces of wood, or ivory; but the *Persians* and *Indians*, who are not so scrupulous, still make use of the carved ones. The better sort of the *Mohammedans* easily comply with the prohibition of gaming, as they are in their own disposition little addicted to it; but the common people amongst the *Turks* are more frequently, and those amongst the *Persians* sometimes, guilty of it. From a passage in the second chapter of the *Korân*, some of the *Moslem* doctors infer, that only too frequent gaming is prohibited in that book; which yet the generality of the *Mohammedans* will by no means admit. Amongst the commentators on the *Korân*, *Jallalo'ddin* and *Al Zamakhshari* are the chief that maintain the former opinion.

Of the
prohibition of
divining ar-
rows.

DIVINATION by arrows, a practice in vogue amongst the pagan *Arabs* before the birth of *Mohammed*, is likewise condemned in express terms by the *Korân*. The arrows used by them for this purpose were like those with which they cast lots, being without heads or feathers, and were kept in the temple of some idol, in whose presence they were consulted. Some such arrows as these the image of *Ishmael* in the *Caaba* had in its hand, when it was destroyed by *Mohammed* in the eighth year of the *Hejra*. Sometimes in divination the ancient *Arabs* made use of seven arrows, but generally of three only. On one of these, which were all put into a sack, was written, *Command me, LORD*; on another, *Forbid me, LORD*; and the third was a blank. If the first was drawn, they looked on it as an approbation of the enterprize in question; if the second, they made a contrary conclusion; but if the third happened to be drawn, they mixed them, and drew over again, till a decisive answer was given by one of the others. These divining arrows were generally consulted before any thing of moment was undertaken; as when a man was about to marry,

“ *Al Kor. MOHAM. ubi sup. f. ii, v. JALLALO'DDIN, AL BELDAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHARI, AL SHIRAZI, in orat. AL HARIRI, &c. AL FIRAUZABAD. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 324, &c. HYDE, de ludis Oriental. in proleg. ad Shahiludium, & in hist. Shahiludii, p. 135, &c. SOKEIKER AL DIMISHKI, & Autor lib. AL MOSTATRAF, apud Hyde, ubi sup. p. 8. KHONDEMIR, apud eund. ibid. p. 41. HADR, RELAND. ubi sup. p. 78. SALE, ubi sup. p. 124, 125, 126.*

or to go a journey, or the like. This superstitious practice was used by the *Babylonians*, as well as the *Arabs*, as may be inferred from St. *Jerom*, in conjunction with Scripture. It was practised also by the *Greeks*, as appears from some good authors. The ancient *Germans* consulted their gods, and used divination, by a branch of a fruit-tree, cut into several pieces, on which they inscribed certain characters, and threw them all into a white sheet. The *Scythians* pretended to arrive at the knowledge of future events by means of branches of trees and faggots, as we learn from *Herodotus*, and the Scholiast on *Nicander*. The *Alans*, or *Alani*, of *Scythian* extraction, divined by rods in the time of *Ammianus Marcellinus*. The same sort of divination was also practised by the *Medes* and *Affrians*, according to *Dio*, and *Phœnix Colophonius*, in *Athenæus*. The *Persian Magi* used divination by stirring up the fire; and the ancient *Etruscans* predicted future events by the singing, flight, and feeding of birds, as well as by the effects and phenomena that attended lightning. Father *Calmet* is guilty of a great mistake, when he asserts, that the *Arabs*, AT THIS DAY, consult divining arrows in the presence of their god *Hobal*; since both the worship of that false deity and this kind of divination were expelled *Arabia* by *Mohammed*, and have never since appeared in that country. As little is he to be depended upon, when he cites M. *D'Herbelot* under the word *Aidad*, in support of this opinion; no such name as *Aidad*, however strange this may appear, occurring in that author *.

WITH regard to a distinction of meats, so generally observed by the eastern nations, 'tis no wonder that *Mohammed*, in imitation of his chief guides the *Jews*, made some regulations in that matter. The *Korân*, therefore, prohibits the eating of blood, and swines flesh, and whatever dies of itself, or is slain in the name or honour of any idol, or is strangled,

Of forbidden food.

* AL KOR. MOHAM. f. v. EBN AL ATHIR, AL JANNABI, AL BEIDAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHARI, AL MOSTATRAF, Pec. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 327, &c. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. Accab. POTTER's antiq. of Greece, vol. i. p. 334. EZEK. xxi. 21. & HIERONYM. in loc. Pec. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 329, &c. TACIT. de mor. Germanor. HERODOT. lib. iv. c. 67. SCHOL. in NICAND. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. xxxi. DIO, PHOENIX COLOPHON. apud Athen. deipnosoph. lib. xii. p. 530, 531. Lugduni, 1657. DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. lib. iii. c. 1, p. 239—251. Florentiæ, 1723. ANTON. FRAN. GOR. in Mus. Etrusc. pass. Florentiæ, 1737. Dissertazione di BINDO SIMONE PERUZZI, gentiluomo Fiorentino, sopra l'aruspicina Toscana, in Saggi di dissertazioni academiche pubblicamente lette nella nobile accademia Etrusca dell' antichissima città di Cortona, tom. i. p. 43—53. In Roma, MDCCXLII. CALMET, in comment. literal. sur Ezek. c. xxi. 21. tom. vi. p. 463. A Paris, MDCCXXVI.

or killed by a blow, or a fall, or by any other beast. In cases of necessity, however, where a man may be in danger of starving, he is allowed by the *Mohammedan* law to eat any of the said prohibited kinds of food. But notwithstanding the *Moslem* prophet so closely adhered to the *Jewish* law in this particular, yet 'tis certain he allowed some things to be eaten which *Moses* did not, as camels flesh, which the *Moslems* are permitted to use as food by the *Korân*. The prohibition relating to the eating of blood, and what dies of itself, was levelled by *Mohammed* at the pagan *Arabs* of his time, who, as well as their ancestors, used to eat both. With regard to the former, it was a common custom with some of them to draw blood from a live camel into a gut, which they either boiled or broiled in the fire, and then eat it. This food they called *Moswadd*, from *Afwad*, which signifies *black*; the same nearly resembling our *black puddings*, in name as well as composition. *Laonicus Chalcocondylas* and *Euthymius Zigabenus* assert, that tho' the *Mohammedans* abstain from swines flesh, they feed upon that of dogs, wolves, and other unclean animals. But this is a great mistake, as appears not only from *Busbequius* and Sir *John Chardin*, but likewise from *Abu Shojaa Ahmed Ebn Al Hasan Al Isfahani*, *Shahaboddin Abu'l Abbas Ebn Yusuf*, and other *Moslem* authors, whose testimony in this point will be of great weight with the learned *.

Of usury. MOHAMMED also, in farther imitation of the *Jews*, strictly prohibited usury, in the second and thirtieth chapters of the *Korân*. The original word, in the latter of those chapters, denoting usury, includes in it likewise every species of extortion or illicit gain.

Superstitious customs relating to cattle abolished. THE pagan *Arabs* entertained several superstitious notions relating to cattle, and particularly to certain camels or sheep, denominated *Bahira*, *Saiba*, *Wasila*, and *Hâmi*, in the *Korân*. These animals were for some particular reasons left at free liberty, and not made use of as other cattle of the same kind. The *Bahira*, so called from the *slitting of her ear*, was a she-camel, or a sheep, that had born young ten times; after which the *Arabs* used to slit her ear, and turn her loose to feed at full liberty. When she died, her flesh was eaten by the

* AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii, iii, v, vi, xvi. AL BEIDAWI, LEVIT. xi. 4. JAILALO'DDIN, NOTHR AL DOKK, AL FIRAUZABAD. AL ZAMAKHSAR. PQC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 320, 321. EUTHYM. ZIGABEN. p. 33. LAONIC. CHALCOCONDYL. de reb. Turcic. lib. iii. p. 65. BUSBEQ. in legat. Turcic. ep. cxi. p. 178. CHARD. ubi sup. tom. vii. p. 229. ABU SHOJAA AHMED EBN ALHASAN, AL ISFAHANI & SHAHABODDIN ABU'L ABBAS AHMED EBN YUSAF, in lib. MSS. Vide etiam HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 225—229. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii, xxx.

men only, the women not being permitted to taste thereof. Or the *Bahira* was a she-camel turned loose to feed, whose fifth young one, if it proved a male, was killed and eaten by the women as well as the men; but if a female, had its ear slit, and was dismissed to free pasture, none being suffered to use it on any occasion; tho' the women were allowed to eat the flesh of it, when it died. The female young of the *Saiba*, used in the same manner as its dam, and even an ewe, which had yeaned five times, was sometimes taken for the *Bahira*. These are the sentiments of *Al Firauzabadi*; tho' the author of the book *Al Mostatraf*, *Al Zamakhshari*, and *Al Beidawi*, are of a different opinion. But for a farther account of the *Bahira*, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the learned Dr. Pocock, who has given us an ample and copious description of her ².

THE word *Saiba* signifies a she-camel turned loose to go where she will. This happened, when she had brought forth females ten times together, in satisfaction of a vow, when a man had recovered from sickness, returned safe from a journey, his camel had escaped some signal danger, and on various other occasions. The mark of such a camel's dismissal from all kinds of business was, the loss of one of the vertebrae, or joints of the back-bone, that was taken from her. We are told, that the milk of the *Saiba* was not to be drank by any but her young one, or a guesi, till she died; and then her flesh was eaten by men as well as women. The appellation *Al Saiba* was not confined by the *Arabs* to a she-camel in any of the aforesaid situations. It was sometimes by them applied to the male, when his young one had begotten another young one; and even to all animals which the *Arabs* used to turn loose in honour of their idols, allowing the women only to make use of them after that event. Nay, it appears both from *Al Firauzabadi* and *Al Jawhari*, that sometimes a servant set at liberty, or manumitted, by his master, went by that name. Some of the *Arabs*, according to *Al Motarrezzi*, called the female young one of the *Bahira*, and others of them the dam of that animal, *Al Saiba*. It has been already observed, that the *Saiba* is expressly mentioned in the *Koran* ³.

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² AL KOR. MOHAM. JALLALO'DDIN, MOHAMMED AL FIRAUZABAD. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, Autor lib. AL MOSTATRAF, I EN AL ATHIR, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 330. 331. 332, &c. - EBN AL ATHIR, AL FIRAUZABAD. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL JAWHARI, AL MOTARREZZI, in lib. MOGREB, AL KOR. MOHAM. sur. v. Poc. ubi sup. p. 332, 333, &c.

THE word *Wasila* was applied by *Al Firaouzabadi* both to a she-camel which had brought forth ten times, and an ewe which had yeaned seven times, and every time twins; and if the seventh time she brought forth a male and a female, they said, *Wosilat akhâba*, i. e. *she is joined to, or was brought forth with her brother*. After this, men could only drink the dam's milk, and she was used as *Al Saiba*. When an ewe brought forth a female, the *Arabs* took it to themselves; when a male, they consecrated it to their gods; but when a male and female together, they said, *She is joined to her brother*, and did not sacrifice the male to their gods: in which case, the dam was also denominated *Al Wasila*. That name was moreover sometimes appropriated to an ewe which brought forth first a male, and afterwards a female; on whose account, because *she followed her brother*, the male was not killed. This we learn from *Al Zamakhshari*, as well as the author last mentioned. *Al Jawhari* relates, that the ewe called *Al Wasila* brought forth twins seven times together, and the eighth time a male, which the *Arabs* sacrificed to their gods; but if the eighth time she brought forth both a male and a female, they spared the former for the sake of the latter, and permitted not the dam's milk to be drank by women. Another writer informs us, that *Al Wasila* was an ewe, which having yeaned seven times, if that which was brought forth the seventh time was a male, the *Arabs* sacrificed it; but if a female, it was suffered to go loose, and was made use of by women only; and if the seventh time she brought forth both a male and a female, they were both held sacred, and men only were allowed to make any use of them, or to drink the milk of the female. *Al Motarrezzi* describes *Al Wasila* to have been, in the times of ignorance, an ewe which brought forth ten females at five births, as twins, one after another; and that whatever this ewe brought forth afterwards was allowed to men only. *Al Bokhari* informs us, that *Al Wasila* was a she-camel of the first birth, that was sent out to a free pasture in company with another she-camel, and not permitted to associate with any male^b.

HAMI, if any credit be due to two of the former authors, was a male camel used for a stallion; which, after the females had conceived ten times by him, was freed from labour. He was let go loose, and no one suffered to receive any benefit from him. *Al Bokhari*, as he is cited by *Marracci*, seems to

^b MOHAMMED AL FIRAUZABAD. AL JAWHAR. EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. NOTHR AL DORR, NODHM AL DORR, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL MOTARREZZI, ubi sup. AL BOKHARI, AL MOSTATRAF, Poc. ubi sup.

intimate, that *Hâmi* was a male camel set at liberty, after he had propagated his species for a certain time, without specifying how many females he was to impregnate, or how many times it was necessary the same female should have conceived by him ^c.

THE pagan *Arabs* exempted the camels here mentioned from common services in some particular cases; and this they did in honour of their false divinities. But this part of the worship they paid their fictitious deities is considered by the *Korân* as nothing more than the invention of foolish men, and condemned in express terms by that book as a practice entirely made up of impious superstitions ^d.

THE last negative precept of the *Korân* we shall take notice of here, is that prohibiting the inhuman custom which of burying prevailed amongst many of the *Arabs*, and particularly the tribes of *Koreish* and *Keudab*, of burying their daughters alive, so soon as they were born, if they apprehended they could not maintain them; or else offering them to their idols, at the instigation of those who had the custody of their temples. The manner of both these unnatural operations is differently related by the *Moslem* authors, as may be inferred from *Abi Zamakhshari* and other commentators on the *Korân*. The *Koreish*, who, before the time of *Mohammed*, were very much addicted to this barbarous practice, used to bury their daughters alive in mount *Abu Dalâma*, near *Mecca*. *Sâsâ*, grandfather to the celebrated poet *Al Farazdak*, frequently redeemed female children from death, giving for every one two she-camels big with young, and a he-camel; to which *Al Farazdak* himself alluded, when, vaunting himself before one of the *Khalifs* of the family of *Ommeyya*, he said, *I am the grandson of the giver of life to the dead*; for which expression being censured, he excused himself by alleging a passage of the fifth chapter of the *Korân*. 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that the *Arabs* should receive the news of the birth of a daughter with a sorrowful countenance, and compliment a bride in the following terms, *May your labour be easy every time you are delivered, and all your children boys*. For several reasons here hinted at, it may easily be conceived, that the death of a daughter was considered by the *Arabs*, on some occasions, as a great happiness, and even a signal mark of the divine favour. Nor were the *Arabs* singular in the practice of thus

^c AL FIRAUZABAD. & AL JAWHAR. ubi sup. AL BOKHAR. apud Marracc. in refutat. Alcoran. fur. v. p. 238. ut & ipse MARRACC. ibid. Poc. ubi sup.

^d JALLALO'DDIN, in Al Kor. Moham. f. v, vi. Poc. ubi sup. p. 330—334. SALE's preliminary discourse, p. 128—131.

treating infants, and putting them to death; many other nations, and even the *Greeks* themselves, having been guilty of the same unnatural crime in the earlier ages. The custom likewise of sacrificing their children to their idols was by no means peculiar to the *Arabs*; it having prevailed amongst some of the neighbouring nations, as may be clearly evinced both from sacred and profane history. The poorer sort of people amongst the *Chinese* frequently put their children, the females especially, to death, with impunity, at this very day. The author of this history himself was in company at *Leghorn* with a *Savoyard* priest, who had been a missionary at *Peking* above twenty years, and whose sole business was to baptize the children exposed every morning in the streets by the poorer sort of the inhabitants of that city, in the year 1733. Which infants, if any credit be due to the authority of that priest, who seemed not at all addicted to fable and romance, amounted every week to a very considerable number * (A).

WITH regard to the institutions of the *Korân* in civil affairs, we shall only beg leave to present our readers with a summary view of the principal of them; as the limits we must prescribe ourselves here will not permit us to enter minutely into a detail of particulars. Nor shall we deem any thing more on that head requisite than what will be barely sufficient to enable our readers to understand some passages of the *Moslem* writers, whose meaning they would not otherwise so easily compre-

* AL BELDAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL MOSTATRAF, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. vi, xvi, lxxxi. AL MEIDANI, AL JALLALANI, POETA FARAZDAK, apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 334, 335. ut et ipse Pocock, ibid. AL FIRAUZABAD. in Kam. AL JAWHAR. NODM AL DORR, EBN AL ATHIR, AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 337. EBN KHALECAN, in vit. AL Farazdak. STRAB. lib. xvii. DIOD. SIC. lib. i. c. 80. PLUTARCH. in Lycurg. POTTER'S antiq. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 335. PUFFENDORF. de jure nat. et gent. l. vi. c. 7. § 6. LEV. xx. 2, 3, 4. 2 KINGS xxiii. 10. JEREM. xxxii. 35. DU HALDE'S descript. of China, &c. vol. i. p. 277, 278. Lond. 1738.

(A) This priest also farther related, that in *Peking*, and, as he believed, in some of the other larger cities of *China*, there was an officer appointed by authority, whose province it was to destroy every morning the poor infants that were thus exposed in the streets of that metropolis. This officer has been, however, passed over in Silence by *Du Halde*; tho' the *Savoyard* declared, that his office, and every thing relating to the inhuman custom here mentioned, had been fully described by a *Portuguese* writer (1).

(1) *Du Halde's descript. of China, &c. vol. i. p. 277, 278. Lond. 1738.*

hend, that we shall be obliged sometimes to follow in the sequel of this history.

POLYGAMY the *Korân* allows, tho' with certain limitations ^{Of the} that have not hitherto by *Christians* been sufficiently attended ^{law of} to. According to the exprefs words of the *Mohammedan law*, ^{marriage} no man can have more than four women, whether wives or ^{and di-} concubines; and if a man apprehend any inconvenience from ^{vorce.} even that number of ingenuous wives, he is advised to marry one only; or, if he cannot be contented with one, to take up with his she-slaves, tho' not exceeding the limited number. This most clearly appears from the fourth chapter of the *Korân*; and therefore we must pay no regard to what has been advanced to the contrary by *P. Greg. Tholosanus*, *Olearius*, and other *Christian* writers. In this particular, *Mohammed* followed the *Jewish* doctors, and was absolutely directed by one of their decisions. The *Persian* monarchs are of the meanest extraction on the mother's side; as are also the *Turkish* emperors, who have constantly made use of slaves, in order to continue the *Ottoman* line ^f.

DIVORCE likewise, as well as polygamy, is allowed by the *Korân*. However, a *Moslem* may repudiate his wife twice, without being obliged to separate himself from her, if he should happen to repent of what he has done; but if he divorces her a third time, it is not lawful for him to take her again till she has been married and bedded by another man, and divorced by such second husband. Which precaution has had so good an effect, that the *Mohammedans* are seldom known to proceed to the extremity of divorce, notwithstanding the liberty given them. In these particulars the *Mohammedan* divorce differs from that allowed by the *Mosaic* law, which did not permit a man to take again, on any terms, a woman that he had divorced. Notwithstanding which, the *Moslem* prophet must naturally be supposed to have had *Moses* in his eye, when he first obliged his followers to an observance of this institution. The women, even after the first and second

^f Al Kor. MOHAM. f. iv. NIC. CUSANUS, in cribrat. Alcoran. lib. ii. c. 19. OLEARIUS, in itinerar. P. GREG. THOLOSANUS, in synt. juris, lib. ix. c. 2. § 22. SEPTEMCASTRENSIS, de morib. Turcar. p. 24. RYCAUT's present state of the Ottoman empire, book iii. chap. 21. MARRACC. in prodr. ad refut. Alcor. par. iv. p. 52, & 71. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 86. CHARD. voy. de Perse, tom. i. p. 166. DU RYER, sommaire de la rel. des Turcs, PUFFENDORF. de jure nat. et gent. l. vi. c. 1. § 18. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. de vit. Mohammed. p. 150. MAUNDEVILLE's travels, p. 164. SELDEN. ux. Hebr. l. i. c. 9. MAIMON. in Halachoth fhoth, c. 14. BEILON. in observat. lib. iii. c. 8, 16. HADR. RE-LAND. ubi sup. p. 243—251.

repudiations, are not suffered to separate themselves from their husbands, unless it be for ill usage, want of proper maintenance, neglect of conjugal duty, impotency, or some other cause of equal import; and even after their third divorce, they must wait till they have had their courses thrice, or, if too young to have them, three months, before they marry another. After the expiration of that term, they may dispose of themselves as they please, if not with child; but in case that should happen, they must stay till they be delivered. The whole term of waiting they are to be maintained at the expence of their husbands, if they be not guilty of any dishonesty. A woman divorced before consummation waits no particular time; nor is the husband obliged to give her more than one half of her dowry. If the repudiated woman has a young child, she is to suckle it till it be two years old, and be intirely maintained at her father's expence. A widow is obliged to do the same thing, and to wait four months and ten days before she can marry again. If a woman, in a state of divorce, leaves her husband for any of the aforesaid causes, she loses her dowry; which does not happen, if she be divorced by her husband, unless she has been guilty of disloyalty to his bed, or notorious disobedience. *Al Beidawi* supposes, that husbands are commanded by a passage in the fifty-sixth chapter of the *Korán* to divorce their wives while they are clean; and says, that this passage was revealed on account of *Ebn Omar*, who divorced his wife when she had her courses upon her; and was therefore obliged to take her again. It appears from the *Jewish* writers, that *Mohammed* copied from his old guides the *Jews* most of the above-mentioned particulars.

THE punishment allotted whoredom in the beginning of *Mohammedism* was to be immured till death; but afterwards this cruel doom was mitigated, and might be avoided by undergoing the punishment ordained in its stead by the *Sonna*; according to which, the maidens are to be scourged with an hundred stripes, and to be banished for a full year; and the married women to be stoned. In order to convict a woman of adultery, the charge must be supported by four male wit-

* *Al Kor. MOHAM.* f. ii. *DEUT.* xxiv. 1, 3, 4. *JEREM.* iii. 1. *SEIDEN.* ubi sup. lib. i. c. 11. lib. iii. c. 21, & alib. pass. *RYCAUT's* state of the Ottoman empire, b. ii. c. 21. *LEO MODEN.* hist. de gli riti Hebr. par. i. c. 6. *BUSBEQ.* epist. iii. p. 184. *SMITH,* de morib. et institut. Turcar. ep. ii. p. 52. *CHAR. VOY. de Perse,* tom. i. p. 169. *Al Kor. MOHAM.* f. iv, xxxiii, lxx. *AL BEIDAWI,* in *Al Kor.* f. lxxv. *Mishn. Gemar. JOS. KARO,* in *Shylhan Aruch,* c. l. f. 2. et *MAIMONID.* pass. *SALE,* ubi sup. p. 133, 134, 135.

nesses, according to the commentators on the *Korân*; and if a man accuse a woman falsely of that crime, or even fornication only, he is to receive eighty stripes, and his testimony is to be held invalid for the future. But then the woman so calumniated must be a free woman, of ripe age, having her understanding perfect, and of the *Mohammedan* religion. Fornication, in either sex, is to be punished with an hundred stripes; and the she-slaves are to receive but half the punishment of free women, in case of adultery. The reason of which is, because the former are not presumed to have had so good an education as the latter. In case of adultery, therefore, a slave is to have fifty stripes, and to be banished for half a year; but she shall not be stoned, because it is a punishment which cannot be inflicted by halves. If a man accuse his wife of infidelity, upon insufficient evidence, but will swear four times that it is true, and the fifth time imprecate God's vengeance on him if it be false, she is to be looked upon as convicted, unless she will take the same oaths, and make the like imprecation, in testimony of her innocency; which if she do, she is free from punishment. But notwithstanding this, the marriage ought to be declared void by the judge; because it is not fit they should continue together after they have come to such extremities. The *Moslems* are forbidden, by a particular passage in the twenty-fourth chapter of the *Korân*, to compel their maid-servants to prostitute themselves; the revelation of which passage was occasioned by *Abd'allah Ebn Obba's* laying a certain tax on six women-slaves, which he obliged them to earn by the prostitution of their bodies. In most of the last-mentioned particulars *Mohammed* had the *Jews* likewise for his guides, and closely adhered to their decisions. The determinations also of the *Korân* relating to the pollution of women during their courses, the taking of slaves to wife, and the prohibiting of marriage within certain degrees, have no small affinity with the *Mosaic* institutions. As to the last article, the pagan *Arabs*, for the most part, abstained from marrying their mothers, daughters, aunts both on the father's side and the mother's, two sisters, and their father's wives; tho' the *Magians* were frequently guilty of such incestuous marriages, which were allowed them by their prophet *Zerdusht*. With regard to *Mohammed* himself, he pretended to the privilege of marrying as many wives, and taking as many concubines, as he pleased, without being confined to any particular number; which, as he asserted, had been allowed all the prophets before him. He moreover altered the turns of his wives, taking such of them to his bed as he thought fit, without being tied to that order and equality which others are obliged to observe; nor did he permit

any man to marry such of his wives as he in his life-time divorced, or left widows at his death : which last particular exactly agrees with what the *Jewish* doctors have determined concerning the wives of their princes. Some of the commentators on the *Korân*, however, are of opinion, that the first privilege of the prophet here mentioned was limited by certain restrictions. *Abu'l Kasem Hebatallah* thinks, that the passage in the thirty-third chapter of the *Korân*, prohibiting the prophet to make any farther addition to the number of his wives, was abrogated by the two preceding passages of that chapter. The words of that writer, containing in them nothing more than a pitiful evasion, or rather a fruitless attempt to reconcile a contradiction, are produced by *Morracci* ^b.

*Of the
laws of
inherit-
ances.*

THE laws relating to inheritances, contained in the fourth chapter of the *Korân*, in several respects resemble those of the *Jews*, though principally designed to abolish a custom of the pagan *Arabs*, who denied widows and orphans any share in the inheritances of their husbands and fathers, on pretence that those only should inherit them who were able to go to war. But for a particular account of the distribution of the estate and effects of the deceased, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the afore said chapter, as well as to *Al Beidâwi*, *Jallâl'eddin*, and other commentators on the *Korân* ⁱ.

IT may not be improper, however, to observe, that, in general, a male is to have twice as much as a female ; tho' to this rule there are some few exceptions, which are pointed out to us in the 4th chapter of the *Korân*. The particular proportions, in several cases, sufficiently declare the intention of *Mohammed* ; whose decisions seem to be pretty equitable, preferring a man's children first, and then his nearest relations. In

^b AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iv. JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xxiv. SELD. ux. Hebr. lib. iii. c. 12. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. LEV. xx. 10. DEUT. xxii. 22, 23, 24, 13—19. xix. 15. xvii. 6. LEV. xix. 20. NUM. v. 11, &c. xxxv. 30. SELD. ubi sup. LEO MODEN. ubi sup. par. iv. c. 6. LEV. xv. 24. xviii. 19. xx. 18. EXOD. xxi. 8—11. DEUT. xxi. 10—14. ABULFED. hist. gen. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 321, 337, 338. AL BEIDAWI, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xxxiii, lxvi. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. YAHYA, GAGN. not. ad ABULFED. de vit. Moham. p. 150. Mishn. tit. Sanhedr. c. 2. & Gemar. in eund. tit. Maimon. Halachoth Melachim, c. 2. SELD. ux. Hebr. lib. i. c. 10. ABU' I KASEM HEBATALLAH, apud Marracc. in refutat. Alcoran. sur. xxxiii. p. 561. Vide etiam ipf. MARRACC. ibid.

ⁱ AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iv. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, NODHM AL DORR, NOTHR AL DORR, AL MOSTATRAF, AL SHAHRESTANI, apud Pocockium, not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 337.

order to render a man's disposition of any part of his estate by will valid, two witnesses at least, and those of his own tribe, and of the *Mohammedan* religion, if such can be had, are required to attest that disposition. The *Moslem* doctors do not approve of a person's leaving any part of his substance from his family, except in some legacies for pious uses; and even these are to be but a reasonable part in proportion to the whole. The heirs, on the other hand, in case nothing is bequeathed for charitable uses, on the distribution of the estate, if the value of it will permit, are directed to bestow something on the poor. With regard to the children of the deceased, those of his concubines or slaves are esteemed equally legitimate with those of his legal and ingenuous wives; none being accounted bastards, except such only as are born of common women, and whose fathers are unknown. For a more perfect notion of the matters here only just hinted at, the curious may have recourse to what has been advanced by *Jallalo'ddin*, *Al Zamakhshari*, and *Yahya*, in their expositions of the fourth chapter of the *Korân*, either in the original *Arabic*, or as they are cited and explained by *Marracci*; from whence they will receive, on this head, as well as in many other points, full and ample satisfaction ^k.

THE conscientious performance of contracts is frequently recommended by the *Korân*. In order to prevent disputes, all contracts are directed to be made before witnesses, and, if not immediately executed, to be reduced into writing in the presence of two men of the *Mohammedan* religion, or, if they cannot be had, of one man and two women. The same method is also directed to be taken for the security of debts, to be paid at a future day; and where a writer is not to be found, pledges are to be taken. The performance of contracts is the most strongly insisted upon in the beginning of the fifth chapter of the *Korân*; which, for that reason, or rather because the word *contracts* occurs in the first verse, is sometimes called the chapter of *contracts*. We find an uncommon reward annexed to the reading of this chapter by *Al Zamakhshari*, which has been intirely omitted by all the other commentators ^l.

WILFUL murder, tho' one of the most enormous crimes that can be committed, is yet allowed to be compounded for, ^{Of murder and manslaughter.}

^k Al Kor. MOHAM. f. iv, v. CHARDIN, voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 293. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. YAHYA. Vide etiam LUDOVIC. MARRACC. refutat. Alcoran. in sur. iv, &c.

^l Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ii, v, xvii. CHARD. voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 294. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. apud MARRACC. in refutat. Alcoran. in sur. v. p. 194. ut et ipse MARRACC. ibid.

on payment of a fine to the family of the deceased, and freeing a *Moslem* from captivity, by the *Korân*. However, the next of kin, or, in the language of the *Pentateuch*, the *revenger of blood*, may either accept of such satisfaction, or refuse it, and insist on having the murderer delivered into his hands, to be put to death in such manner as he shall think fit. In this particular, *Mohammed* has gone against the express letter of the *Mosaic* law, which declares, that no satisfaction shall be taken for the life of a murderer. Here, therefore, he seems to have had principally in view a restriction of the vindictive temper of the *Arabs*, who, in their revenge of murder, sometimes committed great excesses. Manslaughter must be redeemed by fine, and the freeing of a captive; which if a man be not able to do, he is to fast two months together, by way of penance. The fine for a man's blood is set in the *Sonna* at an hundred camels; and is to be distributed amongst the relations of the deceased, according to the laws of inheritances; unless the person slain be a *Moslem* of a nation or party at enmity, or not in confederacy, with those to whom the slayer belongs: in which case, the redemption of a captive is declared a sufficient penalty. The punishment to be inflicted on a person guilty of manslaughter, where a *Moslem* is concerned, is settled by a passage in the fourth chapter of the *Korân*; which, as the commentators pretend, was revealed to decide the case of *Ayâsh Ebn Abi Rabia*, the brother, by the mother's side, of *Abu Jahl*, who meeting *Hareth Ebn Zeid* on the road, and not knowing that he had embraced *Mohammedism*, slew him. The crimes of a more heinous nature, amongst which murder is reckoned one of the chief, according to *Ebn Abbâs*, amount to seven hundred. We must beg leave to remark here, that Mr. *Sale* seems to intimate, that *Mohammed*, in his laws relating to murder, discovered an intention to restrain the vindictive disposition of the *Arabs*; and that yet, almost in the same breath, he declares, that *Mohammed*, in his regulations about manslaughter, in some degree, humoured the revengeful temper of his countrymen. Does not that learned gentleman appear a little inconsistent with himself in those two jarring particulars ^m?

Of theft.

THEFT is ordered to be punished by cutting off the offending part, the hand. But the commentators suppose, that those who murder and rob too are to be crucified; those who rob without committing murder, to have their right hand and left

^m Al Kor. MOHAM. f. iv, ü, xvii. AL BEIDAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. NUM. xxxv. 19, 31. AL BOKHAR. JALLALO'DDIN, EBN ARBAS, apud Marraccé. ubi sup. p. 157. ut & ipse MARRACC. ibid. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 139, 140.

foot cut off; and they who assault persons on the road to be banished. The punishment appointed for common theft is not to be inflicted, according to the *Senna*, unless the value of the things stolen amount to four *dinârs*, or about fifty shillings. As to injuries done men in their persons, the law of retaliation, which was ordained by the law of *Moses*, is also approved by the *Korân*; though this law is seldom put in execution, the punishment being generally converted into a mulct or fine, which is paid to the party injured. In crimes of an inferior nature, where a pecuniary compensation will not do, the *Mohammedans*, according to the practice of the *Jews* in the like case, have recourse to *stripes*, or *drubbing*; the cudgel, which, for its virtue and efficacy in keeping their people in good order, they say came down from heaven, being the instrument wherewith the judge's sentence is generally executed on such occasions ^u.

THE *Mohammedans*, in general, regard the *Korân* as the *Of war* fundamental part of their civil law; and the decisions of the *against in-* *Senna* amongst the *Turks*, and of the *Imâms* amongst those of *fidels*. the *Persian* sect, with the explications of their several doctors, are usually followed in judicial determinations. Notwithstanding which, the secular tribunals do not think themselves obliged to observe the same in all cases, but frequently give judgment against those decisions, which are not always consonant to equity and reason. Hence arises a distinction between the written civil law of the *Mohammedans*, as administered in the ecclesiastical courts, and the law of nature, or common law, which takes place in the secular courts, and has the executive power on its side. Under the head of civil laws may be comprehended the injunction of warring against infidels, which is repeated in several passages of the *Korân*, and declared to be of high merit in the sight of God; those who are slain fighting in defence of the faith being esteemed as martyrs, and promised immediate admission into paradise. And on the other hand, desertion, or refusing to serve in these holy wars, or to contribute towards the carrying them on, if a man has ability, is accounted a most heinous crime; being frequently declaimed against in the *Korân*. The effects of which doctrines were clearly perceived at the battles of *Bedr* and *Mûta*, and in the erection of the *Moslem* empire under

^u Al Kor. MOHAM. f. v. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, EXOD. xxi. 24, &c. LEV. xxiv. 20. DEUT. xix. 21. GROT. de jure belli & pacis, l. i. c. 2. sect. 8. CHARD. ubi sup. tom. ii. p. 299. A. GELL. noct. Attic. l. xx. c. 1. FEST. in voce *Talio*. DEUT. xxv. 2, 3. GRELOT, voy. de Constantin. p. 220. CHARD, ubi sup. p. 302.

Mohammed and his successors, which was in a great measure owing to them. Nor have they, in conjunction with the doctrine of absolute predestination, had less influence in the formation and extension of the *Ottoman* empire, which at this day comprehends so considerable a part of the habitable world. It appears from *Al Beidâwi*, that *Mohammed* did not renounce all league with those who would not receive him as the apostle of GOD, or submit to become tributary to him, till after he was arrived at a great degree of power. The pretext he then made use of, was the treachery he had met with amongst the *Jewish* and idolatrous *Arabs*; scarce any, as he pretended, keeping faith with him, except the *Banu Damra*, *Banu Kenâna*, and a few others. From whence it most evidently appears, that his great passiveness and moderation, in the beginning of his mission, was intirely owing to his want of power, and the great superiority of his opposers; which is, indeed, acknowledged by his admirer Mr. *Sale* himself ^o.

IN the infancy of *Mohammedism*, all the enemies of that religion taken in battle were doomed to death without mercy; but this was judged too severe to be put in practice when it was sufficiently established. The *Mohammedans* afterwards, at their declaration of war against any people of a different faith, gave them their choice of three offers, viz. either to embrace *Mohammedism*; or to submit, and pay tribute; or else to decide the quarrel by the sword. In the first case, they became not only secure in their persons, families, and fortunes, but intitled to all the privileges of other *Moslems*; in the second, they were allowed to profess their own religion, provided it was not gross idolatry, or against the moral law; and in the last, if the *Moslems* prevailed, their women and children, being made captives, became absolute slaves; the men at the same time taken in the battle being either slain, unless they turned *Mohammedans*, or otherwise disposed of at the pleasure of the prince. The severity first mentioned seems to be enjoined in the beginning of the forty-seventh chapter of the *Korân*. But the *Hanifites* judge this law, or injunction, to be abrogated, or to relate particularly to the war of *Bedr*; for the severity there commanded, which was necessary in the beginning of *Mohammedism*, they think too rigorous to be put in practice in its flourishing state. But the *Persians*, and some others, hold the command to be still in full force: for, according to them, all the men of full age, who are taken

^o CHARD. ubi sup. p. 290, &c. AL KOR MOHAM. f. ii, iii, iv, vii, ix, xxii, xlvii. lxi, &c. HADRIAN. RELAND. de jur. militar. Mohammedan. p. 5, &c. AL BEIDAWI. Vide etiam SALE, ubi sup. p. 48, 49, 141, 142.

in battle, are to be slain, if they refuse to embrace the *Mohammedan* faith; and those who fall into the hands of the *Moslems* after the battle are not to be slain, but may either be set at liberty *gratis*, or on payment of a certain ransom, or be exchanged for *Mohammedan* prisoners, or condemned to slavery, at the pleasure of the *Imâm* P.

It has been observed by some persons of profound erudition, that there is no small affinity between the military laws of the *Mohammedans* and those of the *Jews*. The opposers of *Mohammedism* were at first put to the sword by the express command of the *Moslem* prophet; and the same sentence of excision was pronounced not only against the seven nations of *Canaan*, but likewise against the *Amalekites* and *Midianites*, who endeavoured to cut the *Israelites* off in their passage thither. With the three offers above-mentioned correspond the laws of war given to the *Israelites*, at their entrance into the land of *Canaan*, which relate to the nations not devoted to destruction; *Joshua* being said to have sent to the inhabitants of that country, before he entered it, three schedules, in one of which was written, *Let him fly, who will*; in the second, *Let him surrender, who will*; and in the third, *Let him fight, who will*. Some affinity is likewise discernible between the first regulation made by *Mohammed*, in relation to the distribution of the spoil, and *David's* determination with regard to the spoils recovered from the *Amalekites*. The dispute amongst *Mohammed's* men about sharing the booty at *Bedr* arose on the same occasion as did that of *David's* soldiers at the time of the aforesaid determination. Those who had been in the action insisted, that they who *carried by the staff* should have no part of the spoil; and the same decision was given in both cases, which became a sort of law for the future, to wit, *that they should part alike*. The parallel might be carried farther still in several other particulars, would the limits we are here obliged to prescribe ourselves permit.

As we have already given a pretty full account of the law, or injunction, relating to the division of the spoil taken from an enemy, contained in the eighth chapter of the *Korân*, there will be no manner of occasion for us to be prolix on that

P Al Kor. MOHAM. f. xlvii, iv, v, ix, &c. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, RELAND. ubi sup. p. 32.

Q Al Kor. MOHAM. ubi sup. et alib. DEUT. xx. 16—18. XXV. 17—19. NUMB. xxxi. 17. DEUT. xx. 10—15. Talmud Hierosol. apud MAIMONID. Halach. Melachim, c. 6. f. 5. R. BECHAI, ex lib. Siphra. SELD. de jure nat. et gent. sec. Hebr. l. vi. c. 13, 14. SCHICKARD. jus regium Hebr. c. 5. theor. 16. JOSH. xi. 20. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. viii. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, I SAM. xxx. 21—25. RELAND. ubi sup. pass. Vide etiam SALE, ubi sup. p. 143—147.

head here. It will be sufficient, therefore, at present to observe, that, according to the law now before us, a fifth part of the spoils is appropriated to the particular uses therein mentioned, and the other four fifths are to be equally divided amongst those who were present at the action; but in what manner, or to whom, the first fifth is to be distributed, the *Mohammedan* doctors differ. The principal of these were *Al Shâfeî*, *Mulec Ebn Ans*, *Abu'l Aliya*, and *Abu Hanifa*, whose opinions have been produced at large by the learned Mr. *Reland* and Mr. *Sale*; to whom we must beg leave to refer our curious and inquisitive readers for their farther information in this matter*.

The old It has been already observed, that four months in the year
Arabs ob- were esteemed as sacred by all the pagan *Arabs*, except the
served four tribes of *Tay* and *Khathâam*, and some of the descendents of
months in *Al Hareth Ebn Caab*, during which they ceased from incur-
sions and sions and other hostilities. This institution, which prevailed
sacred. for many ages, was so religiously observed, that there are not above four, or as some say six, instances of its having been transgressed; the wars which were carried on without regard to this being therefore termed impious. The principal of these seems to have been that between the tribes of *Korish* and *Kais Ailân*, wherein *Mohammed* himself served under his uncles, being then fourteen, or as others say, twenty years old. The first day of this war, or rather that on which the commencement of the quarrel occasioning it happened, is termed by the *Arabs* the day *Al Fajar*, or the *wicked day*, because then a custom that had been long held sacred amongst the *Arabs* was *wickedly* and *impiously* violated. This served the *Arabs*, who computed their time from it, for an æra, till the time of the *Hejra*, and was by them stiled the æra of the *impious*, or *illicit, war*. The months held sacred amongst the ancient *Arabs* were *Al Mohurram*, *Rajeb*, *Dhu'lkaada*, and *Dhu'lhajja*; the first, the seventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth, in the year. *Dhu'lhajja* was the month wherein the pagan *Arabs* performed the pilgrimage to *Meca*; the *great feast*, or, as the *Arabs* sometimes called it, the *feast of oblation*, having been celebrated at the *Caaba* on the tenth day of that month. This pilgrimage, and the rites attending it, the *Arabs* denominated *Alhajja*, i. e. the *feast*, or *solemn festivity*; so that *Dhu'lhajja* properly denotes the *month of such feast*, or *festivity*. That every one might safely, and without interruption, pass and repass to and from the festival, the preceding month *Dhu'lkaada*, and the following one *Al Mohar-*

* *Al Kor. MOHAM. f. vii. AL BEIDAWI, RELAND. & SALE, ubi sup.*

ram, were likewise kept inviolable. As for *Rajab*, this is said to have been more strictly observed than any of the other three; probably because in that month the pagan *Arabs* used to fast; *Ramadân*, which was afterwards set apart by *Mohammed* for that purpose, being, in the *times of ignorance*, dedicated to drinking in excess. The observance of these months seeming so reasonable to the *Moslem* prophet, as to merit his approbation, the same is confirmed and enforced by several passages in the *Korân*. As for the transferring the observance of a sacred to that of a profane month, termed by the *Arabs* *Al Nasî*, and first introduced by *Jonâda Ebn Awf*, of the tribe of *Kenâna*, we shall take the liberty to omit it here; as our readers will find a full and ample description of it already given in another place. However, it may not be improper to remark, that the *Nasî* is stiled by the *Korân* AN ADDITIONAL INFIDELITY; and that, according to *Abulfeda*, the ordinances relating to the sacred months, contained in the second and ninth chapters of that book, were promulgated by *Mohammed* himself at the pilgrimage of *valediction* ^s.

SEVERAL reasons are assigned why *Friday*, or the sixth ^{Why} *Friday* of the week, was more peculiarly set apart by *Mohammed*. ^{day was} *Friday* was for the public worship of Almighty God. Some imagine this ^{for apart} was done, because the prophet on that day arrived at *Medina*, ^{by Mo-} and made his public entry there. Others say, that *Friday* was ^{hammed} preferred to any other day of the week for the aforesaid pur- ^{for the} pose, because on that day God finished the creation. But ^{more pecu-} the true reason seems to have been, because *Caab Ebn Lowa*, ^{liar at-} one of *Mohammed*'s ancestors, gave the day its present name, ^{tendance} *Yawm al joma*, i. e. *the day of the assembly*, or *congregation*; ^{on God's} since, on that day, the people used to be assembled before him. Be that as it will, *Friday* goes under that denomination in the *Korân*; tho' its ancient name was *Arûba*. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers call it *the prince of days*, and *the most excellent day on which the sun rises*; pretending also, that it will be the day whereon the last judgment will be so-

* AL KAZWINI, apud Golium, in not. ad Alfragan. p. 4, 5, 6, 9, &c. ut et ipse GOL. ibid. AL SHAHRESTANI, apud Pocock. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 122, 311, &c. AL JAWHAR. AL MOGHOLTAI, ISM. Abulfed. vit. Mohammed. p. 11. AL KODAI et AL FIRAUAZABAD. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 174. AHMED EBN YUSEF, apud Pocockium, ubi sup. ut et ipse POCOCK. ibid. GOL. lex. Arab. col. 601. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 5. AL MAKRISI, apud Pocock. ubi sup. Autor NESHK AL AZHAR, ibid. SHARIF AL EDRISI, apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 127. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii, iv, v, ix, &c. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 132. AL BEIDAWI, SALE, ubi sup. p. 147, 148, 149.

lemnized. The *Moslems* do not hold themselves obliged to observe the day of their public assembly with the same strictness as the *Christians* and *Jews* do their respective *sabbaths*; or particularly to abstain from work, after they have performed their devotions; there being a permission, as is generally supposed, in the *Korân*, allowing them to return to their diversions, or employments. Some, however, from a tradition of their prophet, are of opinion, that works of charity, and religious exercises, which may draw down the blessing of God, are recommended in that passage. We must not omit informing our readers, that the names of the days of the week amongst the pagan *Arabs*, as appears from the verses of a very ancient poet, cited by *Goliás*, were *Euvel*, *Bahán*, *Gebár*, *Debár*, *Múmis*, *Arúba*, and *Shijár*. From whence we may conclude, that the *Arabs*, as well as the *Hebrews*, at first computed their time by hebdomadal periods, in memory of the creation of our system. *Friday* then is the *Mohammedan* weekly feast, and enough has been said of it here. As for the principal annual feasts of the *Moslems*, called by the *Turks* the two *Beirâms*, or *holidays*, we shall only remark of them, that the first is styled, in *Arabic*, *Id al feir*, i. e. *the feast of breaking the fast*, beginning the first of *Shawâl*, and immediately succeeding the fast of *Ramadân*; and the other, *Id al korbân*, or *Id al adhâ*, i. e. *the feast of the sacrifice*, beginning on the tenth of *Dhu'l-hajja*, when the victims are slain at the pilgrimage of *Mecca*. Our readers will meet with a particular description of them in the authors here referred to. In the mean time, after so long, though absolutely necessary, an interruption, we must beg leave to proceed to a narration of facts, and resume, without any farther delay, the thread of our history^r.

S E C T. II.

Abu
Becr's
character
and say-
ings.

ABU BECR, at his death, was about sixty-three years of age, and died of a consumption, according to *Al Makin*, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by other writers. He was a tall lean man, with a thin beard,

^r Al KOR. MOHAM. f. lxxv. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 15, 16. EBN AL ATHIR & AL GHAZALI, apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 317. ut et ipse POCK. ibid. ABU SHOSJAIN AHMED EBN AL HASAN, AL KESSAI, Poet. Antiquiss. apud Golium, ubi sup. RELAND. de relig. Mohammed. p. 97, 109. GÖL. in lex. Arab. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. *Beirâm*, HYDE, in not. ad Albertum Bobovium, de peregrinat. Meccan. p. 16. CHARD. voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 450. Vide etiam SALE, ubi sup. p. 150, 151.

and of a swarthy complexion. His hair and beard were tinged with a sort of paint, extracted from *Al Henna*, or the cyprus tree, and a plant called by the *Arabs Al Catam*, which gave them a very beautiful red colour. This practice was likewise observed by *Mohammed* himself, as it is by many of his followers, and particularly the *Scenite Arabs*, in the eastern countries, at this day. *Abu Becr* was very abstemious, as well as regular in the performance of his devotions, and set little value on those things which are always the most esteemed by worldly-minded men. He had money in such contempt, that he left behind him in the treasury not above three *dirbêms*; and those he begged *Ayesha*, one of the prophet's widows, to restore to the *Moslems* after his decease. Nor were all his effects valued at more than five of those pieces of money. Which when *Omar* was told, he is reported to have said, "May GOD have mercy on the soul of *Abu Becr*; but he has left his successor a difficult pattern to follow." Among other sayings of *Abu Becr*, the two following very remarkable ones have been handed down to us by an *Arabic* author: "Good actions are a guard against the blows of adversity;" and "Death is the easiest of all things after it, and the hardest of all things before it." He reigned two years, three months, and nine days, if we will believe *Al Makin*; tho' the duration of his *Khalifât* is drawn out to two years and four months, within eight days, by *Abu'l-Faraj* ^u.

WE are told by *Al Makin*, that *Amru Ebn Al As*, in the several thirteenth year of the *Hejra*, or the last of *Abu Becr*, laid ^{remark-}siege to *Gaza*, with a body of the *Moslem* forces, and pursued ^{able events}the garison, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, as far as the ^{happened}gates of *Cæsarea* and *Jerusalem*; but that he could not make ^{in the last}himself master of either of those places. The same author ^{year of}likewise informs us, that *Palestine* was afflicted this year with a terrible earthquake, whose shocks continued, tho' with great intermission, for thirty days together; and that this earthquake was succeeded by a pestilence, which carried off abundance of people. It also appears from *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, that a comet, in the form of a fiery beam, was seen about the same time; tho' *Dionysius Telmarenis*, the *Jacobite* patriarch, who flourished in the year of CHRIST 775, makes this comet to have preceded the birth of *Mohammed*. *Theophanes* pretends, that *Sergius*, the commandant of *Gaza*, engaged the *Arabs* with only 300 men, who together with their general, who fell

^u AL MAKIN, hist. Sar. lib. i. c. ii. p. 18. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Moham. c. lxxv. p. 143. JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ibid. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 174. NISABUR. MS. Arab. Poc. in bibl. Bodl. Oxon. N° 62. Vide etiam EUTYCH. annal. tom. ii. p. 264, 265.

in the beginning of the action, were all put to the sword; as also, that *Amr* obliged the inhabitants of the whole tract extending from *Gaza* to mount *Sinai*, and the borders of the desert, to submit to the *Khalif*. He likewise relates, that the aforesaid comet stretched itself out from south to north, and remained visible for thirty days, sometimes exhibiting the appearance of a flaming sword. Both that historian and *Cedrenus* affirm, that, after the death of *Abu Becr*, *Bosra*, with all the other cities situated between that place and *Gabatha*, or *Gabitha*, to which he penetrated, and even *Damascus* itself, with the whole province of *Phœnicia*, were reduced by *Omar*; with whom *Eutychius*, *Al Makin*, and *Abu'l-Faraj*, seem to agree. But this must be a mistake, if any credit be due to what has been advanced by *Al Wakedi*, in his history of the *Khalifat* of *Abu Becr*, so often cited here ^w.

He is succeeded by
Omar;

THE same day that *Abu Becr* died, *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb Ebn Nofail Ebn Abd'alaziz Ebn Riyah Ebn Ada Ebn Caab*, surnamed *Abu Hafs*, was invested with the regal and pontifical dignity. The title first assigned him was, *The Khalif of the Khalif of the Apostle of God*; or, in other words, *The successor of the successor of Mohammed*. But the *Arabs* considering, that this title, by the addition to be annexed to it at the accession of every future *Khalif*, would be too long, they, by universal consent, saluted him *The Emperor of the Believers*. Which illustrious title, at this juncture conferred on *Omar*, descended afterwards, by a sort of incontestable right, to all the successors of that prince ^x.

who speaks
to the
people.

OMAR no sooner found his authority recognized by the people, than he made a speech to them out of the pulpit, to the following effect: "That he should not have undertaken such an arduous province, had he not been convinced of their intention to persevere in their duty; and had he not always entertained the most favourable sentiments of them." This, however, was not done till public thanks had been returned to God for his elevation to the *Moslem* throne, and that without the least opposition or obstruction from any quarter whatsoever ^y.

^w AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 19, 20. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 279. Parisiis, 1655. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 425. Parisiis, 1647. DIONYS. TELMAREN. apud Joseph. Simon. Asseman. in biblioth. Oriental. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 102. ut et ipse ASSEMAN. ibid. Romæ, 1721. AL WAKED. & ARULFED. in vit. Abu Bec. ^x AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 20. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 175. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 266, 267. ^y GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

As soon as the new *Khalif* was settled in the government, *His troops* he sent *Abu Obeid Ebn Mas'ud*, at the head of a detachment of a thousand men, to make an irruption into *Irâk*; *Persians* joining to him *Al Mothanna Ebn Haretha*, *Amru Ebn Hazem*, in several and *Salit Ebn Kis*, in the command of those forces. *Abu Obeid* ^{engagements.} having received his orders, advanced to *Al Thalabiya*, and incamped on the bank of a river at a small distance from that place. *Al Thalabiya*, according to *Abulfeda*, is a small town, or village, in the deserts of *Irâk*, on the confines of *Syria*, surrounded by a wall, and plentifully supplied with water. This river *Abu Obeid* thought proper to pass, contrary to the advice of *Salit* and *Al Mothanna*, who were for continuing in their camp till they had received a reinforcement from the *Khalif*, in order to attack the *Persians*, who had taken post on the opposite bank with a numerous army. *Abu Obeid* having marched his small force over a bridge he had ordered to be made for that purpose, immediately fell upon the *Persians*, and charged them with such bravery, that he put them to flight, and made a considerable slaughter. But the *Persian* general soon rallying his troops, returned to the charge with so much vigour, that he forced the *Arabs* in their turn to retire, and put a good number of them to the sword. *Abu Obeid* himself was killed in the beginning of the action, which occasioned the defeat of his troops; notwithstanding which, *Al Mothanna* made an excellent retreat, and repassed the river without any considerable loss. After this, he fortified himself in his camp, where he remained till he was reinforced by a body of troops, sent to his assistance by the *Khalif*, under the command of *Jarir Ebn Abd'allah*, who joined him in the camp of *Al Thalabiya*. After this junction, the *Moslem* army marched to *Dir Hind*, where they pitched their tents; and from thence made frequent excursions, ravaging all that part of *Irâk* which lay next to the *Euphrates*. *Arzemidokht*, queen of the *Persians*, receiving advice of the depredations committed by the *Arabs* in her dominions, sent a body of 12,000 chosen horse, under the conduct of *Mabran*, her general, to drive them out of *Irâk*. This brought on a general action in the neighbourhood of *Hira*, which, after a sharp and most obstinate dispute, ended in the defeat of the *Persians*. At first *Mabran* seemed to have the advantage, and forced the *Arabs* to give ground; but *Al Mothanna* soon restored the battle, which lasted with incredible fury from noon till sun-set, neither party shewing the least inclination to retire. But *Al Mothanna* at last engaging *Mubran* in single combat, gave him such a blow on his shoulder as laid him dead at his feet; which struck the *Persians* with such terror, that they immediately took to their heels, and fled to *Al Madâyen*, a town seated on the

the *Tigris*, about a day's journey distance from *Baghdád*. The *Arabs*, having sustained great fatigues in the engagement, did not pursue the enemy far; but contented themselves with remaining masters of the field of battle, curing their wounded, and burying their dead. The *Persians*, exasperated at such a continued series of ill success, which they attributed to a male-administration, immediately deposed their queen, and placed in her room *Yazdegerd*, the last king of *Persia*, of the ancient royal line, upon the throne. But this by no means retrieved the glory of the *Persian* arms. *Al Mothanna* overthrew *Rusam*, the *Persian* general sent against him by *Yazdegerd* with a powerful army, at *Hira*, where he was at that time posted; and *Abu Musa Al Ashari*, another of *Omar's* commanders, defeated a formidable body of troops, headed by *Al Harzaman*, a noble *Persian*, at *Abwáz*. In these two decisive actions, both the *Persian* generals were killed, and a great part of both their armies, which were intirely dispersed, put to the sword. We are told by the *Persian* historians, that the aforesaid princess, whom they call *Azurmi Dokht*, was assassinated by one of her subjects; as also, that she was succeeded by *Ferokbzad*, her nephew, who soon made way for *Yazdegerd*. The first engagement between the *Arabs* and the *Persians*, mentioned here, happened on a *Saturday*, in the month of *Ramadán*, and the thirteenth year of the *Hejra*, if *Abu'l-Faraj* may be believed; and the battles of *Hira* and *Buwai-bik*, which were soon after fought, according to *Al Makin*, the very same year. But that both those historians, in the point before us, run counter to fact, and introduce into the *Arabic* history an anachronism that ought to be thence expunged, sufficiently appears from hence, that the æra of *Yazdegerd*, which commenced at the very beginning of his reign, bears date from the eleventh year of the *Hejra*, when that prince ascended the *Persian* throne, and the beginning of the *Khalifat* of *Abu Becr*, as has been already observed. Besides, it appears very plainly, even from *Abu'l-Faraj* and *Al Makin* themselves, from whom we have extracted the preceding relation of *Omar's* invasion of *Irák*, that *Kháled Ebn Al Walid* reduced *Hira*, and at least the greatest part of *Irák*, in the 12th year of the *Hejra*, or rather the beginning of *Abu Becr's* reign. To which we may add, that, according to the express testimony of *Eutychius*, *Yazdegerd* ascended the *Persian* throne in the first year of *Abu Becr*, and even not long after *Mohammed's* death. As therefore both *Abu'l-Faraj* and *Al Makin* are inconsistent with themselves in this particular, and as their testimony herein runs counter to that of *Al Wakedi*, and some other writers of the best authority; we must beg leave to dissent from them in the point before us, and intimate

to

to our readers, that the events mentioned here happened in the beginning of *Abu Becr's* reign. Which if we admit, it will give a sort of sanction to *Al Wakedi's* authority; and consequently induce us to believe, that *Damascus* was taken in the thirteenth year of the *Hejra*, as he affirms, and not the fourteenth, as we find asserted by other writers. The preceding anachronism, therefore, may be expunged by placing the transactions taken notice of here in the first year of *Abu Becr*, wherein they most certainly happened; tho', out of deference to *Abu'l-Faraj* and *Al Makin*, whom we shall frequently find ourselves obliged to follow, we have thought fit to insert the foregoing account of them in the beginning of *Omar's* reign ².

THE garison of *Damascus* having capitulated, and obtained honourable terms by the interposition of *Abu Obeidab*, the besieged were left at liberty to retire to what place they thought fit to chuse, by one of the articles of the capitulation. However, *Khaled*, the *Moslem* general, gave them to understand, that, as soon as they entered upon the imperial territories, they were to be considered as no longer under his protection; tho' he promised not to pursue them till the expiration of three days after their departure from his camp. He also supplied them with some provisions, to enable them to continue their march, and granted them a few arms to defend themselves with, in case of any unexpected attack. The greatest part of the citizens and the garison, with *Thomas* and *Herbis*, the two chief commanders, at their head, soon after the signing of the capitulation, left the place, and were permitted to carry along with them the best of their most valuable effects, viz. their plate, jewels, silk, &c. besides the emperor's wardrobe, that contained above 300 loads of dyed silks and cloth of gold, of almost inestimable value. The emperor *Heraclius's* daughter likewise, according to *Al Wakedi*, who was in *Damascus* when it was obliged to surrender to the *Arabs*, took the same route with the other *Christians*, who were thus expelled their native country. *Derâr*, one of the *Moslem* commanders, seeing such a number of people escape, reflected upon *Abu Obeidab* for preventing the effusion of so much infidel blood; for which he was reprimanded by *Atbi Ebn Ammâr*, another

² GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. descript. penins. Arab. edit. Gagn. p. 45. LEBTARIKH, MIRKHOND, D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. *Touran Dokht*, &c. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 30, 31. GRAVII epoch. celebrior. KUSHIAN GILÆUS, apud Gol. ubi sup. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 256, 257. edit. Pocock. Oxoniæ, 1656. AL WAKED. in vit. Abu Bec. THEOPHAN. & CEDREN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 270—284, &c.

of them, of a more merciful disposition, who applauded *Abu Obeidah* for the lenity he had shewn, for being sparing of *Moslem* blood, and for giving the true believers rest from their labours: to which he added, that GOD had made the hearts of the faithful the seat of mercy, and those of the infidels that of cruelty; as also, that *Abu Obeidah's* conduct was agreeable to the tenets of the *Korân*, and other inspired writings. This, however, did not satisfy *Derâr*, who declared, that he should never think it a crime to spill the blood of the *associators*, or those who asserted that GOD had a son, and joined a partner with him. We must beg leave to observe, that *Thomas* and *Herb's* punctually paid the sum stipulated between them and *Abu Obeidah*, for the redemption of their lives and liberties, before their departure; and that they left some few *Christians* behind them, who paid the usual tribute to the *Moslems*, for the free exercise of their religion. It must here be remarked, that the *Mohammedans* stile the *Christians* ASSOCIATORS, because they profess a belief of the Holy Trinity, and assert that three persons subsist in the divine nature; which doctrine is condemned in express terms by the *Korân* ^a.

Khâled
pillages
the Greeks
after their
departure
from Da-
mascus.

AFTER *Thomas* and *Herb's* had left the place, a dispute arose in *Damascus* between *Khâled* and *Abu Obeidah*, about the large quantity of wheat and barley, which the citizens, who had surrendered to the latter, claimed as their property, by virtue of the capitulation. They were supported in their claim by *Abu Obeidah*; but *Khâled* insisted upon the corn's being distributed amongst the *Moslems*; so that it was agreed to write to *Abu Becr*, the news of whose death was not yet arrived in the camp, to desire him to determine this affair. In the mean time *Khâled*, at the solicitation of one *Jonas*, who had been taken prisoner by a party of the *Arabs*, and, in order to save his life, had turned *Mohammedan*, resolved to pursue the *Christians* who had lately left *Damascus*, and endeavour to make himself master of all the riches and valuable effects they had carried off with them. *Jonas's* motive to this undertaking was the recovery of his wife, who, as soon as she was informed of his apostasy, came to a determination to leave both her husband and native place, and to seek for a sanctuary with the people attending *Thomas* and *Herb's* in some other part of the imperial dominions. In order to render successful this expedition, *Khâled* put himself at the head of a detachment of 4000 horse, which were the flower of his cavalry,

^a AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iv. AL BEIDAWI, JAILALO'DDIN, YAHYA, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 26, 27. FETTYCH ubi sup. p. 266—280. AHMED BEN ABD'AL HALIM, SÆLE's prelm. disc. p. 35.

cloathed, at *Jonas's* request, in the habit of the *Christian Arabs*, that they might the more easily pass through the enemy's country, without being discovered, and went in quest of the *Christians*, four days after they had evacuated the town. After a long and tedious march, wherein his men sustained uncommon fatigues, he advanced into the neighbourhood of *Laodicea*, or, as the *Arabs* pronounce it, *Ladikiâ*, and *Jabalab*, but durst not enter either of those cities; and at last, having been greatly encouraged by *Abd'alrahmân's* interpretation of a dream in his favour, he came up with the *Damascenes*, whom he found reposing themselves in a meadow. Upon this, he divided his detachment into four regiments; assigning the command of the first to *Derâr Ebn Al Azwar*, that of the second to *Rafi Ebn Omeirah*, that of the third to *Abd'alrahmân*, said by *Al Wakedi* to have been the son of *Abu Becr*, and that of the fourth he took upon himself. Every one of these regiments, or smaller detachments, he posted at some distance from the others, leaving thereby a vacant space between every two of them; and charged his officers to make their appearance gradually, that by this means they might strike the greater terror into the enemy. Which disposition of their forces was frequently made by the *Arabs*, both in their pitched battles, and when they invested a town. He ordered the other commanders not to charge the *Christians* till they saw him actually engaged, and not to suffer any of their men to touch the least particle of plunder till after the end of the action. *Thomas* and *Herbis* likewise on the other side drew up their troops in order of battle, in as proper a manner as the nature of the ground, and the short time allowed them to do this in, would permit. Those two generals, on this occasion, seem to have divided into two bodies the *Christian* forces; which in number must have been much superior to *Khâled's* detachment, since the body commanded by *Thomas* only consisted of 5000 men. Notwithstanding which, *Khâled* engaged the imperial troops with great resolution; and, after a sharp dispute, defeated the forces under the orders of *Thomas*, and put that general himself to the sword. He no sooner fell than *Abd'alrahmân* alighted off his horse, cut off his head, and fixed it upon the point of the standard of the cross; saying aloud to the *Greeks*, "Woe to you, you *Grecian* dogs, behold your master's head." Which had such an effect upon them, that scarce any resistance was afterwards made. *Herbis*, the other *Christian* commander, was likewise slain; and not a soul of those who had left *Damascus*, escaped either the carnage or captivity, except a single person who directed *Khâled* to *Herbis*, whose blood he thirsted after, and who having for that reason been set at liberty by

the *Myslem* general, after he had refused to renounce the *Christian* faith, took the rout of *Constantinople*. The emperor's daughter, according to *Al Wakedi*, was taken prisoner in the action by *Rafi Ebn Omeirah*, after a vigorous resistance; she having killed the *Arab's* horse before he could oblige her to surrender to him. This lady was a most celebrated beauty, dressed in the richest manner, and adorned with a vast variety of jewels, of inestimable value, that she wore about her head. Her husband *Thomas* being slain, *Rafi* made a present of her to *Jonas*, whose wife chose to stab herself rather than cohabit with him after she had fallen into his hands. This so affected that apostate, that he continued a widower the remainder of his days; and the princess was, by his consent, returned to the emperor, her father, without any ransom. The *Arabs* having thus met with greater success than even the most sanguine of them could expect, returned triumphantly to *Damascus*, loaded with the immense riches and most valuable spoils they had acquired in this expedition ^b.

The Christian writers differ from *Al Wakedi* in their account of the preceding transactions.

THE accounts of the siege of *Damascus*, as well as of some other occurrences consequential to that event, handed down to us by the *Christian* writers, and particularly *Eutychius*, differ from what has been related on these heads by *Al Wakedi* in several particulars. We are told by *Eutychius*, that the emperor *Heraclius*, who resided at *Hems* when the *Arabs* invested *Damascus*, assembled a body of *Arab* troops, drawn from the tribes of *Ghassân*, *Jedam*, *Calb*, *Lakhm*, and others, who acknowledged the sovereignty of that prince, and sent them under the command of one *Mahan* to *Damascus*; at the same time dispatching an order to *Mansûr*, the commandant of that place, to distribute a sum of money amongst those troops, in order to retain them in his service. But *Mansûr*, being either unwilling to part with any money, or a traitor to the emperor, refused to supply the *Arabs* with the sum demanded of him. And being informed, that *Mahan*, after his departure from *Damascus*, was incamped at the ford, or river, *Wadi Al Ramad*, in a place called *Al Jawlan*, about two days journey from that city, he marched from thence with a great multitude of people attending him, carrying lamps and torches in their hands, beating their drums, and playing on their military musical instruments, in the night-time, towards *Mahan's* camp; which so terrified the troops under that general's command, who were not apprized before-hand of his approach, that they immediately betook themselves to flight, thinking that a body of the *Moslems* was behind them, and

^b AL WAKED. ubi sup. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 131—153. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 298, 299.

even upon the point of surrounding them. Many, therefore, of *Mahan's* men were drowned in the *Wadi Al Ramad*, which was a very large torrent, or river, and the rest fled to *Damascus*, *Jerusalem*, *Cæsarea*, and other places. *Mahan*, after this disaster, dreading the emperor's resentment, prevailed upon some monks, seated on mount *Sinai*, to admit him into their convent, put on the habit of a religious, took the name of *Anastasius*, and wrote a commentary on the sixth psalm. After which, continues our author, the four principal officers of the *Moslem* army took post before the town with all their forces; *Khâled* pitching his tent near the east gate, *Abu Obeidah* his near the gate *Al Jâbiyah*, *Amru Ebn Al As* his at the gate of *St. Thomas*, and *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofûn* his at the little gate, his troops at the same time extending to the gate *Kisan*, or *Kaisân*. The *Greeks* made continual sallies through the whole course of the siege, but were always repulsed, and sometimes with very considerable loss. After the *Moslems* had carried on their approaches for near six months, *Manfûr*, the governor, capitulated, and agreed to put the *Moslem* troops in possession of the gates; *Khâled* at the same time engaging to support the inhabitants in the possession of their privileges, and the free exercise of their religion. But notwithstanding this convention, the *Moslems* entered the town sword in hand, and attacked the garison, which had been left at the mercy of the *Arabs* by *Manfûr*; upon which a very fierce conflict ensued at the gate of *St. Thomas*, and great numbers on both sides were put to the sword. However, at last, *Abu Obeidah*, *Amru Ebn Al As*, and *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofûn*, as well as *Khâled*, signed the capitulation in that part of the town called *Al Ziyânain*, and the slaughter immediately ceased. Some few of the soldiers belonging to the garison made their escape to *Antioch*, at that time the residence of the emperor *Heraclius*; who, when he received advice of the surrender of *Damascus*, is reported to have said in *Greek*, "Farewell, *Syria*;" that is, "Farewell, *Damascus*, the capital of *Syria*." *Heraclius* some time after, according to the same historian, went to *Constantinople*; and *Manfûr*, for the misfortunes and calamities he had brought upon the *Christian* world, by his villainous conduct, was anathematized by all the patriarchs and bishops of the empire.

UPON his arrival at *Damascus*, *Khâled* divided the spoils *Khâled* and riches he had brought thither with him amongst the *inform*s troops employed in the late expedition, after having reserved *the* *Khalîf*

of the suc-
 c EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 270—cess of his
 283. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 21, 26, 27, 28. GREG. ABU'L-arms.
 FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 178. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 128—130.

the fifth part of them for the *Khalif*, to be put into the public treasury, conformably to the injunction contained in the 8th chapter of the *Korân*. As *Jonas*, who, before he fell into the hands of the *Moslems*, was a person of rank, and even of noble extraction, had greatly distinguished himself on the late occasion, *Khâled* made him a present of a very considerable sum of money, to enable him to purchase another wife, in the room of her he had lost through her unparalleled obstinacy. *Jonas* took the money, and professed a grateful sense of the favour done him; but at the same time declared, that he persisted in his intention of never cohabiting with any woman in this world, being determined to wait for the enjoyment of the black-eyed girls of paradise in the next. *Khâled* then dispatched a courier with a letter he had written to *Abu Becr*, of whose death he had received no advice, to *Medina*. In that letter he gave the *Khalif* a long detail of the advantages gained over the infidels by the *Moslem* arms, including a particular account of the reduction of *Damascus*, of the recovery of the spoil the inhabitants of that place were permitted to carry away, and of the controversy that had happened between him and *Abu Obeidah*, relating to the surrender of the town, and the corn claimed by the citizens after that event, which he begged him as soon as possible to decide. *Eutychius* seems to intimate, tho' this must be allowed to be inconsistent with what has been advanced by *Al Wakedi* in the point before us, that the aforesaid courier arrived at *Medina* within the space of seven days after the capitulation was signed^d.

Omar con-
fers the
command
of the
Moslem
army in
Syria upon
Abu
Obeidah.

UPON his arrival there, he was greatly surprized to find *Omar* advanced to the throne in the room of *Abu Becr*, of whose death they had received no advice in *Syria*. The truth of the matter is, *Omar*, immediately after his elevation to the *Khalifat*, had sent an express to *Abu Obeidah*, with an account of what had happened, and an order to him to take upon himself the command of the *Moslem* forces that acted in *Syria*, out of regard to his eminent piety, in the room of *Khâled*, whose cruel disposition had rendered him very disagreeable to the new *Khalif*; but *Abu Obeidah* not having the least spark of ambition, and entertaining an high opinion of *Khâled*'s abilities as a general, had kept the intelligence and order he had received a profound secret from the army, and not in the least opposed *Khâled*'s intention of writing to *Abu Becr*. This being now discovered by *Omar*, he made an harangue one day from the pulpit to the people, it being usual for the *Khalifs* to talk of the public affairs, on some occa-

^d AL WAKEDI, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 282, 283.

sions, in a familiar manner there ; wherein he told them, that he had deprived *Khâled* of his commission, and conferred the command of his army in Syria upon *Abu Obeidah*. Upon which, a young man then present expressed great concern at such an indignity's being offered to a general, whose conduct and bravery had procured such singular advantages to the *Moslems* ; observing at the same time, that when *Abu Beer* was pressed to dismiss *Khâled* from his employment by some of his courtiers, he made answer, " That he would not lay aside, " nor sheath, that sword, which God had drawn for the assistance and support of the true religion : " which was designed as a reflection upon the opposite conduct of *Omar*. However, this made not the least impression upon the *Khalif*, who, the next day, in another speech from the same place, resolutely declared to his subjects, " That as the supreme management and direction of the *Moslem* affairs was devolved upon him, by his predecessor's death, and the united suffrages of the believers, he would always take care to reward and prefer his officers according to their merit ; and that, in consequence of this resolution, he was determined to put *Abu Obeidah* the generalissimo over *Khâled* ; the former being of a gentle merciful disposition, always kind to the *Moslems* ; the latter of a fierce untractable temper, greedy of plunder, and one who had committed many enormous depredations. However," continued he, " the deposition of so fierce a general as *Khâled* will be of no advantage to our enemies, as God himself will conduct the enterprizes formed by so good a man as *Abu Obeidah*, and assist him in all his mild councils." He then came down from the pulpit, signed *Abu Obeidah*'s commission, and wrote him a letter of good advice ; commanding him therein not to be too modest, nor to expose the *Moslems*, for the sake of plunder, to unnecessary dangers. By which last words, he apparently glanced at *Khâled*'s pursuit of the *Christians*, after the reduction of *Damascus*. He also ordered *Abu Obeidah* to confirm the citizens in the possession of their wheat and barley, which had been the subject of so much contention, and pronounced the city taken by capitulation, not by storm ; however, he declared the gold and silver to be the property of the *Moslems*, after the deduction of the fifth part, in conformity to the injunction contained in the eighth chapter of the *Korân*. With regard to *Khâled*'s last expedition, after the surrender of *Damascus*, the *Khalif* observed, that it was a rash action ; and that had not God been more merciful than he deserved, he might have sustained great loss in it. *Omar* likewise condemned *Khâled* for his dismissal of the emperor's daughter without any ransom, as the sum of money he might

have lawfully acquired on such an occasion would have been of great service to the *Moslems*. The persons to whom the care of the letter, conceived in these terms, was committed, were *Shaddâd Ebn Aws* and *Amru Ebn Abi Wakkâs*; who, upon their arrival at *Damascus*, caused it to be read; after which, *Abu Obeidah* took possession of his new post, and *Shaddâd Ebn Aws* was proclaimed *Omar's Khalif*, or the *Moslem* governor, of *Damascus*, in compliance with the *Khalif's* order. This happened on the first of *October*, in the year of our LORD 634, and the thirteenth of the *Hejra*. *Khâled* bore his disgrace with great magnanimity; swearing, when the disagreeable news of *Abu Obeidah's* advancement arrived, that, tho' he had always had the highest regard for *Abu Becr*, and the utmost aversion to *Omar*, he would submit to GOD's will, and obey the commands of the new *Khalif*, as those of the lawful successor of *Mohammed*. Nor did he afterwards fail, in pursuance of this resolution, to distinguish himself, as will soon more fully appear. The *Khalif*, about this time, commanded his new general, *Abu Obeidah*, to have his eye upon *Palestine*, and to attempt the conquest of that fine country, as soon as a favourable opportunity of invading it offered.*

The battle
of Kade-
hâ.

NOT long after the reduction of *Damascus*, the *Khalif* ordered *Saad Ebn Abu Wakkâs*, who commanded in *Irâk*, to dislodge the *Persians* from some districts they possessed in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates*. *Saad* having drawn together a body of 12,000 men, advanced to *Kadesia*, a city bordering upon the deserts of *Irâk*, where he engaged an army of 30,000 *Persians*, under the conduct of one *Rustem*, or *Rostam*, a *Persian* general; but with what success we are not told by *Al Makin*, who is the principal *Arabic* historian that gives us any account of this war. However, he intimates, that it produced several battles between the *Arabs* and the *Persians*; the last of which was decisive, continuing from morning till noon, and ended in the intire defeat of the *Persians*. The day on which one of these engagements happened was called by the *Arabs* THE DAY OF SUCCOURS, because in the heat of it, when they were very much pressed, a reinforcement of 6000 men very luckily joined them. The day on which the last battle was fought they denominated THE DAY OF CONCUSSION, because the glorious success of that day shook the whole *Persian* power. The *Persian* army consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men, above sixty thousand of

* AL WAKED. ubi sup. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. anal. tom. ii. p. 282, 283. AL MAKIN, hist. Sarac. lib. i. c. iii. p. 21.

whom perished in this decisive action, which was afterwards called by the *Arabs* the battle of *Kadesia*. The *Moslem* forces did not amount to above 30,000 men, about 7,500 of whom fell on the field of battle. Some of the *Persian* historians call *Yazdegerd's* general *Ferokbzad*; and inform us, that he was that prince's prime minister. They also relate, that he at first contented himself with harassing the *Arabs* in their march, and declined coming to a general action with them till he had posted himself in a very advantageous manner, in the plains of *Kadesia*. Some of the *Oriental* historians make this battle to have been as famous as that of *Arbela*; and affirm, that it lasted three days and three nights. Be that as it will, the *Persians* were at length intirely defeated; upon which, their capital city, and the greatest part of their dominions, fell into the hands of the *Arabs*. *Rustem*, or *Rostam*, as the *Persian* commander in chief is denominated by some of the eastern writers, seems to be a title of honour, or a common name for all the champions of that country. *Hormozan*, a noble *Persian*, who had possessed himself of *Khúzestân*, after this complete victory, surrendered that province to the *Khalif*; and embraced, at his request, the *Mohammedan* religion. *Yazdegerd*, in order to avoid the fury of the *Arabs*, fled as far as the banks of the *Fihun*; upon which, *Saad* pillaged the opulent and superb city of *Al Madâyen*, and made himself master of all *Yazdegerd's* treasure there. Notwithstanding what is advanced to the contrary by *Al Makin*, the battle of *Kadesia*, according to the *Oriental* authors followed by *M. D'Herbelot*, was fought in the 15th year of the *Hejra*^f.

In the mean time, the *Moslem* forces in *Syria* made all the *The Arabs* proper dispositions for improving the late advantages they had *meditate* gained, and even for spreading the terror of their arms over *farther* every district of that region. *Khâled*, notwithstanding the *conquests*. indignity that had lately been offered him, was still as desirous of propagating and extending the *Mohammedan* faith as ever, and distinguished himself as much in the action of *Dair Abî'l Kodes*, or the *monastery of the holy father*, of which we shall give our readers here a clear and succinct relation, as on any former occasion. By which it plainly appears, that the *Moslems*, at this juncture, were actuated by such a spirit of enthusiasm as nothing could subdue; and that even the grossest affronts, which would have cooled the ardour of others, served only the more effectually to animate them, and engage them

^f AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 223. LETTARIKH, KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 178. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 226.

to behave with the greater bravery, in support of their new religion &.

Abd'allah In the monastery of *Dair Abi'l Kodos*, there lived a priest, Ebn Jaa- so eminent for his learning, sanctity, and austerity of life, that far ad- the neighbouring *Christians* of all orders and denominations vances to frequently resorted to him for his blessing and instruction. Dair Abi'l When any person of distinction married, he took his new Kodos. spouse with him to the aforesaid monastery, in order to receive this holy father's benediction. The fame of his sanctity drew such numbers of people thither every *Easter*, that there was a great fair then kept annually at his house, to which were brought vast quantities of the richest silks, satins, plate, jewels, and other valuable effects. Of this *Abu Obeidah* being apprized, and that *Dair Abi'l Kodos* was seated between *Tripoli* and *Harran*, about thirty miles from *Damascus*, he sent a detachment of 500 horse, under the command of *Abd'allah Ebn Jaufar*, whose mother, after his father's death, was married to the late *Khalif*, to plunder the *Christians* assembled there. The *Christian*, who had brought *Abu Obeidah* advice of this fair, attended *Abd'allah* in his march, and undertook to conduct him to *Dair Abi'l Kodos* without any loss. When the *Arabs* drew near the place, they were informed, that the prefect, or governor, of *Tripoli* had lately married his daughter to a person of great distinction, who had carried his lady to the monastery, in order to present her to the holy father above-mentioned, and that she might have an opportunity of receiving the communion at his hands. To which the person bringing the intelligence added, that the *Jews*, *Greeks*, *Copts*, or *Coptis*, and *Armenians*, then at *Dair Abi'l Kodos*, amounted to at least 10,000 men; and that, besides these, the lady had for her escorte a body of 5000 horse. Notwithstanding which, *Abd'allah* resolved either to carry off all the riches of the *Christians*, or to die in the attempt. Having therefore divided his troops into five small detachments, he ordered them to charge the enemy in five different places at once; and, by the advice of *Omar Ebn Rabiya*, to begin the attack the next morning, after the fair was actually begun. We find it intimated by *Al Makin*, that, this year, the *Moslems* surrounded with a wall, by the command of *Omar*, both *Cusa* and *Basra* ^h.

And, in AT the appointed time, after *Abd'allah* had animated his conjunction men, by assuring them, that *paradise* was under the shadow of with Khâ- swords, and that they should either possess the riches of the Chri- led, defeats tians, or enjoy the pleasures of *paradise*, he commanded them the Chri- fians there.

AL WAKED. & EUTYCH. ubi sup.
MAKIN, ubi sup.

AL WAKED. AL

to cry out ALLAH ACBAR, GOD is great, and immediately to fall upon the enemy. This they did, notwithstanding their small number, with such unparalleled bravery, that at first they bore down all before them, and put many of those that resisted them to the sword. But the *Christians*, soon perceiving that they were but a handful of men, returned to the charge, hemmed them in on all sides, and resolved to make them pay dear for their temerity and presumption. This being observed by *Abd'allah Ebn Anis*, who saw his countrymen engaged with a numerous enemy, appearing, to use an *Arab* simile, like a white spot in a black camel's skin, he cut his way through the enemy, and instantly posted away to *Damascus*, with the bad news; where, upon his arrival, he told *Abu Obeidah*, that his troops were engaged with the *Christians*, whose regular forces amounted to above 5000 men; and that unless they were immediately succoured, they would all infallibly be cut to pieces. In this distress, the general was obliged to have recourse to *Khâled*, as the only person that could effectually extricate the *Moslems* out of the difficulties in which they were involved; who, notwithstanding the indignity that had been lately offered him, very readily agreed to march to the relief of *Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar*. Having, therefore, put on the coat of mail which he took from the false prophet *Moseilama*, and the cap that had received *Mohammed's* benediction, called for that reason the *blessed cap*, he instantly marched at the head of a strong detachment, consisting entirely of cavalry, to *Dair Abi'l Kados*; where he found the *Moslem* troops fighting like men in despair, and reduced to the last extremity. The sight of *Khâled* at so critical a conjuncture revived the drooping spirits of *Abd'allah*, who thereupon attacked the monastery afresh with so much vigour, that he soon made himself master of it. In the mean time, *Derâr Ebn Al Azwâr* defeated a considerable body of troops, commanded by the prefect of *Tripoli*, whom he killed upon the spot; and *Khâled* routed another body of the *Christian* forces, that opposed him, and pursued them as far as a river between *Tripoli* and the place where the action happened. In fine, the *Arabs* having absolutely dispersed the enemy, and insulted the poor priest above-mentioned, *Khâled* telling him, that, *had he not been forbidden by the Apostle of God, he would have put him to a most cruel death*, returned to *Damascus*, to the great joy of *Abu Obeidah*, who was expecting them with vast impatience. They carried off with them not only the jewels, rich furniture, and immense wealth, brought to the fair by the *Christians* and *Jews* above-mentioned, but likewise the young lady, whose father, the governor of *Tripoli*, had been killed in the late action, and forty maids that waited upon

upon her. The situation of *Dair Abi'l Kodos* we find not precisely determined by any of the eastern geographers. However, it may not be improper to observe, that the word *Dair*, in *Arabic*, signifies a *monastery*; and that near 200 places, whose proper names begin with that word, particularly *Dair Errahib*, the *monastery of the religious*, the name of a village in *Palestine*, not a little resembling *Dair Abi'l Kodos*, the *monastery of the holy father*, in signification, &c. have been mentioned by the *Oriental* writers ¹.

Abu
Obeidah
marches
towards
Baalbec. AMONGST the valuable merchandize and spoils taken at *Dair Abi'l Kodos*, there were many rich garments curiously wrought, and one particularly adorned with the effigies of our Blessed Saviour; all of which were sold for ten times their weight in gold to some of the opulent *Arabs of Yaman*. To *Derâr Ebn Al Azwâr*, who had killed the prefect of *Tripoli*, *Abu Obeidah* gave that officer's horse and saddle, together with the trappings, which, as well as the saddle, were embellished with precious stones, as a reward for his valour. These he made a present of to his sister *Kawlah*, who divided the jewels amongst the ladies of her acquaintance. The prefect's daughter *Abu Obeidah*, by the *Khalif's* order, bestowed on *Abd'allah*, who kept her till *Yezid's* reign. The advantage gained by the *Moslems* was notified to *Omar* by a courier, which *Abu Obeidah* dispatched to that prince at *Medina*, on this occasion. In his letter, the *Moslem* general also informed the *Khalif*, that his men had learned to drink wine in *Syria*; which so exasperated the *Arab* pontiff, that, by the advice of *Ali*, to whom he communicated the contents of *Abu Obeidah's* letter, he commanded the latter to punish every person, who had drunk that prohibited liquor, with eighty stripes upon the soles of his feet. Upon the arrival of the courier, *Abu Obeidah* imparted to the officers of his army the substance of the *Khalif's* letter; and particularly the order relating to the punishment of the foregoing offenders. After which, he exhorted such of his men as were conscious of their guilt in the above-mentioned particular to make a voluntary confession of their crime; and, in order to demonstrate the sincerity of their repentance, cheerfully to submit to the chastisement inflicted upon them by the *Khalif*. In consequence of which exhortation, many of the *Arab* soldiers confessed their guilt, and underwent the punishment allotted them, who had never been suspected of the aforesaid crime, and who consequently had none but their own consciences to accuse them. With regard to the fu-

¹ AL WAKED. ubi sup. ALBERT. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. Vide etiam ejusd. vit. Salad. p. 192. Lugduni Bata-vor. 1733.

ture scene of action, the *Khalif* left this intirely to the discretion of *Abu Obeidah*, whom he honoured with an absolute and unlimited commission to act as he should think fit, for the good of his service. That general, therefore, having called a council of war, informed his officers, that his design was first to reduce *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, and afterwards *Antioch*. Having completed his preparations for this expedition, he detached *Khâled*, to whom he gave the *black eagle*, the flag before assigned him by *Abu Becr*, at the head of the vanguard, attended by *Rafi Ebn Omeirah*, *Derâr*, and other experienced officers, to ravage the country about *Hems* and *Kinnifrîn*; whilst he himself, with the main body, moved towards *Baalbec*. It may not be improper to inform our readers here, that *Hems* is the Arabic name of *Emesa*, or *Emissa*, a city of *Syria*, frequently taken notice of by the ancients; and that *Kinnifrîn* is one of the principal cities of *Syria*, about a day's journey from *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, on the road from the latter of those places to *Hems*. The district in which it is seated is called *Jiund Kinnefrîn*, or *Jiund Kinnifrîn*, by the *Oriental* geographers, and at least in part answers to the *Cyrrhestica* of *Cicero*, *Ptolemy*, and *Strabo*. The town of *Kinnifrîn*, at a small distance from which runs the river *Kowaik*, that washes the suburbs of *Aleppo*, is upon good grounds supposed by some to be the *Gindarus* of *Strabo*, which was a fortified town, and at the same, or nearly the same, distance from *Beræa* that *Kinnifrîn* is from *Aleppo*; since it can scarce be doubted but that the last-mentioned city is situated upon the same spot of ground that was occupied by the *Beræa* of the ancients. *Baalbec* is a superb and splendid city of *Syria*, abounding with stately palaces, built for the most part of stone, in an elegant taste, and supported by marble pillars, about three days journey from *Damascus*. It is situated on a mountain, adorned with great numbers of beautiful trees, refreshed with rivers, wells, &c. and enjoys a vast plenty of all the necessaries, and many of the elegancies, of life. Amongst other remains of antiquity, still preserved here, there is to be seen, according to *Al Azizi*, a chapel, or temple of the Sun, held in great veneration by the *Sabians*; which, as they pretend, was erected by their ancestors. *Baalbec*, from the foregoing description, which we have extracted from the *Oriental* geographers, seems to be the *Heliopolis ad Libanum* of *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Strabo*; near which, according to the first of those writers, the river *Orontes* had its source ^k.

ABU

^k AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in geogr. EBN HAWKEL, PTOL. in Syr. STRAB. lib. xvi. CIC. ad Attic. lib. v. ep. 18. PLIN. lib. v. c. 22, 23. FESTUS AVIEN. v. 1084. ZOSIM. lib.

He pre-
sents him-
self before
Hems;

ABU OBEIDAH having left a garison of 500 horse at *Damascus*, and made *Safwân Ebn Amîr* commandant of that town, ordered his forces to begin their march for the place of their destination. The first town of note to which he advanced, was *Jusbiyah*, the governor of which concluded a truce with him for one year, upon condition that if he reduced *Baalbec*, *Hems*, and *Labwah*, within that term, *Jusbiyah* should likewise at the end of it surrender to him; that he should pay him down instantly four thousand pieces of gold; and that he should also make him a present of fifty silk vests. Then the *Moslem* general resumed his march for *Baalbec*, which he had not continued long before he was overtaken by a courier, who brought him a letter from the *Khalif*, the purport of which was to the following effect: "In the name of the most merciful GOD. From the servant of GOD, *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, to his lieutenant, greeting. I praise the only GOD, besides whom there is no other; I pray also for his prophet *Mohammed*, upon whom be the divine benediction. The divine decree cannot be reversed; so that every one written an INFIDEL in the secret book must necessarily be void of faith. This reflection is occasioned by the conduct of *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham*, of the tribe of *Ghassân*, who, with his relations and the chief men of his tribe, after a kind reception from me, embraced the true religion, performed with me the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and went seven times in procession round the *Caaba*. During the performance of this ceremony, a man of the tribe of *Fezârah* accidentally trod upon his vest; so that it fell from his shoulders; upon which, tho' the man swore he did not design to affront him, *Jabalab* boxed him, broke his nose, and beat out four of his fore-teeth. I asked *Jabalab*, after he had been brought before me, upon the injured person's complaint, what could induce him to use a brother *Moslem* so cruelly? To which he replied, that the man had trod upon his vest, and uncovered his back; and that, had it not been for the reverence he bore the place, he would have killed him. Upon this I told him, that, as he had confessed his crime, I must execute the law of retaliation upon him, unless the *Fezârahite* would forgive him. To which he answered, that he was a king, and the other a pea-

lib. i. c. 10, & alib. STEPH. BYZANT. HERODIAN. lib. v. c. 3. FLAVIUS VOPISCUS, in vit. Aurelian. c. 25. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. xiv. c. 8. edit. Vales. SOZOMEN. lib. i. c. 8. & lib. v. c. 10. YACUT. AL FIRAUZABAD. in Kam. AL AZIZI, apud Abulfed. ubi sup. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 127, 276, &c. SHARIF AL EDRISI, p. 118. Vide etiam ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup.

"fant,

“fant. To this I replied, that they were both *Moslems*, and consequently in that respect equal; however, upon his desiring it, and the other’s agreeing to it, I suspended his punishment till the next day. But, in the night, *Jabalab* and his companions made their escape to the *Grecian* dog; over whom, I hope, God will render thee victorious. Sit down before *Hems*, invest that town, and send thy spies towards *Antioch*, for fear of the *Christian Arabs*. Health, happiness, and the blessing of God be upon thee and all the *Moslems*.” After the perusal of this letter, *Abu Obeidah* communicated the contents of it to the *Moslem* forces, and then immediately directed his march, in pursuance of the orders he had received, towards *Hems*; before which place he presented himself in *November*, the same year, that is, the fourteenth of the *Hejra*, or of our Lord 635. To what has been already said of *Hems* we may add, that it is a very famous, large, and walled town, with a strong citadel in the southern part of it, erected upon a hill. It stands on a plain between *Damascus* and *Aleppo*, tho’ nearer the former of those places, and abounds with most delicious gardens. The air of *Hems* is very salubrious, and its soil extremely rich. The inhabitants are never infested by any venomous creatures, no species of which will live here. Nay, we are told by an eastern writer, that no poisonous animal will approach any person that wears a garment washed with the water of the *Orontes*, near which this city is situated, and whose banks are embellished with most beautiful spots covered with trees, shrubs, plants, &c. of various kinds. The *Orontes* is stiled by the *Arabs* the *refractory* and the *inverted river*, because the neighbouring soil is irrigated by its water, raised, and, as it were, *refracted* or *broken back* from the bed of the river by the force of wheels, and because its current is, as it were, *inverted*, or moves in a direction from south to north, contrary to that of all the other rivers of *Asia*. The *Arabs* suppose *Hems* to have been built by an *Amalekite* of the same name. Its citizens are famous for their fine complexion. The emperor *Heliogabalus* is said to have been born at *Hems*, which we find placed by *Abulfeda* in long. 61°, and lat 34° 20’¹.

BEFORE *Abu Obeidah*’s arrival at *Hems*, the body of troops and grants commanded by *Khâlet* had reached that town; and the very a truce for day of their appearance before it the governor died. This a year to the inhabitants;

¹ AL WAKED. ubi sup. MOHAMMED. AL FIRAUZABAD. EBN HAWK. ISM. ABULFED. & AL AZIZI, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 127. SHARIF AL EDRISI, ubi sup. Vide etiam HERODIAN. lib. v. & CLAUD. SALMAS. ad Æl. Lamprid. in Anton. Heliogab.

unexpected visit not a little alarmed the inhabitants, as they could not believe that the *Arab* forces were so near. But when they perceived, that *Abu Obeidah* had taken post before the town with the main body of the *Moslem* army, they were struck with inexpressible terror and consternation. They imagined, that he would have made himself master of *Baalbec* before he had advanced to *Hems*; and were therefore not in a proper situation to receive him, nor to sustain the fatigues of a siege. This induced them to apply to *Abu Obeidah* for a truce, which he readily granted them, upon condition that they paid him down immediately 10,000 pieces of gold, and presented him with 200 silk vests. This truce was to commence on the first day of *Dhu'l-hajja*, and to expire on the last day of *Shawâl*, in the following year, being the fifteenth of the *Hejra*. The garison likewise agreed to surrender to the *Khalif's* forces, upon the expiration of the truce; in case by that time they could overthrow the *Greeks*, and reduce *Albâdir*, *Kinnisrin*, and *Aleppo*. In the mean time, *Mesab Ebn Mohârib*, with the *Arabian* cavalry, foraged all over the adjacent territory; and, after he had pillaged the emperor's subjects there, returned to the *Moslem* camp loaded with spoil, consisting of sheep, oxen, and other valuable effects, besides at least 400 prisoners. *Abu Obeidah* commiserating the unhappy condition of these poor wretches, not only gave them their liberty, but restored them likewise their cattle, and every thing else of which they had been plundered by *Ebn Mohârib*. However, as they absolutely refused to profess the *Mohammedan* religion, he, in conformity to what had been enjoined by *Omar*, settled a capitation of four *dinârs* upon every head, imposed an annual tribute upon them, and obliged all the citizens to assist the *Moslems* in their respective capacities, as opportunity should serve. Both the tribute and the capitation he extended to all the inhabitants of the neighbouring district; and, for the better regulation of this affair, inserted in a book, kept for that purpose, both their names and the places of their habitation. This lenity of *Abu Obeidah* had the desired effect, and greatly facilitated the conquest of *Syria*. It also prevented an effusion of the *Moslem* blood, as it hindered the *Greeks* from fighting like men animated by despair; and conciliated the affections of all orders and degrees of men in that country to the *Arabs*. It is intimated by *Abu'l-Faraj*, that, about this time, *Tiberias*, *Cæsarea*, and *Misan*, followed the example of *Hems*; the inhabitants of those places obtaining a truce for a year, by submitting to a capitation, and the payment of a stipulated sum, exacted of them as a tribute by the *Moslems* ^m.

^m AL WAKED. ubi sup. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. anal. tom. ii. p. 282, 283. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 178.

THE imperial governor of *Allâdir* and *Kinnisrin*, whom *as also* some of the *Arab* writers call *Luke*, and others *Matthias*, receiving advice of what had happened to *Jushiyah* and *Hems*, nor of dispatched *Astachar*, a priest perfectly well acquainted with *Kinnisrin*, the *Arabic* language, and thoroughly versed both in the *Jewish* and *Christian* theology, with a letter to *Abu Obeidah*; wherein he desired such a truce as had already been granted to the cities above-mentioned by the *Moslem* general. *Astachar* being arrived at *Hems*, was immediately introduced to *Abu Obeidah*, whom he found with all his officers at prayers, and imparted to him the affair with which he was charged by the governor of *Alhâdir* and *Kinnisrin*. To induce him the more readily to listen to which, he assured him, that the emperor would soon have a numerous army on foot at *Tyre*, which would advance to the relief of *Syria*; but that notwithstanding this, his master would confine himself and his troops within the walls of *Kinnisrin*, and not commit any hostilities against the *Moslems*, even after the arrival of the imperial forces, provided a truce for one year only could be agreed upon. He likewise probably engaged to surrender, if not succoured, after the expiration of this truce, to the *Arabs*. *Abu Obeidah* having complied with the governor's request, *Astachar* told him, that the *Greeks* would erect a pillar, on the top of which they intended to place an effigies of the emperor *Heraclius* sitting upon his throne; and that this, by his permission, should serve as a boundary, limiting their respective territories on that side, beyond which none of his cavalry should be suffered to forage. To which *Abu Obeidah* likewise gave his consent. Soon after the erection of this column, a party of *Arab* horse passing by it, one of them accidentally struck out one of the emperor's eyes with the iron fixed in the lower end of his lance; which so incensed the governor of *Kinnisrin*, that he sent a messenger to *Abu Obeidah* to expostulate with him thereupon, and to insist upon a proper satisfaction being given for so daring an affront, which he considered as a manifest violation of the late treaty. Nor could any other expedient be discovered for accommodating the difference arisen between them from this unexpected accident, than that one of *Heraclius*'s subjects should be permitted to treat a statue of the *Khalif* in the same manner. Which being granted, the good understanding just established was perfectly restored, and the commission of hostilities prevented, when both sides were upon the point of coming to an open rupture. *Eutychius* relates, that the *Arab*'s name, who put out the emperor's eye, was *Abu Handal Ebn Sabel Ebn Amru*, and that that this was done without any sinister design; as also that the *Moslems*, who then passed by the pillar, were

were only exercising themselves in horsemanship; when the accident happened. We must not forget to observe, that *Khâled Ebn Al Walid* did his utmost to traverse the negotiation carried on between *Abu Obeidah* and the governor of *Kinnisrîn*; but, happily for the latter, without effect. That fierce commander thirsted after *Christian* blood, and was therefore desirous of taking every one of the imperial fortresses in *Syria* by storm; which scheme could he have succeeded in, he would have had an opportunity of putting all the *Christians* therein to the swordⁿ.

Abu
Obeidah
for some
time re-
mains in a
state of in-
action at
Hems;

NOTWITHSTANDING the deplorable situation of the *Christians* at this time in *Syria*, dissensions still there reigned amongst them. The governors of *Kinnisrîn* and *Aleppo* were at such variance, that they could not be prevailed upon, even by the emperor himself, to concur heartily, with all their forces, in support of the common cause; which had they done, they might probably in some measure have stopped the rapid progress of the *Moslem* arms. This we learn from an *Arab* historian of good authority, tho' the quarrel here mentioned has not been taken the least notice of by any of the *Christian* writers. Had *Abu Obeidah*, therefore, not religiously observed the engagements he lately entered into, he might, at this juncture, have still farther extended his conquests in *Syria*. But he considered his hands as tied up by the cessation of arms he had granted to the cities above-mentioned, and therefore continued for some time at *Hems* in a state of inaction. This was by no means agreeable to the *Moslem* troops; nor was the *Khalif* himself better pleased with it, as more clearly appears from the following letter sent by him to *Abu Obeidah*, which the army looked upon as a reprehension of that general for his last point of conduct, and which induced him heartily to repent of the measures he had taken^o.

which dis-
pleases
both the
Khalif
and the
army.

“ In the name of the most merciful GOD. From *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb* to *Abu Obeidah Ebn Al Jerah*, his lieutenant in *Syria*, greeting. I praise GOD, besides whom there is no other; and I pray for his prophet *Mohammed*, upon whom be the divine benediction. I command thee to put thy trust in GOD, and to take care that thou be not one of them concerning whom GOD says: Say, if your fathers, and your sons, and your brethren, and your wives, and your relations, and your substance which ye have acquired, and your merchandize which ye apprehend may

ⁿ AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 22. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 278. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandria. anal. tom. ii. p. 292, 293, 294, 295. ^o AL WAKED. ubi sup.

“ not be sold off, and your dwellings wherein ye delight, be
 “ more dear unto you than GOD, and his apostle, and the
 “ advancement of his religion; wait, until GOD shall send
 “ his command: for GOD directeth not the ungodly people.”

Upon the communication of the contents of this letter to the troops, they insisted upon a vigorous prosecution of the war, and demanded to be led forth to fight the battles of the LORD. They also desired *Abu Obeidah* immediately to resume the military operations, and to lay siege either to *Antioch* or *Aleppo*. As the truce, therefore, granted those cities was upon the point of expiring, he made the proper dispositions for leaving *Hems*. However, before his departure, he appointed *Salmah*, one of his experienced officers, to remain at that place, and assigned him a body of horse, sufficient to secure him from any insult that might be apprehended on the part of the enemy ^p.

IN pursuance of the plan he had formed, *Abu Obeidah* took *Abu* his leave of *Hems*, and marched first to *Arrestân*; from whence *Obeidah* he advanced to *Hamah*, or *Hamata*, known in the sacred grants a writings by the name of *Hamath*, or *Chamath*, one of the ^{truce to the} principal cities of *Syria*. The inhabitants of this place, as- ^{people of} towards the seat of the famous *Abulfeda*, were taken under ^{Hamah;} the protection of the *Moslems*, of whom they obtained a truce, upon the same terms as that which had been granted to the citizens of *Hems* and *Kinnisrin*; in the district of the former of which cities *Hamah* stands. On the northern and eastern sides it is washed by the *Orontes*, consists of lofty beautiful houses, built in an elegant taste, has a strong citadel, and abounds with water-mills, as well as water-engines, by the assistance of which the gardens are irrigated, and all the houses of the city plentifully supplied with water. *Hamah*, which, with other districts, was given to *Taki'oddin*, or *Taki'addin*, *Abulfeda's* ancestor, by the famous *Salâh'addin*, or *Saladin*, is about half a day's journey from *Shaizar*, and double that distance from *Hems*. *Abulfeda* was descended in the fifth generation from *Taki'addin*; whose name, with his title prefixed to it, written at length, is *Al Malec Al Modhaffir Taki'addin Omar Ebn Shâhinshâh Ebn Ayûb*. From whence it appears, that *Abulfeda*, the prince of *Hamah*, as well as of the *Arab* geographers and historians, was of the house of *Ayûb*, or the illustrious family of the *Tubidæ*, which, for a certain period, made so considerable a figure in the east. But of the heroes of this house our readers may expect a full and ample account hereafter. *Abulfeda* places *Hamah*, or, as he calls it, *Hamata*, in long. 61° 15', and lat. 34° 45' 9. FROM

^p Al Kor. MOHAM. s. ix. v. 24. AL BEIDAWI, AL WAKED. ubi sup. ^q AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM ABULFED. in

and to the
inhabit-
ants of
Shaizar.

FROM *Hamah Abu Obeidab*, at the head of the *Moslem* forces, moved to *Shaizar*, which followed the example of *Hamah*. *Shr'izar*, or *Sjaizar*, according to *Abulfeda*, is nine miles distant from *Hamah*, thirty-three from *Hems*, and thirty-six from *Antioch*. According to some modern writers of good authority, it answers to the *Larissa ad Orontem* of the ancients. It abounds with trees, gardens, and fruits of all kinds, especially pomegranates. The northern part of it is washed by the *Orontes*, which runs through the town, and its castle is extremely strong. As the word *Shaizar*, or rather *Alshai-
zar*, is not very remote from *Larissa*, perhaps the former of these was the ancient, or even original, name, and converted by the *Macedonians* into the latter. But this conjecture cannot, it must be owned, be absolutely depended upon; tho' the high antiquity of the *Arabic* language, and the few alterations it has undergone even from the earliest ages to the present time, must be allowed to give no small countenance to such a notion. *Abulfeda* makes *Shaizar* to be in long. 61° 10', and lat. 34° 50'.

Khaled
crossed in
a rencoun-
ter with
the Chri-
stians.

SOON after *Abu Obeidab's* arrival at *Shaizar*, he received advice, that the governor of *Kinnisrin* expected to be joined by a strong reinforcement of *Arab* troops, under the command of *Jahalah Ebn Al Ayham*, king of *Ghassan*, who had some time before made his escape to *Constantinople* from *Mecca*. This defection extremely exasperated *Omar*, who had before apprized his general of it, and commanded him to have a watchful eye upon the motions of that apostate, whom he expected the imperial court would soon send to act against him. This intelligence, therefore, determined the *Moslem* general to defer the siege of *Aleppo*, whither he proposed marching with all possible expedition, to a more favourable opportunity, and to advance to *Kinnisrin*, in order to lay siege to that place. Nor was such a resolution improper at this juncture, as the truce granted the governor of *Kinnisrin* was within a month of expiring. Besides, the *Moslems* looked upon that truce as violated; since the governor of *Kinnisrin*

hist. gen. & in geograph. JEREM. xlix. 23. AM. vi. 2. SAM. BOCH. Phal. lib. iv. c. 36. p. 307. Lugd. Batavor. 1692. HADR. RELAND. Pal. illustrat. tom. i. p. 119, 120. Traject. Batavor. 1714. CHRISTOPH. CELLAR. geograph. antiq. tom. ii. p. 461, 462. Lipsiæ, 1706. ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup. JOAN. GAGN. in præfat. ad Ism. Abulfed. de vit. Mohammed. Oxon. 1723. Vide etiam BOHADIN EBN SJEDDAD, in vit. & reb. gest. Salad. ab Albert. Schult. edit. pass. Lugd. Batav. 1732. AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in geograph. APPIAN. de bel. Syr. p. 201. BOHADIN EBN SJEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 123, & lib. ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup.

had

had not only written to the emperor for succours, but likewise intended actually to admit those succours into the town. *Abu Obeidah* was, therefore, resolved to sit down before the place; tho' he had such regard to his engagements, notwithstanding the governor's manifest infraction of the aforesaid treaty, that he did not design to begin his military operations against the city before the expiration of the truce. In the mean time, he sent *Khaled* with a small detachment to reconnoitre the enemy, and to intercept some of their parties, in order to get farther intelligence of their motions. *Khaled* having received his instructions, set out on the enterprize assigned him, and soon fell in with a considerable body of the imperial troops, commanded by the governor of *Kinnisrin* himself and the prefect of *Ammouriyah*, who were upon their march to meet *Jabalab*, in order to conduct him to *Kinnisrin*. The *Christians* seeing such a small party of the *Arabs*, doubted not but they should give a good account of them. The action, therefore, immediately began, and the *Moslems* were hemmed in on all sides. However, *Khaled* fought like a man in despair, and killed the governor of *Kinnisrin* with his own hands. Notwithstanding which, the *Christians* must, by dint of numbers, as *Al Wakedi* pretends, have finally prevailed, had not *Abu Obeidah* sent out a considerable body of men, either to support *Khaled* or to favour his retreat; which arriving at the critical moment, carried off that commander, and the surviving part of his detachment, when they were upon the very point of being all put to the sword^s.

ABU OBEIDAH having detached a party of horse to lay the *Kinnisrin* country waste about *Kinnisrin*, made the necessary dispositions ^{submits to} for attacking that place with all his forces. The prisoners ^{Abu} brought to the camp by that detachment, after the general's ^{Obeidah;} orders had been executed, were sent to the *Khalif*; who, in obedience to one of *Mohammed's* injunctions, commanded some of his *Moslems* to teach the boys amongst them to write. The inhabitants of *Kinnisrin* were so terrified at *Abu Obeidah's* approach, having before lost their governor, who was killed in the late action, and being destitute of all hopes of relief, that they opened their gates to him, and sued for his protection. This he granted them, upon condition that they should pay the usual capitation of four *dinars* a head, submit to an annual tribute, and consider themselves thenceforth as the subjects of the *Khalif*. After the reduction of *Kinnisrin*, *Abu Obeidah* called a council of war, wherein it was unanimously agreed, that the main body of the *Moslem* forces

* *AL WAKEDI*. ubi sup. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 77. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 11.

should without loss of time form the siege of *Baalbec*; and that *Khâled* should be sent with a large detachment to invest the city of *Hems*. In the mean time, a *Moslem* party intercepted one of the enemy's caravans, with 400 loads of silks and sugars, besides a very considerable quantity of other valuable merchandize, on its return to *Baalbec*. The members of this caravan not bearing arms, they were permitted to ransom themselves; after which, some of them posted away to *Baalbec*, and informed the citizens of what had happened. This so incensed *Herbis*, the governor, that he immediately put himself at the head of 6000 horse, and went in quest of the plunderers, attended by a numerous rabble, or undisciplined multitude, who imagining that the *Moslem* army was still at *Hems*, and that the caravan had been plundered by only a party of foragers, expected easily to recover every thing that had been lost. But their want of intelligence in this point had like to have proved fatal to them. For, when *Herbis* expected to have met with only a small detachment, he fell in with the main body of the *Moslem* forces, then in full march for *Baalbec*, by which he was most rudely handled. Not being able to make head against so formidable a power, he was easily overthrown, great numbers of his men put to the sword, and he himself with the utmost difficulty, after having received seven wounds, at last escaped into the town^t.

*Who lays
siege to
Baalbec.*

SOON after *Abu Obeidah* had taken post before *Baalbec*, *Meâd Ebn Jabal* assured him, that he had reason to believe the city was so full of people that it could scarce contain them; which, he was persuaded, would greatly facilitate the reduction of the place. But, notwithstanding this, as the city had been amply supplied with all sorts of provisions and military stores, and the governor was a man of distinguished bravery, *Abu Obeidah* expected to meet with a vigorous resistance from the besieged. The day after he had pitched his tents before the town, he sent a letter to *Herbis*, offering his protection to him and all the citizens, together with the regular troops in garrison there, provided they would accept of the terms on which *Kinnisrin* had submitted to him; adding, that God had already blessed with many victories the true believers, inasmuch that nothing could stand before them. But *Herbis* was so far from paying any regard to this letter, tho' a considerable part of the garrison, as well as the townsmen, were inclined to surrender, that he tore it in pieces, and commanded the messenger who brought it to depart instantly out of the town. This so enraged the *Moslem* general, that he immediately or-

^t AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 22 EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. ubi sup. p. 292, 293.

dered a general assault to be made; but the besieged played their engines upon the *Arabs* with such dexterity and success, that they soon forced them to retire, and to abandon several posts which they had occupied, with very considerable loss. The next day *Abu Obeidah* intended to renew the assault; and, in order to this, commanded his troops, after the morning-prayers were over, to refresh themselves. But, in the midst of their repast, a party of the garison made a vigorous sally, surprized them with the meat in their mouths, dislodged them from several posts, and at last retired with a good number of prisoners, and a considerable quantity of plunder, into the town. This brisk action on the part of the besieged so intimidated the *Moslems*, that the general found himself obliged to raise their spirits, by assuring them, "that the damage they had sustained was decreed by GOD, who was pleased to honour the persons slain by the unbelievers with martyrdom." Then he commanded them to remove their tents to a greater distance from the city; that they might not be so much exposed to the insults of the enemy. He also assigned *Said Ebn Zeid* the command of a body of 500 horse, and 300 foot, to keep the *Greeks* in awe at the gate facing the mountains; and ordered *Derâr* at the same time, with 300 horse and 200 foot, to post himself before the gate of *Damascus*. We must beg leave to observe here, that *Baalbec* was seated on a mountain, surrounded by a wall, and rendered more defensible by a citadel of considerable strength. This sufficiently appears from the description given us of it by *Abulfeda*, who places it in long. 60°, and lat. 38° 50' u.

BUT notwithstanding all *Abu Obeidah's* precautions, and *The besieged* the dispositions made by him for carrying on the siege with *ed make a* success, the next morning, about break of day, *Herbis*, with *igorous* a strong party of the garison, sallied out of the gate before *sally, but* which the *Moslem* general himself was posted. He had be- *are repuls-* fore endeavoured to animate his men, by putting them in *ed by the* mind that they were going to fight for their religion, wives, *Arabs.* children, properties, and, in fine, for every thing that was dear and valuable to them. Flushed, therefore, with their late success, they charged the *Arabs* with such fury, that they bore down all before them. However, as *Abu Obeidah* had promised paradise to his men, and assured them, that GOD would crown the endeavours of those who persevered to the end with success, the *Arabs* rallied, and maintained their ground for some time with unparalleled bravery. But at

^u AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL AZIZI, apud Ism. Abulfed. in geograph. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. Vide etiam ALBERT, SCHULT. ubi sup.

last *Sobail Ebn Sabab*, an officer of great distinction, being wounded in the right arm, and thereby rendered incapable of using his sword, was obliged to dismount, and clamber up a neighbouring hill; which threw the *Moslem* troops under his command into such a panic, that they began to break, tho' *Abu Obeidah* did all that could be expected from the most consummate general to persuade them to keep their ranks, repel the efforts of the enemy, and drive them back again into the town. At this juncture, *Sobail* observing from the summit of the hill, on which he had placed himself, that the troops under *Abu Obeidah* were very much pressed, whilst those commanded by *Derâr* and *Said Ebn Zeid*, posted before the gate of *Damascus*, and that facing the mountains, had no enemy to contend with; he immediately lighted a fire on the top of the mountain, which, with the smoke ascending from it, served as a signal for those generals to advance to the relief of their brethren, who were upon the point of being cut to pieces by the *Greeks*. *Derâr* and *Said Ebn Zeid* understood the meaning of this signal, and instantly hastened to the assistance of *Abu Obeidah*; who, by so seasonable a reinforcement, was enabled to repulse the enemy in his turn, and even to drive them into a deserted monastery on the top of a neighbouring hill, where they were closely besieged. But *Herbis* perceiving that the besiegers were reduced to a small number, he resolved to make an effort to force his way into the town; and therefore, when they least expected it, he sallied out of the monastery, and fell upon them with such fury, that he forced them to abandon their posts, and had carried his point, had not a reinforcement of 100 archers, sent from the *Moslem* camp, come up in the very nick of time to sustain them. These, being commanded by *Derâr* and *Said*, enabled the besiegers to rally, reoccupy their former posts, and fairly beat back *Herbis* into the monastery, out of which he had endeavoured to make his escape. However, *Mesab Ebn Adi*, who gave notice to *Abu Obeidah* of the danger the besiegers were in, and had been present in most of the battles fought since the commencement of this war, declared, that he never saw a more vigorous action, and that no troops could behave better than did those of the *Greeks* on this occasion. *Sobail Ebn Sabab*, *Said Ebn Zeid*, and *Derâr*, though the victory was wholly owing to them, received a gentle reprimand from the general, who ordered them never for the future to desert the posts assigned them by the commander in chief. But this he did purely to keep up the credit of military discipline amongst his troops, and to preserve a due regard to the authority with which the lieutenant of the *Khalif* was invested; since he afterwards declared himself extremely well satisfied with those officers

officers conduct. The *Arabs* lost abundance of men in this obstinate dispute, tho' ample amends was made them for this loss by the success with which their bravery was crowned. The action here described, which happened in that year, and was followed by the surrender of *Baalbec*, was so remarkable, that it seems to have been one of those battles which *Al Makin* tells us were fought in the fifteenth year of the *Hejra* w.

THE ardor of the besieged being now pretty well cooled, *They sur-*
Abu Obeidah ordered his troops to pitch their tents round the ^{surrender to} city, and left *Said Ebn Zeid* to starve *Herbis*, the governor, ^{Abu} whom he now considered as in his power, to a surrender. ^{Obeidah.} *Herbis* soon found himself reduced to such extremities, that he was obliged to capitulate; and, in order to procure the better terms for himself, he proposed to prevail upon the town to be included in the capitulation. This, tho' not without some difficulty, he at last effected; and, after several conferences with *Abu Obeidah*, he thought fit to agree to the following articles, which were signed both by him and the *Moslem* general. 1. The citizens of *Baalbec* shall pay immediately to the *Arabs* 2000 ounces of gold, and 4000 ounces of silver. 2. They shall likewise at the same time supply them with 2000 silk vests. 3. They shall deliver up into their hands 1000 swords, besides all the arms carried by *Herbis* and his men into the deserted monastery, where they had been besieged by *Said Ebn Zeid*. 4. They shall submit to the same capitation and tribute that had been imposed upon the inhabitants of *Kinnisrin*. 5. They shall renounce all allegiance to the emperor, never write to him for assistance, nor ever either directly or indirectly attempt any thing against the *Khalif*. 6. They shall never hereafter erect any churches or monasteries within the territory of *Baalbec*. 7. In consideration of their acquiescence in the preceding articles, the new *Arab* governor of *Baalbec* shall not enter the city, but receive the tribute imposed upon the citizens without the walls. These articles, tho' at last agreed to, appeared at first so intolerable to the people of *Baalbec*, that they could not be prevailed upon to give their consent to them, before *Herbis* had engaged himself to pay the fourth part of the gold and silver demanded by the *Moslems*. Nor could this be collected in less than twelve days, tho' *Herbis* himself had used all the means that could be thought of for that purpose, and even left the men besieged with him in the monastery as hostages in the *Moslem* camp, till his return out of the town; which demonstrates the straits to which the inhabitants of *Baalbec* must have been reduced, before they submitted to the capitulation. However, they a little re-

w AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

covered themselves by the assistance of the *Arabs*, who were now become their masters. For, when, in pursuance of his instructions, the commanding officer at *Baalbec* had plundered the people of the neighbouring districts, who had not obtained a truce from *Abu Obeidab*, all the spoils acquired by his depredations were brought to *Baalbec*, and sold for a trifle to the citizens. This induced *Herbis*, according to some of the *Moslem* historians, to think of reimbursing himself the expence he had been at, in order to procure the concurrence of the people on the late occasion; which he imagined would be done, could he persuade his fellow-citizens, for he had then no command over them, to permit him to come in for a share of the gain proceeding from that lucrative commerce with the *Arabs*, which then began to enrich them. This, by his artful behaviour and insinuating address, he found it no difficult matter to obtain; but not being content with the share assigned him, which was yet very considerable, he made such a voracious and unreasonable proposal to them, that they could no longer bear with his insatiable disposition. A considerable number of them, therefore, unanimously rushed upon him, and killed him in an instant. After which, they desired *Rafi Ebn Abd'allah*, who had been left by *Abu Obeidab* with a body of 900 men, to superintend the *Moslem* affairs at *Baalbec*, to take possession of the town; which he absolutely refused to do, till he had written to the general, who was on his march for *Hemus*, as this was directly contrary to one of the articles of the capitulation. It has been already observed, that *Baalbec* seems to stand on the same spot of ground that was formerly occupied by the *Heliopolis ad Libanum* of the ancients. To which we shall here beg leave to add, that as the great god *Baal* of the *Syrians* answered to the *Helios* of the *Greeks*, or the *Sun*, and the word *becca*, in *Arabic*, denotes a place of great concourse, and consequently seems to imply, that the city was called *Baalbec*, from the vast numbers of people who repaired thither to worship the *Sun*; the words *Heliopolis* and *Baalbec* appear manifestly to be of the same import in different languages; and of course, if we attend to what has been before remarked of the situation, to point out the very same town. Be that, however, as it will, by the death of *Herbis*, the *Moslems* became absolute masters of *Baalbec*, and obtained the immediate possession of it, however contrary this might seem to one of the articles of the capitulation that *Abu Obeidab* himself had signed. For, *Rafi Ebn Abd'allah* having been ordered by the general, to whom on this occasion he wrote, to comply with the people's request; he, with the body of troops under his command, as soon as the express with

with an answer to his letter arrived, in the fifteenth year of the *Hejra*, entered the town *.

As soon as the foregoing capitulation was signed by *Abu Abu Obeidah* and *Herbis* in the *Moslem* camp before *Baalbec*, the *Obeidah*, former marched with his army to reduce the city of *Hems*. by a stratagem, de-
The truce granted to the inhabitants of that place, by virtue of which they were intitled to the protection of the *Arabs*, ^{prives the}
was now expired; so that *Abu Obeidah* was at full liberty to ^{people of}
lay siege to the town, if the citizens did not prevent such a ^{Hems of}
violent measure by their timely submission to the *Khalif*. The ^{their pro-}
party of horse left under the command of *Salmah* at *Hems*,
after the departure of *Abu Obeidah* from thence to *Kinnifrin*,
had been recalled, in order to rejoin the *Moslem* forces carry-
ing on the siege of *Baalbec*; so that for some time no obstruc-
tion had been given the people of *Hems* in the dispositions they
had, or might have, made for a vigorous defence. The
Moslem general, before hostilities commenced, wrote a letter
to the imperial governor, wherein he magnified his own
strength, and invited him to embrace the *Mohammedan* reli-
gion; or, in case he should not think fit to accept of this in-
vitation, to come to the *Moslem* camp, and settle with him
the tribute and capitation to be exacted of the people over
whom he presided. But if neither of the foregoing offers
should please him, he insisted upon his meeting him in the
open field, and leaving the quarrel between them to the deci-
sion of the sword. The governor, expecting speedy succours
from the emperor, was so far from paying any regard to *Abu*
Obeidah's letter, or even returning him an answer to it, that,
immediately after he had received it, he made a sally upon
the *Arabs*. The dispute between the contending parties,
who seemed to be greatly exasperated against each other, on
this occasion, was extremely obstinate and bloody; though at
last the *Arabs* fairly beat the *Greeks* back into the town. How-
ever, the former sustained so very considerable a loss in this
action, that, for the present, they laid aside all thoughts of
reducing the place by force; and therefore *Abu Obeidah* was
obliged to have recourse to a stratagem, suggested to him by
a *Moslem* officer of great sagacity and penetration; which had
the desired effect. In order to deprive the citizens of *Hems* of
their provisions, that he might have the fairer opportunity of

* AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in geogr. STRAB. geogr. lib. xvi. p. 518. PTOL. geogr. PLIN. lib. v. c. 22. SOZOMEN. lib. i. c. 8. MACROB. Saturn. lib. i. c. 23. p. 215, 216, 217. Lond. 1694. FEST. AVIEN. v. 1083. CLAUD. SALMAS. not. ad Flav. Vopisc. in Div. Aurelian. pass. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 99. ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 3. Vide etiam AL AZIZ. apud Abulfed. ubi sup.

surprizing them, *Abu Obeidah* pretended to have formed a design of attacking some of the other principal fortresses in *Syria*; and therefore he offered to raise the siege of *Hems*, provided the inhabitants would supply his troops with all the provisions they could spare. This so pleased both the imperial garison and the people of the town, who were very desirous of getting rid of such troublesome guests, that they immediately stripped their magazines, and brought all the provisions they were not in present want of to the *Moslem* camp. *Abu Obeidah* having now carried his point, advanced at the head of his troops to *Arrestân*, a strong place, well watered, and full of soldiers, which he summoned to surrender. In the mean time, some of the imperial spies in the *Moslem* camp observing the gates of *Hems* to be opened to the *Arabs*, when the provisions were presented to *Abu Obeidah*, before he began his march to *Arrestân*, they spread a report, that the fortress itself had surrendered to him. This produced a very bad effect, as it struck all the emperor's subjects in those parts with terror; and consequently rendered several cities less capable of defending themselves, when the *Moslem* forces sat down before them.

He takes Arrestân; THE governor of *Arrestân*, or rather of the castle there, paying no regard to *Abu Obeidah's* summons, the *Moslem* general desired leave to deposit some of his heavy baggage, which he pretended would retard his march, in the citadel. This, for the same reason that the commandant of *Hems* had parted with his provisions, the governor, not suspecting any treachery, readily granted. This baggage consisted of twenty chests, every one of which inclosed an *Arab* soldier, having locks, to prevent all suspicion, put on the out side, and a bottom so contrived as to slip backward and forward, as the person within pleased. These being received into the castle, *Khaled* posted himself in ambuscade, near the gates of the city, with a considerable detachment, in order to support the soldiers concealed in them, if a favourable opportunity offered. Soon after *Abu Obeidah*, with his forces, had disappeared, the governor and people of *Arrestân* went to church, to give thanks for the departure of the enemy, and were heard singing a psalm by *Derâr*, *Abd'alrahmân*, *Abd'allah*, and the other *Arabs*, confined in the manner here related; who, finding every thing secure, immediately sallied out of the chests, seized upon the governor's lady, from whom they forced the keys of the gates, and then easily surprized the unarmed mul-

Y AL WAKED. ubi sup. Al Kor. Moham. f. ix, & alib. AL PEIDAWI. HADR. RELAND. de jur. militar. Mohammedanor. SALE's prelim. disc. sect. vi. p. 144.

titute at church in the midst of their devotions. This first step having succeeded so well, *Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar*, who commanded the party, sent five of his men with the keys to open the gates; which being done, they instantly cried out ALLAH ACBAR, and *Kháled* advancing at the same time with his detachment to sustain them, *Arrestán* was taken by this stratagem without opposition *.

ABU OBEIDAH having left a garison of 2000 men at *Arz-and Shai-restán*, which he judged sufficient to defend the place, moved zar. with his army to *Shaizar*, where there is a bridge over the *Orontes*, that runs through the town, which has been taken notice of by some of the eastern geographers. The reduction of *Arrestán*, some of whose inhabitants embraced *Mohammedism*, tho' by far the greatest part of them persevered in the *Christian* faith, and retired to *Hems*, *Baalbec*, *Damascus*, *Albádir*, *Kinnisfrin*, *Bostra*, and even, as was supposed, of *Hems* itself, so alarmed the inhabitants of *Shaizar*, that many of them were inclined to surrender both the town and the citadel to the *Arabs*, at the first summons; thinking neither of them tenable against so formidable a power. The governor, however, himself, being a man of courage, was of another opinion. He rejected the summons sent him by *Abu Obeidah*, and seemed determined to defend the place to the last drop of blood. But the principal men of the city being intimidated by what they had heard of the achievements of the *Arabs*, which had been greatly amplified and exaggerated to them, refused to concur with him in taking the necessary measures for the defence of the place. This so exasperated him, that he gave them reproachful language, ordered his servants to beat them, and treated them in the most opprobrious manner. Which they not being able to bear, drew their swords, cut him and his whole party to pieces, and then opened their gates to the *Moslems*. *Abu Obeidah* received them with open arms, gave them thanks for putting him in possession of their city without any effusion of blood; telling them at the same time, that as they had preferred his master's government to that of the emperor, he would not dismiss them without some distinguishing mark of favour. In fine, he assured them, that if they would become converts to the *Mohammedan* faith, they should be exempted from all the taxes and customs paid by those of that religion for two years; and that if they chose to continue *Christians*, they should pay no tribute for the following year. Thus the *Moslems* made themselves masters of *Shaizar* merely by the fame of their arms, and the pusillanimity of the emperor's subjects. For, the place was not in-

ferior to many of the principal fortresses of *Syria*, either in the number of its soldiers, or the strength of its situation *.

as also
Hems.

AFTER *Abu Obeidah* had secured this conquest, he returned at the head of his forces to *Hems*, and once more sat down before that city. The governor now plainly perceived that he had been outwitted by the *Arabs*; and that it would be impossible for him, as he was in a manner destitute of provisions, long to defend the town. Being grieved, therefore, at his own weakness, he upbraided the *Moslem* general with perfidy and breach of promise, and sent a messenger to exhortate with him. *Abu Obeidah*, in his own vindication, replied, that, by the former agreement, he was not to undertake the siege of *Hems* before he had taken some of the other fortresses of *Syria*; and that consequently, since he had reduced *Arrestân* and *Shaizar*, he was now at liberty to oblige *Hems* likewise to submit to the domination of the *Khalif*. The inhabitants finding in what dismal perplexities their credulity had involved them, and that they were not able to sustain a siege, at the instigation of their governor, resolved to try their fortune in the field. That night he received the holy communion at *St. George's* church, since converted into a mosque, whither the people also repaired to prayers, to implore the divine assistance on this melancholy occasion. One of the *Arab* writers affirms, that the governor eat a whole roasted kid for supper, after his return from the holy communion, and sat up drinking wine all night; but this seems not to merit the attention of our impartial and unprejudiced readers. In the morning he sallied out of the town at the head of 5000 horse, and fell upon the *Arabs* with such fury, that he forced them to give way, and even at last to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. *Khâled*, endeavouring to restore the battle, narrowly escaped being killed by a *Greek*, whom he engaged in single combat, his sword breaking in his hand; tho' at last, according to *Al Wakedi*, he closed with his antagonist, and threw him dead from his horse. However, about noon, *Mirkâl* and *Meisarab*, two *Moslem* commanders, rallied the fugitives, and made an impression upon the *Christians* right wing, as *Kais Ebn Hobeirah*, another of the *Arab* officers, did on their left. *Ikrimah*, *Khâled's* cousin, likewise greatly distinguished himself on this occasion; crying out aloud, in order to animate his companions, who were vastly dispirited at the superiority of the *Greeks*, "Methinks I see one of the black-eyed girls " of paradise, so beautiful that all mankind would die for the

* AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in geograph. ubi sup. Vide etiam ALBERT. SCHULT. ind. geograph. in vit. Salad. ubi sup.

“ love of her, could they but see her. She offers me with
“ one hand an handkerchief of green silk, and a cap made
“ of precious stones, of inestimable value; with the other
“ she beckons to me, at the same time declaring that she
“ loves me.” Then charging the *Christians* like a man in
despair, he cut his way through great numbers of them, and
even at last penetrated almost to the spot where the governor
himself was posted. But here he found that which he seemed
so ardently to desire, being pierced through with a lance;,
and consequently met with the proper reward of his temerity
and presumption. Nor could the *Arabs* recover themselves,
till the approach of the night obliged the *Christians* to retire;
which, however, they did with a full resolution to renew the
fight the next day. *Abu Obeidah* finding he could not possess
himself of the place by force, was obliged to have recourse to
another stratagem, suggested to him by *Khâled*, which en-
abled him to carry his point. Early the next morning, he
drew his forces off from before the town, and marched in
such disorder that his retreat looked like a precipitate flight.
This he did to amuse the *Greeks*, make his loss appear to
them much more considerable than it really was, and convince
them that his men durst not look them in the face; and it
had the desired effect. For a great part of the garison observ-
ing this sudden and unexpected motion of the enemy, rushed
out all at once upon them, without any order or precaution;
which being perceived by the *Arabs*, they rallied in an instant,
hemmed the *Greeks* in on all sides, and had put every man of
them to the sword, had not their brethren in the city oppor-
tunately made a vigorous sally, in order to favour their retreat.
In fine, the imperial troops suffered so much in this action,
that, notwithstanding the advantage they had gained the day
before, they found themselves obliged to surrender *Hems* to
the *Moslems*; tho’ this conquest was not at present of any
great service to the latter. For, having received advice, that
a very formidable imperial army was in full march to attack
them, they could not spare a sufficient number of troops to
garison the place, which was large and of a very considerable
extent; so that *Abu Obeidah* did not think fit at that time to
take possession of it. But after the famous battle of *Yermouk*,
of which we shall now give our readers a succinct and circum-
stantial relation, the *Arabs* expelled the *Christians* from *Hems*.
That battle determined the fate of *Syria*; the imperial forces
being never able to make head against the *Moslems* after-
wards in that country. We must not forget to inform our
readers, that the *Arabs* lost only 235 men in the last engage-
ment before *Hems*; whereas the *Greeks* had above sixteen hun-

hundred men, together with the governor himself, killed upon the spot ^b.

Heraclius
sends a
great army
against the
Arabs.

THE emperor *Heraclius* receiving advice of the progress made by the *Arabs* in *Syria*, and of the ravages committed by those barbarians there, resolved once for all to send such an army against them as should drive them into their own dominions, and effectually secure the repose of his subjects in that country. The general he appointed to command these forces was an *Armenian*, called *Mabân* by *Al Wakedi*, but *Manuel* by the *Greek* historians. He also reinforced the garrisons of *Casarea*, *Jaffa* or *Joppa*, *Acca* or *Ptolemais*, *Tyre* or *Sur*, *Sidon* or *Saida*, *Beirout* *Bairout* or *Berytus*, *Tripoli* *Tripolis* *Tarabolis* or *Trablous*, *Tiberias* *Taberria* or *Taberya*, and all the other fortresses left him by the *Arabs*. As he apprehended likewise, that *Jerusalem* might be attacked, or at least insulted, by the *Arabs*, he ordered a large body of troops to post themselves before that city; and, in fine, made all the necessary dispositions for securing his territories on that side from all attempts of the enemy. However, as he was sensible that his forces, how numerous soever they might be, could not execute his orders in the manner he desired, unless the divine blessing attended their endeavours, he commanded them to behave as *Christians*, as well as soldiers, and to avoid all dissensions, which could not but prove fatal to them. Then he inquired of his officers and courtiers, what could be the reason that the *Arabs* had hitherto met with such surprising success, when the *Greeks* were in number, strength, and discipline, so much superior to them? Upon which, a person of great piety rose up, and made him the following answer: "The *Greeks* have been every-where worsted by the *Arabs*, because they have for a long time walked unworthy of their *Christian* profession, corrupted their holy religion, injured and oppressed one another, been guilty of fornication, and fomented divisions and animosities amongst themselves." Which was, indeed, but too true; as has been acknowledged by some of the *Greek* writers, particularly *Theophanes*, themselves; tho' it must be owned, that the vices of the *Christians* at this time, however flagrant they might have been, were not a little aggravated by the *Arabic* historians. The emperor was sensibly touched with the foregoing answer, and declared his intention of leaving the army, in order to withdraw to *Constantinople*. But, when some of his courtiers represented to him, how dishonourable it would be to abandon his troops at that juncture, and what matter of triumph it would prove to the *Arabs*; he seemed, at least for some time, to

^b AL WAKED, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 178.

have

have laid aside that design. The grand imperial army consisted both of *European* and *Asiatic* troops, and was joined by a body of 60,000 *Christian Arabs*, under the command of *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham*, king of *Ghassân*; after which junction, the imperial forces, destined to act against the *Moslems*, according to *Al Makin*, amounted to 240,000 men. The *Christian Arabs Mahân* posted in front, thinking them the most capable of standing the first shock of their countrymen; and, indeed, the *Moslems* were the most afraid of them, as appears from the attempts made by *Abu Obeidah*, tho' in vain, to bring them to a neutrality. The *Arab* author we chiefly follow here informs us, that the *Greeks* committed great disorders in their march; that they gave their fellow-subjects every-where the most opprobrious language, and compelled them, contrary to their inclination, to attend them in this expedition against the *Moslems*. He also relates, that they treated particularly ill the inhabitants of those places that had been obliged to surrender to the *Khalif's* troops; tho', as he insinuates, those poor people were absolutely incapable of defending themselves, and the officers of the imperial forces deserved the severest reprehension for not advancing sooner to their relief. But, notwithstanding we are supplied by this author with many materials necessary for the compiling of the history we are now upon, and consider him in the main as a tolerable good writer; yet we are far from thinking him in all respects, impartial, or that he always supports the character of a true and faithful historian ^c.

THE news of the great military preparations of the emperor, ^{The Mos-}lem army
 and even of the near approach of the imperial army, reaching the ears of the *Moslems* in their camp before *Hems*, ^{moves to}
 they were filled with the most terrible apprehensions, and *Yernouk*,
 knew not what measures to pursue at this critical juncture. Some would have persuaded *Abu Obeidah* to return home, in order to meet with a more speedy reinforcement, and to avoid the fatal effects of a famine, which so numerous an host must necessarily carry along with it. But this advice was opposed by that general; as such a conduct would be imputed to cowardice, and be highly disapproved of by the *Khalif*. Others proposed to wait for the enemy in the camp; where they doubted not but the *Greeks*, in case of an attack, would meet with a proper reception. But *Khâled* thought this by no means advisable; as the emperor's son lay incamped at *Cæsarea*,

^c AL WAKED. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 134, 131, 132, 130, 288, 282, 283; & alib. ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 276. Parisiis, 1655. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 22.

which he took to be too near *Hems*, with a body of 40,000 men. He, therefore, offered it as his advice, that the army should march to *Yermouk*, where they might, better than in any other place, expect assistance from the *Khalif*. As this seemed likewise to *Abu Obeidah* to be the most salutary advice, the army immediately decamped, and advanced to that place, where the *Moslems* again pitched their tents. Soon after the departure of the *Arabs* from *Hems*, the emperor's son, wrote a sharp letter to *Mahán*, reproaching him for suffering the enemy to slip out of his hands. In the mean time, *Mahán*, in pursuance of the emperor's orders, made some overtures of peace to *Abu Obeidah*; which, notwithstanding the apparent inferiority of the *Moslem* forces, were rejected by that general. *Kháled* finding it impossible to detach *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham*, with his *Arabs*, from the enemy, resolved to attack him without loss of time; taking it for granted, that if he could disperse the body he commanded, the imperial forces would be easily overthrown. He, therefore, put himself at the head of a select body of troops, composed of *Ansárs* and *Mohájerin*, and fell upon *Jabalab's Arabs* with such fury, that he put them into disorder, and forced them to retire. However, the action was very hot, and *Kháled* had several of his men killed upon the spot, besides five taken prisoners, three of whom were persons of great distinction, viz. *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofián*, *Rafi Ebn Omeirah*, and *Derár Ebn Al Azwár*. The king of *Ghassán* sustained a much greater loss. But this action was by no means decisive; nor did either side reap any great benefit from it. Besides, as *Kháled's* corps contained a greater number of *Ansárs* than *Mohájerin*, that general disgusted the whole body of the *Mohájerin* by his partiality to the *Ansárs*; and was affronted by one of them called *Kathib*. This might have proved of ill consequence to the *Moslems*, had not *Abu Obeidah*, with his usual prudence, brought about between *Kháled* and *Kathib* a reconciliation. Notwithstanding which, the ill blood produced by this accident remained for some time after it happened. Our readers will remember here, that the *Mohájerin* were the refugees who fled from *Mecca*, in the infancy of *Mohammedism*, for the sake of their new religion; and that the *Ansárs* were the helpers, or the *Arabs* of *Medina*, who received *Mohammed* and his followers, when they fled thither into their protection ^d.

The Mos- THE approach of the imperial army, which was much
lems terri- larger than any that had ever been seen in *Syria* since the first
fied at the
approach of ^d AL WAKED. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 134. Al
the impe- KOR. MOHAM. f. ix. AL BEIDAWI, ISM. ABULFED. de vit. MO-
rial army. hammed. cap. xvii, & alib.

irruption

irruption of the *Moslems* into that country, gave great uneasiness to *Abu Obeidah*. He, therefore, sent *Abd'allah Ibn Kori* express to *Omar*, to give him an account of the present situation of his troops, and to desire a speedy reinforcement of *Unitarians*, a title the *Mohammedans* lay claim to, as taking themselves to be the only assertors of the unity of the divine nature. The *Khalif* and his court were extremely surprised at the news brought them by *Abd'allah*; but comforted themselves, says our author, with the promises made to them in the *Korân*, which seemed now to be all they had to depend upon. To encourage the people, *Omar* ascended the pulpit, and descanted much upon the excellency of suffering martyrdom, and distinguishing themselves for the cause of *God*. Then he returned an answer to *Abu Obeidah*, full of such spiritual comfort as could be afforded by the *Korân*. He commanded *Abd'allah*, when he first came within sight of the camp, to cry out, GOOD NEWS, that he might comfort the *Moslems*, and free them from some of their distracting apprehensions. Having received the letter, message, and the *Khalif's* benediction, *Abd'allah* set out for the army; but recollecting, that he had not paid his devoirs to *Mohammed's* tomb, which he might possibly never see again, if he did not take this opportunity of visiting it, he posted with all possible celerity to *Medina*. Upon his arrival there, he hastened to the tomb, where he found *Ali* and *Abbâs*, with *Ali's* two sons, *Hafsa* and *Hosein*. Having obtained the prayers of *Ali*, and all the others there present, for a safe and expeditious journey to *Syria*, he took his leave of *Medina*, and returned to the camp with such incredible speed, that all the *Arabs* there were filled with admiration. But their wonder ceased, when he informed them of *Omar's* blessing, and *Ali's* prayers at *Mohammed's* tomb; which they thought capable of producing the most miraculous effect. It has been already observed, that the *Mohammedans* condemn the orthodox *Christians* for maintaining the equality of three persons in the divine nature, calling them on that account *Associators*, as they *associate* with the Father, whom the *Moslems* consider as the only true *God*, the Son and the Holy Ghost; and that the belief of the Trinity is strictly forbidden in the *Korân* *.

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Khalif* was extremely alarmed at the advice he had received of the enemy's motions, he instantly ordered a proper number of recruits to be raised, being determined to carry on the war with all possible vigour in *Syria*. The command of these recruits he conferred upon

* AL WAKED. ubi sup. 41 Kor. Moham. f. iv. & alib. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, SALE's prelim. d. c. p. 39. MOD. HIST. VOL. I. Said

Said Ebn Amir, honoured him with a flag of red silk, and, after giving him some good advice, dispatched him at the head of them to the *Moslem* army. *Said* losing his way, fell in with a body of 5000 *Greeks*, commanded by the prefect of *Amman*, whom he immediately attacked. After a sharp dispute, he cut all the foot to pieces, and put the horse to flight. However, they were met by a party of the *Arab* cavalry, sent out from the camp to forage, who put every one of them to the sword. *Zobeir*, who commanded the *Arabs*, killed the prefect with his own hand, by piercing him through with a lance. His men cut off all the heads of the *Greeks* they had slain, flayed them, and carried them fixed on the points of their lances, to the great terror of the country through which they passed, in triumph to the *Moslem* camp. Upon their arrival there, they animated their countrymen, by a relation of the advantage they had gained; and the joy occasioned by this was soon after heightened by an account of the victory obtained by the new levies commanded by *Said Ebn Amir*. For, *Zobeir* had scarce ended his relation, when *Said* appeared, imparted the good news of the prefect's defeat to *Abu Obeidah*, and reinforced his army with a body of 8000 men ^f.

*Khâled's
conference
with Ma-
hân, the
imperial
general.*

THIS accession of strength inspired the *Moslem* soldiery with fresh resolution, as thinking themselves now capable of coping with any number of men the enemy could bring into the field. But still they were very uneasy at the loss of the five *Arabs* of distinction taken prisoners by *Jabalab Ebn Al Aybâm*, king of *Ghassân*, in the late action between *Khâled* and that prince. To ransom these *Khâled* was sent, at his own desire, by *Abu Obeidah*, escorted by a guard of 100 men, being the best soldiers in the *Moslem* army. Both he and his men were examined by *Jabalab Ebn Al Aybâm* himself, before they could be introduced to the imperial general. *Mahân*, as the *Arab* writers call that commander, at first insisted upon *Khâled's* dismissing his escorte; which the *Arab* absolutely refused to do, as representing the lieutenant of the *Khalif*. Then he commanded all the *Moslems*, as they approached, to dismount, and deliver up their swords; but with this order likewise not one of them would comply. Upon which, they were brought into *Mahân's* presence, and had seats prepared for them. These they removed from them, and chose to sit upon the ground; which when *Mahân* desired to know the reason of, *Khâled* told him, that what *God* had prepared for men to sit down on was purer than his finest tapestries; and supported what he had advanced by a passage out

^f AL WAKEDI, ubi sup.

of the *Korán*. Then the general began to expostulate with *Khâled* upon the irruption of the *Moslems* into Syria, and the hostilities they had committed there. To which *Khâled* replied in such terms as seemed to satisfy *Mahân*; who told him, that heretofore he had entertained a very wrong notion of the *Arabs*, looking upon them as a foolish ignorant people. To which *Khâled* made answer, that they formerly were so, before God sent *Mohammed* to reform them, and enable them to distinguish truth from error. The conference was pretty long, and not carried on throughout with the same temper. For, tho' sometimes they reasoned coolly, at others they suffered a violent transport of passion to take place. *Khâled* once told the general, that he should one day see him led with a rope about his neck to *Omar*, to be beheaded. To which *Mahân* replied, that tho' the law of nations secured ambassadors themselves from violence, which he supposed encouraged him to take that indecent freedom; yet he would chastise his insolence in the persons of the five prisoners, whom he would cause instantly to be beheaded. Upon this, *Khâled* swore by God, by *Mohammed*, and by the *Gaaba*, that if he put that menace in execution, he would dispatch him with his own hands; and that every one of the *Arabs* that attended him should kill his man, whatever the consequences of such an action might be.* Then rising up, he drew his sword; and every one of his attendants did the like. But *Mahân* not intending to come to such extremities as he had threatened, calmed him again, and made him a present of the five prisoners, whose liberty he so earnestly desired. *Khâled*, by way of return, gave the general his scarlet tent, which he had brought with him; and then, with the prisoners that had been released by *Mahân*, and his escorte, rejoined the *Moslem* army. This conference being a clear and lively description of the fierce and savage disposition of *Khâled*, as well as of the nation to which he belonged, and abundantly confirming what has been advanced concerning that disposition by several authors, and particularly in our dissertation upon the independency of the *Arabs*, we could not prevail upon ourselves to pass it over intirely in silence here.

THE two armies, after several movements, coming in sight *The battle* of each other, both sides made the necessary dispositions for of Yeran engagement. How the *Greeks* were drawn up, or what mouk. were their tactics on this occasion, our author informs us not; but with regard to the method of fighting observed by the

* Idem ib.d. DIODOR. SIC. HERODOT. STRAB. PLUTARCH. ARRIAN. D'O. APPIAN. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. See also UNIV. Hist. vol. xx. p. 243, 244. Lond. 1742.

Arabs, and their behaviour in the battle of *Yermouk*, he has handed down to us the following particulars. *Kháled* being indisputably the best officer in the *Moslem* army, both with respect to his courage and conduct, *Abu Obeidah* resigned to him the command of all the forces, and posted himself in the rear, under the yellow flag, or standard, that *Abu Beér* himself had given him when he first set out for *Syria*; being the same which *Mohammed* himself had fought under during the war of *Khaibar*. This was the place assigned him by *Kháled*, who imagined his presence there might prevent the *Arabs* from flying, if they should be pressed by the *Greeks*. For the same reason, he posted the women likewise there. The *Greeks*, animated by their numbers, fell upon the right wing of the *Moslem* horse with such fury that they broke it, quite bore it down, and separated it from the main body of the army. But the fugitives were so warmly received by the women, and loaded by them with such reproaches, that, in order to avoid this storm, they were obliged to return to the charge. Notwithstanding which, the *Greeks* forced them again to give ground; and were upon the point of putting them to the route, tho' their generals, before the beginning of the action, had told them, that *paradise was before them, and the devil and hell-fire behind them*. *Abu Sofián*, in particular, who had used that very expression, was obliged to retreat; and one of the women that stood near him gave him a violent blow on the face with a tent-pole, for being deficient in his duty. That day the *Moslems* were thrice repulsed, and as often rallied by the women, who exerted themselves in an extraordinary manner on this occasion. At last night parted the two contending armies, though victory seemed to incline to the *Arabs*. *Abu Obeidah* said at once those prayers that belonged to two several hours, in order to procure his men the longer repose. He was extremely tender of them, especially those that were wounded, binding up their wounds with his own hands, and assuring them, that *their enemies suffered the same pain, without being intitled to the same reward*. The next day, or at least another day not long after, the fight was renewed, and the *Christian* archers did such execution, that 700 of the *Arabs* lost either one or both of their eyes, which they considered as a particular mark of the divine favour. For this reason, the *Moslems* stiled that day *the day of blinding*. The troops on both sides behaved now with such bravery, that *Abd'allah Ebn Kort*, who had been in all the wars of *Syria*, declared, that he never saw any victory more obstinately disputed. Tho' the *Moslem* generals, as well as the soldiers, greatly distinguished themselves on this auspicious day, their efforts would have proved ineffectual, if the women, by their

unparalleled bravery, had not rendered them successful. *Kanlah*, *Derâr's* sister, was wounded, though not mortally, and beat down, by a *Greek*; whose head was immediately struck off by *Ofeirab*, another *Arabian* lady, and one of her companions. The enemy being pushed on all sides, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, were forced to abandon the field of battle, and in the night to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. To add to the misfortunes of the *Greeks*, at this melancholy juncture, a gentleman of *Yermouk*, whose wife some *Christian* officers had abused, and cut off his little son's head, tho' he had entertained them in a very hospitable manner, decoyed a body of their cavalry into a large water, very deep, and fordable only in one place, by favour of the night, and the assistance of a detachment of 500 *Arab* horse; where plunging in, the greatest part of them perished. In fine, the *Greeks* were intirely defeated, had 150,000 men killed, and 40,000 taken prisoners; whereas the whole loss sustained by the *Moslems* on this occasion, according to the account sent by *Abu Obeidah* to the *Khalif*, did not amount to above 4030 men. However, it can scarce be doubted, but the *Arab* author, whom we have followed in this relation, greatly diminishes the loss of the *Moslems*, and as much amplifies that of the *Christians*. This is perfectly agreeable to the *Arab* genius and character. However, that the emperor's forces were overthrown in this most bloody engagement, and that the consequence of the victory now gained by the *Arabs* was the total expulsion of the *Christians*, at least of their power and authority, out of *Syria*, is a melancholy truth too apparent to be denied. It has been owned by a *Christian* historian himself, who lived about 150 years after the time of this war. Such was the battle, or rather battles, of *Yermouk*, fought in the month of *November* 636, or the fifteenth of the *Hejra*; which, as has been just observed, determined the fate of *Syria* ^h.

AFTER the dispersion of the imperial troops, *Abu Obeidah* ^{Abu} wrote a short letter to the *Khalif*, wherein he transmitted him ^{Obeidah} a brief and succinct account of the late glorious actions, and ^{sends the} of some of the immediate consequences of them, with regard ^{Khalif ad-} to the *Moslems*. He informed him, that, since the defeat ^{vice of the} of the *Greeks*, *Noomân Ebn Al Kamah* had killed *Mahân*, their general, at *Damascus*; that *Abu Joaid*, who belonged to them ^{the victory} before they were overthrown by the *Moslems*, and came from ^{he had} *Hems*, ^{gained.} ~~downed~~ a vast number of them, known only to God himself; and that he had destroyed all those of the enemy

^h AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, in hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. 3. p. 22. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 276, & p. 280.

who had taken refuge in the deserts and mountains. He likewise begged the *Khalif* to compose a difference that had happened between two *Moslems* of rank, whose names he thought proper to conceal, that neither party might think himself ill used by the *Khalif's* decision, or have the least reason hereafter to complain. Those *Moslems* were *Serjabil Ebn Shabbanah*, who had formerly been secretary to the prophet, and *Derâr*, an officer of distinction, frequently mentioned in this history. The former having engaged in single combat an officer of the *Christian* army, and being rendered weak by watching and fasting, to which he had wholly given up himself, would have lost his life, had not the latter interposed, and killed his antagonist, when he was upon the point of dispatching him. This happened in the heat of the action, and, after the conclusion of it, both *Serjabil* and *Derâr* demanded the spoil of this officer; the one as having engaged and tired him, the other as having slain him in the field of battle. He also informed the *Khalif* of several other single combats that had been fought, whilst both armies were engaged. The letter was dated from *Damascus*, to which place the *Arabs* thought proper to move after they had defeated the *Greeks*. Here they refreshed themselves a month; before the expiration of which term *Abu Obeidah* received an answer from the *Khalif*, wherein he expressed great satisfaction at the glorious progress of his arms, thanked his troops for their bravery, and commanded the general to remain at *Damascus* till farther orders. He also adjudged the spoil above-mentioned to *Derâr*, tho' his name had been concealed, as he had killed an infidel, and saved the life of a *Moslem*; which put an end to the foregoing dispute. With regard to the division of the spoil in general, as *Omar* had taken no notice of it, *Abu Obeidah* imagined that it was left intirely to his own discretion. He, therefore, gave to every horseman thrice as much as to a footman; and twice as much to every soldier whose horse was of the true *Arabian* breed, which was judged to be by far the best, as to him whose beast was produced in a foreign country, or at least came by descent from thence. This not pleasing the troops, *Abu Obeidah* told them, that the prophet himself had made the same division after the expedition of *Khaibar*; which being afterwards, upon an appeal made to him, confirmed by *Omar*, every one acquiesced in what the general had done. It ought to be remarked here, that Mr. *Ockley* must be mistaken, or at least the author he follows, when he mentions the *capture of Khaibar*. For it appears from *Abulfeda*, not to insist upon the testimony of other *Arab* historians, that there was no battle fought in the war of *Khaibar*. *Mohammed*, with those that attended him to *Al Hodeibiya*, made himself master of *Khaibar*,

Khaibar, and all the castles and strong-holds belonging to it, without ever bringing the enemy to a general action. He likewise divided the spoils, which were of an immense value, amongst those, and those only, who were present at that expedition. That learned man seems to have been misled by *Al Makin*, whose authority in this point appears inferior to that of *Abulfeda*; especially, as this last writer is supported by *Abu'l-Faraj*, *Al Jannâbi*, and others. Nor does the text of *Al Makin* absolutely imply, that there was a general action in the war of *Khaibar*, whatever at first sight it may seem to do. For a full account of the expedition undertaken against *Khaibar*, we must beg leave to refer our readers to what has been said of it in our description of *Mohammed's* exploits during the seventh year of the *Hajra* ¹.

SOON after the arrival of the last courier from *Omar*, *Abu He also Obeidah* dispatched another, to know whether he should attack *Jerusalem*; as he thought it would be for the good of the *Khalif's* service to make himself master of both those places. *Ali* being with *Omar*, when the courier arrived, persuaded him to send his forces first against the latter of those cities; telling him, that such an expedition would be more conformable to the sentiments of the prophet, which he had formerly imparted to him. It being, therefore, resolved by the *Khalif* to lay siege first to *Jerusalem*, orders were directly sent to *Abu Obeidah* to begin immediately the military operations against that city. *Abu Obeidah*, in pursuance of these orders, instantly detached *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân*, with a body of 5000 men, to invest that town; and then, for five days successively, commanded considerable numbers of his men to file off after him, under such officers as he thought fit to appoint. The principal of these were *Ayyad Ebn Ghanem*, *Moâ-wiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân*, *Amru Ebn Al As*, and his son *Abd'allah*. The inhabitants of *Jerusalem* were not at all intimidated at the approach of the *Moslem* troops under the command of *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân*; but planted their engines upon the walls, and made all the necessary dispositions for a vigorous defence. Upon his arrival before the town, *Yezid*, by an interpreter, summoned the soldiers of the garison to surrender the place, and proposed to them the usual terms; which were rejected by them with scorn. This incensing the troops under his command, they desired to be led on instantly to the

¹ AL WAKED. ubi sup. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 235—243, &c. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. xlv. p. 87—92. ABU'L RABI, in lib. Splendor. EBN ISHAK, AL BOKHAR. AUË. libr. MO'ALEM AL TANZIL, AL JANNAB. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 7. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 163. SALE's notes on the Kor. f. xlvi. p. 414.

attack, in order to make the besieged feel the effects of their temerity and presumption. But *Yezid* not having orders to fight, contented himself at present with sitting down before the city. However, he sent an express to *Abu Obeidah*, to let him know the ardour of the troops, and to receive farther orders. Whereupon the general permitted him immediately to begin the siege. Having, therefore, assigned his men their proper posts, the next morning; after prayers were over, he made a general assault, which continued till evening, when he was obliged to desist from his attempt. In this manner continued he to harass the besieged, for ten days together, with reiterated attacks; but without effect. In these conflicts the garison galled his troops terribly with showers of arrows, and destroyed him abundance of men. On the eleventh day the general himself, with the main body of the army, presented himself before the city, and sent a letter to the besieged; requiring them either to embrace *Mohammedism*, or to pay tribute to the *Moslems*; threatening the garison and inhabitants otherwise with final excision, and their children with perpetual slavery. That this menace might make the deeper impression upon them, he farther told them, that his men loved death better than they did either wine or hogs flesh; which he intended as a reflection upon them, in common with other *Christians*, for allowing themselves the use of food and liquors that were prohibited by the *Korân*. But, notwithstanding this, the besieged retained their former courage, and defended themselves for four months with all possible bravery; scarce a day passing, during that term, without an action; wherein the besiegers generally sustained the greatest loss. However, being, at the conclusion of it, reduced to the last extremity, and finding the *Moslems* resolved to carry the town, cost what it would; they prevailed upon *Sophronius*, the patriarch, to have a conference with *Abu Obeidah*, and endeavour to settle with that general the terms of an honourable capitulation. This the patriarch undertook, and, by the help of an interpreter, first told him, “that whoever came into the *Holy Land*, and before *Jerusalem*, the *Holy City*, with any hostile intent, would render himself obnoxious to the divine displeasure.” To which *Abu Obeidah* answered, “that they knew *Jerusalem* to be a noble city; but that as the *Moslems* were more worthy of the possession of it than the *Christians*, as it was the mine of the prophets, whose sepulchres lay in it, and as *Mohammed* himself went from it in one night to heaven, where he was suffered to approach within two bow-shots of his Lord, or nearer, the *Khalif* was determined to continue the siege, till the place was delivered into his hands.” After several

several conferences between the patriarch, who had placed himself on the top of the wall for that purpose, and the *Moslem* general, it was finally agreed, that the city should be surrendered to the *Arabs*, on condition that the inhabitants should receive from the *Khalif's* own hands the articles of their security and protection. *Omar* having approved of the terms granted the besieged by *Abu Obeidah*, resolved to visit *Jerusalem* in person, and immediately made the proper preparations for a journey to the HOLY CITY. This *Othman* endeavoured to dissuade him from undertaking, but without effect; he chusing to follow the advice of *Ali*, who was of a different opinion. The reduction of *Jerusalem* was the first consequence of the battle of *Yermouk*, the *Arabs* now having no enemy in the field to oppose them. According to *Theophanes*, the armies engaged in that decisive action were equal as to their numbers, tho' the *Arab* writers positively assert the contrary, each of them amounting to 40,000 men. *Al Makin* affirms, that the imperial forces consisted of 240,000 men, and those of the *Arabs* of only 36,000; and from what has been related by *Al Wakedi* we may infer, that the *Christian* troops were vastly more numerous than those of the *Moslems*. Be that, however, as it will, the historians on both sides own the intire defeat of the imperial army; and their own writers themselves acknowledge, that the loss the *Christians* sustained on this occasion was very considerable. *Theophanes* says, that the wind blew full in the faces of the *Christians*, and covered them with dust; which greatly contributed to the fatal overthrow received. He also relates, that vast numbers of them were drowned in the river *Yermochtha*, or *Yermochtha*, which probably derived its name from the town or village of *Yermouk*, called by him *Yermoucha*, or *Yermouka*, near which the battle was fought; which very well corresponds with what has been transmitted down to us on this head by a celebrated *Moslem* historian. In fine, the loss of this battle put *Egypt*, as well as *Syria*, including *Palestine*, into the hands of the *Arabs*, as will soon more fully appear^k.

THE *Khalif* having now got every thing in readiness for *Omar* sets his intended journey to *Jerusalem*, after he had performed his *out for that* devotions in the mosque he always frequented, visited *Mohammed's* tomb, and constituted *Ali* his lieutenant at *Medina*, set out, attended by a numerous retinue, the greatest part of which afterwards returned home, for that city. He rode upon a red camel, and carried with him two sacks; one of which contained his *Sawik*, a sort of provision consisting of

^k AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 22. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 282—285. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 280, &c. Parisiis, 1655.

barley, rice, or wheat, sodden and unhusked, in use amongst the *Arabs*, and the other fruits. Before him he had a leather-bottle, very necessary in those desert countries to put water in, and behind him a wooden platter. Before he left the place where he had rested the preceding night, he constantly said the morning-prayer; after which, he addressed himself to his attendants in a devout strain, always uttering before them some pious ejaculations. Then he communicated his *Sawik* to them; every one of his fellow-travellers eating with him, out of the same platter, without distinction. His cloaths, according to *Theophanes*, were made of camels hair, and even in a very ragged and tatter'd condition; nor could any thing be more mean and sordid than the appearance he made. This that author mentions as an instance of his consummate, or rather, as he terms it, *diabolical*, hypocrisy; he having nothing more in view than, by this pretended humility and mortification, to impose upon his followers, and be thereby enabled to commit the most enormous and unjustifiable actions; such was the iniquitous invasion of the emperor's territories, under the cloak of religion¹!

Distributes justice on the road.

To carry on the farce, and make himself the more revered, not to say adored, by his subjects, he did several popular things, that had the appearance of justice, whilst on this journey. A man was brought before him for marrying two wives, that were sisters both by father and mother; which was considered as a very heinous crime by the *Moslems*. Such marriages had been deemed lawful amongst the *Arabs* in the times of ignorance, or idolatry; but they were abolished by *Mohammed*, and expressly prohibited in the *Korân*. The man being interrogated by *Omar* about it, and asked what religion he was of, said he was a *Moslem*; but swore he neither knew nor believed that his marriage was unlawful. *Omar*, in reply to this, swore that he lied, and that he would either oblige him to part with one of his wives, or strike off his head. To which the man made answer, in an angry tone, *that he wished he had never been of the Mohammedan religion, since he had never been the better for it in any respect*. Upon which, the *Khalif* calling him a little nearer, gave him two blows upon the crown with his stick, and severely reprehended him for speaking with so much irreverence of *Mohammedism*. He then forced him to part with one of his wives, by casting lots; as he loved them both so well, that he would not tell which of them it was that he preferred to the other. After this, the *Khalif* assured him, that all who renounced *Islamism* were to be put to death; and that if he ever lay with the wife he

¹ AL WAKED. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 281.

had dismissed, he should be most certainly stoned. By which it appears, that *Omar* considered a person in those circumstances in the light of an adulterer, upon whom such a punishment is to be inflicted, according to a passage once extant in the *Korán*, and still by some supposed to be in force. This passage was called the verse of *stoning*, which, according to the tradition of *Omar*, who at this time threatened the infliction of the punishment therein denounced, was extant whilst *Mohammed* was living, tho' it be not now to be found. The passage was conched in terms to the following effect: *Abhor not your parents, for this would be ingratitude in you. If a man and a woman of reputation commit adultery, ye shall stone them both; it is a punishment ordained by GOD; for GOD is mighty and wise.* Which words, tho' they have as to the letter been abrogated, as to the sense, according to some of the commentators on the *Korán*, still remain in force ^m.

SOON after, the *Khalif* observing some poor tributaries exposed to the heat of the sun, a very cruel punishment in those hot countries, for not being able to pay the sum demanded of them, he ordered them to be released; telling his attendants, that he once heard the apostle of GOD say, *Do not afflict men in this world; for those who do so GOD shall punish in hell-fire at the day of judgment.* This being perfectly oracular with *Omar's* followers, his orders were immediately executed, tho' to the great regret of the oppressors, and the *Khalif* continued his route. But before he got to his journey's end, another person was cited to appear before him. This was an old man, who had suffered a young one to be a partner with him in the fruition of his wife, they being to enjoy her alternately every twenty-four hours. Though they both professed *Islám*, they swore, upon their being examined by *Omar*, that they did not know such a partnership to be illicit, or forbidden by the law of GOD; which greatly exasperated the *Khalif*. The old man then was asked by *Omar*, what could induce him to consent to such a beastly practice? To which he answered, that as his strength failed him, and this young man was very serviceable to him, in assisting him to feed and water his camels, he found himself obliged to allow him access to his wife, not being able to recompense him in any other manner; but promised, that, as he found it to be unlawful, he would abstain from such a permission for the future. Upon which, *Omar* ordered him to take his wife by the hand, and told him, *that nobody ought to approach her but himself*; and then directing his discourse to the adulterer, he said, *If ever I hear,*

^m AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iii. AL BEI-PAWI, SALE'S prelim. disc. p. 67, 135, &c.

young man, that you are concerned in such an unlawful commerce hereafter, I shall not fail to take off your head. Such acts of justice as these, from whatever motive they might proceed, attracted both the love and esteem of the *Moslems*; especially as Omar generally founded his decisions either upon some of the sayings of the prophet, of which he had preserved a considerable store, or upon some of the precepts and institutions of the *Korân* ^a.

Arrives in
the Mos-
lem camp
before Je-
rusalem,
and signs
the capitulation.

ABU OBEIDAH receiving advice of the *Khalif*'s arrival on the confines of *Syria*, he went to meet him with an escorte at some distance from *Jerusalem*, where he was expected with great impatience by the inhabitants, who had sustained great fatigues during the siege. From thence he conducted him to the *Moslem* camp, where he was received amidst the universal acclamations of his subjects, and with all possible demonstrations of joy. The morning after his arrival, the *Khalif* said the usual prayers, and preached to the troops. In his sermon he produced the following passage out of the *Korân*: *Whomsoever GOD shall direct, he shall be rightly directed; and whomsoever he shall cause to err, thou shalt not find any to defend or to direct*. Upon which, a *Christian* priest rose up, and said aloud twice, *GOD causes no one to err*. Omar made no answer to him; but ordered the *Moslems* near him to strike off the infidel's head, if he repeated those words again. This being heard by the priest, he took care not to interrupt the *Khalif* any more in his discourse. After the conclusion of his sermon, he pitched his tent, made of hair, within sight of the city. Then he signed the articles of the capitulation, by virtue of which the inhabitants were intitled to the free exercise of their religion, the possession of their properties, and his protection; and he to the sovereignty of the place and all the adjacent territory. These articles being the basis of most, if not all those of the same nature, that have been since granted by the *Mohammedan* princes to the *Christians*, our curious readers will not be displeased to find the substance of them inserted here ^c.

I. THE *Christians* of *Jerusalem* shall build no new churches either in that city, or the adjacent territory thereunto belonging, after the signing of the capitulation.

II. THEY shall not refuse the *Moslems* admission into their churches, either by day or by night.

III. THEY shall set open the doors of their churches to all travellers and passengers whatsoever.

^a AL WAKED. ubi sup.
MOHAM. f. xviii. v. 16.

^c AL WAKED. ubi sup. Al Kor.

IV. IF any *Moslem* should be upon a journey, they shall be obliged to entertain him *gratis* for the space of three days.

V. THEY shall not teach their children the *Korân*, talk openly of their religion, persuade any *Moslem* to be of it, nor hinder any of their relations from becoming *Mohammedans*, if at any time they should be inclined to prefer *Islâm* to their own religion.

VI. THEY shall pay a proper deference and respect to the *Moslems*, and rise up to them whenever they are disposed to sit down.

VII. THEY shall never appear in the same dress as do the *Moslems*; their caps, shoes, turbants, parting of the hair, forms of salutation, and even names, shall be different from those of the true believers.

VIII. THEY shall not ride upon saddles, nor carry any sort of arms, nor use the *Arabic* tongue in any of the inscriptions engraven on their seals.

IX. THEY shall not sell wine, nor any other intoxicating liquors whatsoever.

X. THEY shall always wear the same sort of habit where-soever they go, and keep their girdles at all times about their waists.

XI. THEY shall erect no crosses upon their churches, nor exhibit either their crosses or their books in the streets openly to the *Moslems*.

XII. THEY shall not ring, but only toll, their bells; nor take any servant that has once belonged to the *Moslems*.

XIII. THEY shall not overlook the *Moslems* in their houses, nor in any respect act the part of spies upon them. To which some add, that *Omar* commanded the citizens of *Jerusalem* always to have the fore-parts of their heads shaven, and to ride upon their pannels side-ways, in a manner different from that of the *Moslems*.

XIV. THEY shall pay, with all possible punctuality, the capitation, as well as the usual tribute imposed by the true believers upon all the infidels in their situation.

XV. THEY shall acknowledge the sovereignty of the *Khalif Omar*, and never in any respect act either directly or indirectly against him.

XVI. By virtue of their compliance with the preceding articles, the *Khalif* shall secure to them their lives, properties, and the free exercise of their religion. He shall also screen them from all insults and violences whatsoever, and take them in common with his other subjects into his perpetual and more immediate protection.

THUS fell *Jerusalem*, once the glory of all the east, into the hands of the *Moslems*, in which it has continued ever since;

since; excepting only that interval of near ninety years, wherein it was possessed by the *Christians* in the holy war, who were finally driven from thence by *Sakadin*. With regard to the manner of reducing it, and the circumstances attending that event, authors are not perfectly agreed; tho' 'tis allowed on all hands, that *Omar* took a journey thither at the request of the besieged. *Al Wakedi* intimates, that the place was reduced by the *Moslems* in about four months time, as has been already observed; but, according to *Theophanes*, at least two years were elapsed before they could force it to a capitulation P.

Omar enters Jerusalem. AFTER the preceding articles were signed, *Omar*, in pursuance of his engagements, gave the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* the following order, as a proper security against any violences that might be offered them, written with his own hand. *In the name of the most merciful God. From Omar Ebn Al Khattâb to the inhabitants of Ælia, or Jerusalem. They shall be protected and secured both in their lives and possessions. Their churches shall neither be demolished, nor made use of by any but themselves.* After the delivery of the schedule, on which this was written, the *Khalif* had the gates opened to him, and, with his attendants, enter'd the town. The patriarch *Sophronius* waited upon the *Khalif*, who conversed familiarly with him, and asked him many questions concerning the antiquities of the city. One of the first places they visited was the temple of the *resurrection*, in the midst of which *Omar* sat down; and, when the hour of prayer was come, told the patriarch he had a mind to pray; and therefore begged he would shew him a place where he might perform his devotions. *Sophronius* told him he might do that on the spot where he then was; but this he absolutely refused. Then the patriarch led him to *St. Constantine's* church, and spread a mat for him; but there he likewise declined saying his usual prayer. At last he thought fit to kneel down alone at the east gate of the church, upon one of the steps, and pray there. After he had finished his prayer, he sat down, and asked *Sophronius*, whether he knew the reason of his refusing to pray in the church? To which when the patriarch answered in the negative, he said, "Had I prayed there, or in any other of your churches, the *Moslems* would most certainly have taken it from you. For, notwithstanding the engagements we have entered into, they would have said, *Here Omar*

P¹ OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 257, 258, 259. MS. Arab. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 362. BOHADIN EBN SJEDDAD, in vit. Salad. ABULFEN. in hist. gen. JALLALO'DDIN, MS. Arab. Huntington. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. AL WAKED. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup.

"prayed,

"prayed, and therefore we will pray here too. Which had it happened, they would gradually have possessed themselves of your church; which would have been contrary both to your expectation and my intention. Nay, as this still may happen, unless I take all the necessary precautions to prevent it, give me some paper, that I may fortify you with a written order, which will have its effect upon my people."

Then being supplied with pen, ink, and paper, he wrote down the following words: *In the name of the most merciful God. From Omar Ebn Al Khattâb to the inhabitants of Ælia. The Moslems shall not pray on the steps of the church called St. Constantine's, in any numbers, but only one by one. They shall never meet there to go to prayers. The Muedhdhins, or criers, that call the people to prayers, shall never stand there.* Having then given this paper to the patriarch, for the future security of the *Christians*, he asked him, according to *Eutychius*, whether he could not assign him a proper place to erect a mosque upon, for the celebration of the *Mohammedan* service? To which the patriarch replied, *I will shew the emperor of the faithful a spot, where he may build a place of worship for himself and his subjects.* Then he took the *Khalif* to the place where *Jacob's* stone lay, on which he slept, when he saw his vision. Upon this spot, says *Eutychius*, which they held in the highest veneration, the *Israelites* afterwards erected a chapel, or oratory. Nor could they imagine any place to be more proper for the house of *God* to stand upon, than that which *Jacob* himself emphatically stiled the house of *God*, a place to be revered, and the gate of heaven. For which reason, continues the same author, the *Israelites*, wheresoever they were, prayed with their faces turn'd towards this place. However, adds *Eutychius*, before *Sophronius* complied with the *Khalif's* request, he obtained from him a written order, that no other mosque should be erected within the precincts of *Jerusalem*. When the *Roman* empire became *Christian*, and *Helena*, the mother of *Constantine*, had built several churches in *Jerusalem*, that stone was slighted, and the oratory upon it, that had been demolished, was consequently not rebuilt. The reason of which, according to *Eutychius*, was, because our Saviour had predicted, that the habitations of the unbelieving *Jews* should be left unto them desolate; and that there should not be left here one stone upon another that should not be thrown down. Wherefore, in order that this prophecy might have its full completion, the *Christian* emperors would not suffer any church, or other building, to be erected upon that stone; so that it was now quite covered with dirt. The *Khalif*, therefore, took as much of this as he could in his vest, and removed it. Which being perceived

by the *Moslems*, they all hastened to assist him. Some filled their bucklers, some their vests, some pitchers, others baskets; inasmuch that they had soon removed all the dirt and rubbish from about the stone. After this, *Omar*, leaving the churches to the *Christians*, built a new mosque on mount *Moriah*, in the place where *Soloman's* temple formerly stood; which was afterwards much enlarged, and greatly adorned with many beautiful and magnificent buildings, by the *Khalif Abd'almalec Ebn Merwân*, as will be seen in its proper place. We are told by *Theophanes*, that when *Omar* entered the temple, or church, of the *resurrection*, he appeared in such sordid and filthy attire, as gave great offence to the patriarch *Sophronius*; who, with much difficulty, at last prevailed upon the dirty barbarian to put on some clean linen and cloaths that he offered him, till his own filthy rags were washed. The same author relates, that when the patriarch first saw *Omar* in that place, he could not forbear breaking out into the following exclamation: *This is of a truth the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel, the prophet, standing in the holy place!* Which words, as *Mr. Ockley* imagines; the *Moslems* afterwards hearing, they inferred from thence, that the patriarch owned their conquest of *Jerusalem* to have been foretold by the prophet *Daniel*; and this enabled them to trump up a fabulous story of an ancient prophecy kept in *Jerusalem* concerning *Omar*; wherein his name and religion were specified, his person described, and he declared to be the only man that could then reduce that city. From what has been said, it will appear, that *Omar* acted in character, when he would not permit his *Moslems* to wear any of those rich silks that fell into their hands after the battle of *Yermouk*. From *Jerusalem* the *Khalif* went to *Bethlehem*, and prayed in a church there. This procured another written order from him, which he gave the patriarch, in order to preserve that church in the hands of the *Christians*, couched in the same terms as the former that he had drawn up at *Jerusalem*. But notwithstanding this precaution, the *Moslems* afterwards seized upon that church, as well as the other of *St. Constantine* at *Jerusalem*. Half of the porch, where were the steps on which *Omar* performed his devotions, belonging to the latter of these, they took first, and erected a mosque upon it, in which they included those steps. This, in the days of *Eutychius*, they denominated the mosque, or oratory, of *Omar*. We must not forget to inform our readers; that, according to *Al Makin*, the *Arabs* took *Jerusalem* in the sixteenth year of the *Hejra*; or, as appears from *Al Wakedi*, about *April* or *May*, in the year of our Lord 637.

THE
 * AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal.

THE same year in which *Abu Obeidah* reduced *Jerusalem*, *The Arabs Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs*, as we learn from *Al Makin*, another meet with of *Omar's* generals, met with an uninterrupted course of suc. great suc-cess in the territories of *Persia*. He advanced with a body of *Moslem* troops to *Al Madâyen*, a city not far from the confluence of the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, and made himself master of that town. Here he found the *Shâh*, or king, of *Persia's* treasury, which was immensely rich, and one of his principal magazines. He took out of the treasury, according to *Al Makin*, 3,000,000,000 *dirhâms*; which appears almost incredible. From thence *Saad* found his way to that part of the royal palace where *Khosrû's* plate was deposited, and another full of camphire; both of which were plundered by the *Moslems*. The camphire they were not very well acquainted with the nature of, and therefore mixed it with their leaven; which rendered their bread bitter and disagreeable to the taste. Afterwards the *Arab* general met with *Khosrû's* crown, and his cloaths, adorned with gold and jewels of inestimable value; all which he carried off with him. He also plundered his armory, which was well stored with helmets, coats of mail, and weapons of various kinds. Then he ordered the roof of *Khosrû's* porch to be opened, where he found 1,000,000 *methkâls*, every one of which, says *Al Makin*, was worth ten *dirhêms*. He also discovered, amongst *Khosrû's* furniture, a piece of silk tapestry, sixty cubits square, which was adorned with a great variety of beautiful flowers, herbs, and plants, drawn to the life, and formed of silver, gold, and jewels, the most valuable that could be procured. This being brought to *Omar*, he cut it in pieces, and distributed it amongst the *Moslems*. That part of it which fell to *Ali's* share, which yet was none of the best, he sold for 20,000 *dirhêms*, or pieces of silver; from whence we may infer, that the whole must have been almost invaluable. Nine months after the reduction of *Al Madâyen*, the *Arabs* defeated the *Persians* in a great battle near *Jaloûlah*, and put a vast number of them to the sword. According to some of the eastern authors, the city of *Al Madâyen* was at this time the capital of the *Persian* dominions, and was now so pillaged, that it did not lift up its head again for many ages. Mr. *D'Herbelot* seems to adopt the opinion of some of the oriental writers, who place the battle of *Kadesia*, already mentioned, in this year. But this must by no means be allowed, as it confounds the battle of *Kadesia* with that of *Jaloûlah*; which runs counter to *Al*

tom: ii. p. 284—289. GEN. xxviii. 16, 17. MAT. xxiii. 38. MAR. xiii. 2. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. GOLII. not. ad Alfragan. p. 137—140. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 248, 249.

MOD. HIST. VOL. I.

F f

Makin,

Makín, and is not supported by any of either the best *Arab* or *Persian* historians. *Yazdejerd*, or *Khosrá Yazdejerd*, *Khosrá* being a name common to many of the *Sháhs*, or kings, of *Persia*, as *Ptolemy* was to those of *Egypt*, and *Casár* to the *Roman* emperors, finding things every day to grow worse and worse, retired with great precipitation to *Fargána*. It must here be observed, that *Monfieur D'Herbelot* is inconsistent with himself, when, in one part of his work, he makes the battle of *Kadesia* to have been fought whilst *Abu Obeidah* was carrying on the siege of *Jerusalem*, which he admits to have been in the sixteenth year of the *Hijra*, and yet, in another, asserts that decisive action to have happened the preceding year; but such inconsistencies as these are pretty numerous in that learned author. *Al Makín* relates, that *Yazdejerd's* plate at *Al Madáyen*, of exceeding great value, was put in baskets covered with lead. *Fargána*, or *Fargánah*, is the capital of a large province of the same name, sometimes called *Anduján*, or *Anduján*, tho' the last is more properly the name of one of its dependencies. This province is one of the countries of the *Transoxiana*, or the *Regio Transoxiana*, and extends itself along the *Sibún*, or the *Jaxartes*, in 92° long. and $42^{\circ} 20'$ lat. according to *Abulfeda*; tho' a *Persian* geographer, according to *Goliús*, places it in long. 102° . However, *Ulugh Beigh*, and another *Persian* geographer, assign it long. $101^{\circ} 20'$, and lat. $42^{\circ} 25'$. So that the oriental writers themselves are not perfectly agreed with regard to its situation. Some authors have imagined, that the capital of *Fargánah* had likewise the name of *Akhsikát*; which seems, according to *Goliús*, to be derived from *Akhsbid*, an appellation peculiar to the kings of that country. This region, either contiguous to *Turkestan*, or a part of that country, is mountainous, and abounds with fountains of naphtha, as well as veins of gold and silver, turcoises, or stones of an azure colour, being a sort of jasper, an uncommon variety of the most excellent trees, shrubs, and plants, &c. that the earth brings forth spontaneously, without any manner of culture there. *Fargána* has produced likewise a very considerable number of learned men, who have been rendered famous by their writings; and amongst others, *Mohammed Ebn Kathir Al Fargáni*, commonly called by the *Europeans* *Alfraganus*, who wrote an astronomical treatise, intitled, *ASTRONOMICAL ELEMENTS*, or *THE ELEMENTS OF ASTRONOMY*, published, with a *Latin* version, and some learned notes upon it, by the excellent *Goliús*, at *Amsterdam*, in the year 1669. *Al Bergendi* places *Fargána* in the fifth climate, and the neighbourhood of *Al Sháh*, beyond the *Jaxartes*, and makes the city of *Coba*, from whence many grand personages have sprung, to be one

of its dependencies ; tho' others affirm that city to belong to *Al Shâsh*. Besides the mines of gold and silver above-mentioned, there are others in this extensive region, if some good oriental authors may be credited, of lead and iron. Several geographers have fixed here the cities of *Khawakand*, *Kbojand*, and *Marghinan*, as also the limits of *Mohammedism* on that side. But, for a farther account of this country, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the learned *Golius*, who has endeavoured to reconcile the jarring accounts given us by the oriental geographers, of its situation. Into this remote tract *Yazdegerd* retired, after the defeat of his forces near *Jaloûlah*, and not to a city, or rather pitiful village, of *Persia*, of the same name, as Mr. *Ockley* suggests. This sufficiently appears from the eastern writers, and might be proved by some irrefragable arguments, would the limits we have here prescribed ourselves permit. That prince was never thoroughly subjugated by *Omar*, whatever may be insinuated to the contrary by certain authors, as has already been observed in our ancient history of the *Persians* ; tho' the overthrow here mentioned seems to have given almost the finishing stroke to his affairs ^r.

BUT to return to the affairs of *Syria* :—*Omar* remained ten *A Jew* days in the *Moslem* camp, after the reduction of *Jerusalem*, in ^{converted} order to settle matters there. In a part of this interval, according to *Al Wakedi*, one *Caab*, a *Jew*, came to the *Khalif* ^{to Islam-} ^{ism by} *Omar*, to be instructed in the principles of the *Mohammedan* religion, and told him, that he had been informed by his father, who was perfectly well skilled in the law of *Moses*, that *Mohammed* was to be the seal of the prophets ; and consequently, that, after him, the world must not expect any farther inspiration. He then demanded of *Omar* what account of *Islamism* was to be met with in the *Korân* ? The *Khalif*, in order the more effectually to carry his point, cited such texts of that book as were suited to the palate of one who had been brought up a *Jew* ; to some of which we shall here beg leave to refer our learned readers. The *Jew* pretending to be convinced by some of these texts, that *Mohammedism* was in reality no other than the religion of *Abraham* and the patriarchs, repeated instantly the *Moslem* confession of faith, *There is but one GOD, and Mohammed is his apostle*. This gave great satisfaction to *Omar*, who invited his new proselyte to go with him to *Medina*, to visit the prophet's tomb there ; to which

^r AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 22, 23. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 226, 687, 996, &c. AL BERGENDI, ABULFED. ULUGH BEIGH, EBN HAWKEL, GOLIUS. ad Alfragan. p. 168—171. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 265. Univ. Hist. vol. xi. p. 201—206. Lond. 1747.

he very readily agreed. As the *Arabs* are very inaccurate in their chronology, as we have already demonstrated in a former part of this work, Mr. *Ockley* takes this *Caab* to have been the *Jew* of that name converted by *Mohammed* himself, about ten years before *Jerusalem* was taken by *Omar*. But that learned and ingenious gentleman has been led into this mistake by Dr. *Prideaux*, whom he has followed in the point before us relating to the *Caab* here last mentioned. For Dr. *Prideaux* has confounded *Caab Ebn Al Ashraf*, the *Jew*, who was really put to death by *Mohammed*, for being a most inveterate enemy to him and his new religion, with *Caab Ebn Al Zohair*, a famous poet, but no *Jew*, who was pardoned by *Mohammed* for an enormous offence against him he had been guilty of, after he had determined to put him to death, and became a convert to *Islamism*. All conjectures, therefore, founded upon the truth of Dr. *Prideaux*'s supposition, must fall to the ground of course. Besides, Mr. *Ockley* himself is almost as inaccurate in his chronology here as the *Arabs*, whom he condemns. For, according to Dr. *Prideaux*, whom he follows, the conversion of *Caab*, the *Jew*, happened in the second year of the *Hejra*, and consequently fourteen years, not about ten, as he imagines, before the reduction of *Jerusalem* by *Omar*. But Dr. *Prideaux*, however this may have escaped Mr. *Ockley*'s notice, is here again mistaken. For, *Caab Ebn Zohair*, the person really pardoned by *Mohammed* for writing satirical verses upon him, embraced *Islamism* in the ninth year of the *Hejra*, and not the second, if we will believe *Abulfeda*, whose authority cannot certainly be disputed in this particular; and *Caab Ebn Al Ashraf*, the *Jew*, tho' never made a proselyte by *Mohammed*, was dispatched by *Mohammed Ebn Moselem*, the *Ansâr*, at the prophet's instigation, six or seven years before. These remarks we thought proper to make here, being desirous of setting our readers right as to the knowledge of some facts relative to the history we are now upon, that have not, at least till of late, been sufficiently understood even by those who were the best acquainted with oriental literature.

Omar returns to Medina.

BEFORE the *Khalif* took his leave of *Syria*, he thought fit to divide that country into two parts; one of which, that lay between *Haurân*, or *Aurân*, and *Aleppo*, and was not perfectly conquered, he committed to the management of *Ahu Obeidah*, giving him the strictest orders to reduce it as soon as

* AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii. v. 126. f. iii. v. 60, 77, 78, 96. f. xxii. v. 77. OCKLEY, ubi sup. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 59. Lond. 1718. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohamm. c. xxx. p. 64, &c. c. lvi. p. 122. JOAN. GAGN. in not. ad Abulfed ubi sup. SALE's notes on the Kor. c. iii. p. 46.

possible to his obedience. *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofián* was commanded to take upon himself the care of the other, which comprehended *Palestine* and the sea-coast, and to make himself absolute master of it, having a body of troops assigned him for that purpose. *Amru Ebn Al As*, in pursuance of his instructions, was to invade *Egypt*, then in a very languishing condition, with a body of the *Moslem* forces. After he had made these dispositions for extending his conquests, *Omar* set out for *Medina*, where he arrived in perfect health. His presence there inspired the inhabitants with inexpressible joy; who, from his long stay at *Jerusalem*, concluded that he did not intend to return to their city. As *Jerusalem* was seated on a fertile spot of ground, had a most salubrious air, and was the principal habitation of the ancient prophets, as also taken by the *Moslems* to be the place where all mankind must be summoned together at the resurrection; they were afraid the *Khalif* would have fixed his residence there. Soon after his departure, *Abu Obeidah* exacted of the inhabitants of *Albádir* and *Kinnisrín* 5000 ounces of gold, as many of silver, 2000 suits of cloaths of various kinds of silk, and 500 ass-loads of figs and olives, for the refreshment of his troops. We are told by *Eutychius*, that he moved likewise about this time to *Hems*, in order probably to extort from the citizens a sum of money, and a proper quantity of provisions. But how he treated them, what he actually proposed to himself by the visit he made them, or what sort of a reception he met with from them, at this juncture, we have not been informed by any of the *Arab* historians †.

SOON after *Omar* had left *Syria*, *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofián* advanced to *Cæsarea*, in order to besiege it; but, upon his approach to that town, he found it so well fortified, and the garrison so strengthened by a reinforcement of 2000 men sent ^{from} *Aleppo*, that he judged such an attempt would be impracticable. Besides, the small body of troops he commanded was not large enough to form the siege of a place defended by so numerous a garrison. Nor could he entertain the least hopes of starving them to a surrender, as they had lately been supplied with a vast store of all sorts of provisions by sea. He, therefore, was obliged to continue for some time in a state of inaction. In the mean time, *Abu Obeidah* having visited *Haurán*, or *Aurán*, the province called by *Josephus* *Auranitis*, and one of the extremities of that part of *Syria* over which he presided, he marched from thence towards *Aleppo*; which, conformably to the *Khalif's* orders, he proposed immediately to invest. Besides *Tiberias*, or *Tabar-*

† AL. WAKED. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 292.

riyah, and *Basra*, or *Basra*, its capital, in the province of *Haurân*, there were several other considerable towns. The castle of *Aleppo* was at this time, as we learn from *Al Wakedi*, the strongest citadel in *Syria* ^u.

The governor of *Aleppo* *defeats a body of the Arabs*. THE citizens of *Aleppo* being informed of the surrender of *Alhâdir* and *Kinnisrin*, were struck with great terror and consternation, as expecting soon to see the *Moslem* army before the town. They had at that time two governors, who were brothers, and resided in the castle, which was not then within the city, but stood at a little distance from it. The names of

these two governors, who were of very different dispositions, if we may believe *Al Wakedi*, so often cited here, were *Youkinna* and *John*. Their father, by the emperor *Heraclius*'s appointment, presided over the whole tract situated between *Aleppo* and the *Euphrates*; and, after his death, *Youkinna* had the chief management of affairs, *John* spending his time in retirement, reading, and acts of charity. As he had therefore no notion of war, he would fain have prevailed upon his brother to have purchased a peace of the *Arabs* for a good round sum of money, and not made his country a scene of blood, ravages, and confusion. But this by no means suiting *Youkinna*'s martial genius, he armed a considerable number of the citizens, amongst whom were several *Christian Arabs*, and distributed a sum of money amongst them. He then told his men, that he intended to act offensively against the *Arabs*, and even, if possible, to engage them, before they drew too near the district of *Aleppo*. In order to inspire them with the greater courage and resolution, he took the liberty to observe, that the grand army of the *Arabs* was divided into several bodies; one of which had orders to besiege *Cæsarea*, another to march to *Damascus*, and a third to invade *Egypt*. From whence he concluded, that *Abu Obeidah*'s troops, of whose march towards *Aleppo* they had received some intelligence, could not be so formidable but that they might easily oppose them. Having thus animated his men, he put himself at the head of 12000 of them, and marched forwards, to get advice of the enemy's motions. In the mean time, *Abu Obeidah* had sent before him *Caab Ebn Damrah*, with 1000 men, and given him express orders not to fight, till he had received certain information of the strength of the enemy. *Youkinna*'s spies discovered *Caab* and his men resting themselves, and watering their horses, quite secure, and not in the least apprehensive of any danger. *Youkinna* being apprized of this, posted one part of his troops in an am-

^u AL WAKED. ubi sup. ABULFED. HADR. RELAND. Pal. il. Iust. p. 107. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan, P 133.

buscade at a small distance from them, and with the other advanced to attack the *Moslems*. The dispute that happened on this occasion was sharp and bloody, and the *Moslems* at first repulsed the *Christians* with great bravery; but the troops that formed the ambuscade at last rushing upon them, they were forced to retire, had 170 of their men killed upon the spot, and most of the rest wounded. In fine, had they not been enabled by favour of the night, which then very opportunely approached, to make a tolerable retreat, they had every one of them been inevitably put to the sword ^w.

AFTER *Youkinna's* departure with his forces in quest of ^{The inha-}the *Arabs*, the wealthier part of the citizens of *Aleppo* considering that they should be stripped of every thing valuable belonging to them, and perhaps be put to death likewise, if the *Moslems* carried the city by storm, they resolved, without farther delay, to submit to ^{submit to}*Abu Obeidah*. They, therefore, sent a deputation, consisting of thirty of the chief of them, to that general, then at *Kinnisrin*, and upon the point of beginning his march for *Aleppo*, in order to make proposals of submission to him. At first, *Abu Obeidah* seemed averse to a pacification, as not being perfectly convinced of the sincerity of their intentions; but at last they prevailed upon him to take them into his protection. Their submission was accepted upon the same terms as those upon which the *Moslem* general had before granted the *Khalif's* protection to the inhabitants of *Alhâdir* and *Kinnisrin*; excepting that the tribute and capitation imposed upon them did not amount to above half the sum exacted of the citizens of *Kinnisrin*. For that city was then in a much more flourishing condition than *Aleppo*, and consequently able to pay a much more considerable tribute and capitation. The merchants, on their return home, meeting with one of *Youkinna's* officers, gave him an account of the whole transaction; which he immediately communicated to his master, who was then making the proper dispositions for pursuing *Caab*, as soon as the morning appeared, who had made his escape only by favour of the night. *Youkinna* receiving this disagreeable news, was afraid lest any attempt should be made upon the castle in his absence; and therefore posted home with all possible expedition. This gave *Caab* an opportunity of rejoining the *Moslem* army, which soon after, with *Khâled* and *Abu Obeidah* at the head of it, arrived at the spot where the late action had happened. Immediately after their arrival, the *Moslems* buried the bodies of their countrymen that had been killed, whom they called martyrs, all bloody as they were, together with the arms that lay by them, and the

^w AL WAKED. ubi sup.

cloaths with which they were covered. This was done by *Abu Obeidah's* command, who said, that he had frequently heard the apostle of God declare, that the martyrs, and those who die in the service of God, shall be raised at the day of judgment with their blood upon their throats. To which he added, that this should have the colour of blood, and the smell of musk; and that those on whom it appeared, should be led directly into paradise. The citizens of *Aleppo's* submission to *Omar* has been taken notice of by *Eutychius*; but he has transmitted down to us no particular and circumstantial account of that affair *.

When he
sieges the
castle;

IN the mean time *Youkinna* arrived at *Aleppo* soon enough to secure the castle from all attempts the citizens might make upon it, and to put himself in a posture to receive the enemy. He was greatly incensed at the conduct of the deputies, who had lately concluded a treaty with *Abu Obeidah*, and threatened the inhabitants with present death, if they would not join him against the *Arabs*, disannul that treaty, and deliver into his hands the author of the late defection, that he might meet with condign punishment. The citizens not immediately complying with this demand, he fell upon them with great fury, killed about 300 of them, and amongst the rest his brother *John*, whose head he caused to be cut off, charging him with being the contriver and abettor of the late pernicious scheme. Nor would he have stopped here, but had made a much greater slaughter of them, had not the *Moslem* army at that instant arrived before the town; upon which he retired, and threw himself, with a considerable body of troops, into the castle. But before this could be done, he was obliged to sustain an attack from the *Arabs*, wherein, according to *Al Wakedi*, he lost 3000 men. The action was no sooner ended, than the inhabitants of *Aleppo* brought out forty of *Youkinna's* men, whom they had taken prisoners, and put them, as a proof of their fidelity to him, into *Abu Obeidah's* hands. Of these seven embraced *Mohammedism*, and the rest were beheaded. *Aleppo*, which the *Moslems* had now possessed themselves of, is situated on a fine open plain, about two days journey from the *Euphrates*; from whence, by means of certain subterranean canals, great plenty of water is derived to the town. It abounds with cotton, sesame, panic, and a vast variety of fruits; all which are the produce of the adjacent territory. For the irrigation of the circumjacent gardens, which are extremely pleasant, the inhabitants are obliged to the afore-said canals, by whose assistance they are continually supplied with proper quantities of water from the *Euphrates*. The

* Idem ibid. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 283. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 277.

soil is exceeding rich, and of a reddish colour, resembling *Bolus Armeniaca*, and in rainy weather, with which *Aleppo* in the spring season is very comfortably refreshed, emits a most grateful odour; whence it comes to pass, that the water drunk out of the cups made of this earth is esteemed to be more wholesome than any other. The river *Kowaik*, that derives its name from the croaking of frogs, which at a certain season of the year are seen in great numbers there, runs close by the town. It has its source to the north of the city, near the town of *Aintâb*, or *Antâb*, and passes by that gate of *Aleppo*, which is called the *Antioch* gate, towards *Kinnisrîn*; beyond which town it loses itself in a place, covered with rushes and reeds, called by *Yacût Ebn Abd'allah* the *red meadow*. *Aleppo* is a very large city, fortified with a wall and towers, all made of stone. It had antiently eight gates only, but has at present ten. Amongst the principal curiosities of the place, may be reckoned the large high artificial mountain that stands in the middle of the town. The city and the suburbs near a century ago contained above thirty streets. *Aleppo* is seated in the province of *Kinnisrîn*, from the city of which name, according to *Abulfeda*, it is about twelve miles distant. The castle was looked upon to be almost impregnable when besieged by the forces of *Omar*, and considered as a place of great strength likewise in the days of *Abulfeda*. It is at present, as it has been for many years, one of the most celebrated empories in the east. That *Aleppo* was the *Berœa* of the antients, sufficiently appears from *Abu Nasr Ebn Hazir* and *Strabo*. It stands about $10^{\circ} 35'$ to the east of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and the latitude assigned it by *Golius* is $36^{\circ} 46' N.$ tho', according to *Dr. Halley*, this has been determined more accurately to be $36^{\circ} 30' N.$ Its longitude has been differently defined by *Ulugh Beigh* and *Abulfeda*. For a fuller and more particular description of this city our readers may have recourse to *Golius*, *D'Herbelot*, several modern travellers of good note, and the eastern geographers γ .

IMMEDIATELY after *Youkinna* had shut himself up in the *but in* castle, a council of war was held in the *Moslem* camp, where-*vain*. in it was deliberated what measures were to be pursued on the present occasion; and all the principal officers of the army assisted at those deliberations. Some were of opinion, that the citadel should be besieged in form by one part of the army, whilst the other was sent out to forage. But *Khâled*, whose

γ AL WAKED. ubi sup. ABULFED. AL AZIZ. STRAB. ABU NASR EBN HAZIR, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 270—276. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 423. PHILOSOPH. TRANSACT. N^o 218. p. 173. LOWTHORP'S abridg. of the Philosoph. Transact. vol. i. p. 652. & vol. iii. p. 525.

judgment' was generally followed, thought it most advisable to attack the castle with all the *Arab* forces, that they might be able to reduce it before any supplies could be sent it from the emperor. In pursuance of this advice, *Abu Obeidab* caused the citadel to be invested, and soon after he had surrounded it with all his forces, he made a most vigorous assault. The besieged defended themselves with great bravery; and, after a very warm dispute, drove the enemy to their camp. As they threw a vast number of stones out of their military engines in this action, they destroyed abundance of the besiegers, and wounded many more. This encouraged *Youkinna* to make a sally, with a strong party of the garison, in the dead of the following night. The fires being then out in the *Moslem* camp, and the besiegers not expecting so unseasonable a visit, *Youkinna* killed sixty of them upon the spot, and carried off with him fifty prisoners into the castle. However, being briskly attacked by *Khâled*, who soon drew together a body of troops to oppose him, in his retreat, he lost about 100 men. The prisoners were beheaded by *Youkinna's* order, the next day, in sight of the *Moslem* camp. *Youkinna* then receiving advice, that a strong detachment of the *Arabian* cavalry was sent out to forage, ordered a body of his horse to drive them to their camp, and clear the country of them; which they did accordingly, killing 130 of them in the action, and seizing all their camels, horses, &c. and then retired into the mountains. Here they proposed to lie concealed till the following night, and then return to the castle. But *Abu Obeidah* being informed of what had happened by some of those who had escaped the fury of the *Christians* in the late engagement, he detached *Khâled* and *Derâr* with a body of troops to pursue the *Greeks*, and revenge the late affront. *Khâled*, therefore, was conducted by some of the fugitives to the place where the action happened, and received intelligence there of the route the *Christians* had taken. Upon this, he possessed himself of the only passage by which they could return to the castle, and posted there in ambuscade a party of his men, whose courage he could depend upon. The *Greeks*, not apprehensive of any danger, as being perfectly ignorant of the enemy's motions, advanced to this passage, when about a fourth part of the night was past, in order to rejoin their countrymen, who defended the castle; but, upon their arrival there, they were surprized by the *Arabs*, who fell upon them so briskly, that they took 300 of them prisoners, and put all the rest to the sword. The prisoners, in order to retaliate *Youkinna's* cruelty the day before, were all brought out the next morning before the castle, and beheaded in sight of the garison there. Some of the oriental writers believe, that *Aleppo* was built by the *Amalekites*,
after

after they had been expelled their native country by *Jafna*; and that one of the principal of these founders was called *Haleb*, from whom the new city derived its name; but others are of a different opinion. Be that as it will, that this place is of a very high antiquity, and made a very considerable figure in antient times, is universally allowed².

NOTWITHSTANDING the late disaster, the garison made *He conti-* several sallies with good success, wherein they killed the be- *nues the* siegers a great number of men, and harassed them in such a *siege*; manner, that *Abu Obeidah* found himself obliged, for his farther security, to remove his camp to about a mile's distance from the castle. He had likewise a farther view in this point of conduct. He imagined, that, after such a step was taken, *Youkinna* would be less upon his guard, and afford him an opportunity of taking the citadel by surprize. But the *Greek* commander, by the prudent measures he took, frustrated his expectations. *Abu Obeidah* perceiving all his designs unsuccessful, had a strong suspicion that he was betrayed by some *Christian* spies lurking about the camp, who gave the enemy secret intelligence of what was transacting there. This induced him to cause a strict search to be made. Upon which, *Khâled*, who assisted herein, discovered a *Christian Arab*, of the tribe of *Ghassân*, who, upon examination, appeared to be a spy, employed by *Youkinna* to procure him intelligence of the *Moslems* designs. In fine, he owned his crime, and confessed, that he had had several accomplices, who were returned to the castle; but avoided death by professing himself a *Mohammedan*. It may not be improper here to observe, that the principal tribes of the *Arabs* that embraced *Christianity*, were those of *Hamyar*, *Ghassân*, *Rabiâ*, *Taghlab*, *Babrá*, *Tondch*, part of the tribes of *Tay* and *Kodâa*, the inhabitants of *Najrán*, and the *Arabs* of *Hira*. The kings of *Hira* were lieutenants over the *Arabs* of *Irâk* for the kings of *Persia*, as the kings of *Ghassân*, the last of whom was *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham*, mentioned above, were for the *Roman* emperors over those of *Syria*².

THO' the siege of the citadel continued above four months *but with-* after the last-mentioned blow given by *Khâled* to the garison, *out effect.* the *Moslem* general had scarce any prospect of bringing it to a happy conclusion. Nor had he any thing material to write to the *Khalif*; which made the *Arabian* pontiff very uneasy. He, therefore, wrote to *Abu Obeidah*, to let him know, that

² AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. AL AZIZ. GOLA not. ad Alfragan. p. 274. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup.

* AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL MOSTATRAF, POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 137, & alib. PROCOR. in Pers. apud Photium, p. 71, &c.

he was extremely concerned at his long silence, and therefore ordered him to give him an account of the present situation of his affairs in *Syria*. That general, upon this, dispatched a courier to the *Khalif*, with advice, that *Alhâdir*, *Kinnisrin*, and the city of *Aleppo*, had surrendered to him; and that the citadel of *Aleppo* was the only place in that part of the country which held out against him, before which he had lost a considerable number of men. This, continued he, had induced him to entertain thoughts of raising the siege, and moving with his army into that tract which lay between *Antioch* and *Aleppo*; but that he would remain in his camp till the return of the courier with farther orders. This news was by no means agreeable to the *Khalif*, who commanded him at all events to continue the siege, and sent him a reinforcement of *Arab* troops, together with seventy camels, to assist the foot in their march, with all possible expedition. This inspired new life into the *Moslems*, who began to be greatly dejected at the losses they had sustained. The *Khalif* was very well pleased with that part of *Abu Obeidab's* letter, which informed him of the surrender of *Aleppo*; which, he apprehended, would facilitate the reduction of the castle. It is intimated by *Golius*, that *Ayyad Ebn Ganem*, either at this juncture, or at least somewhere about this time, took possession of that town; and afterwards made an irruption into *Mesopotamia* ^b.

At last he takes the citadel by a stratagem.

In the body of troops sent by *Omar* to reinforce his army before the castle of *Aleppo*, there was an *Arab* of a gigantic size, called *Dames*, who was a man of great courage and resolution. Tho' the *Moslems*, in pursuance of the *Khalif's* orders, had carried on the siege with all the vigour they were capable of, yet very little progress had been made therein for forty-seven days after *Dames's* arrival in the camp; which induced him to meditate the reduction of that fortress by a stratagem, as it seemed so difficult a thing to effect it by force. He, therefore, desired that *Abu Obeidab* would assign him the command of a party, consisting only of thirty men; which, at *Khâled's* request, was readily granted. Then he begged the general to raise the siege, and pitch his tents at about three miles distance from the castle; which petition likewise was immediately complied with. The following night, *Dames*, who had posted himself with his party very near the citadel, found means to seize a *Greek* belonging to the garrison, from whom, by the assistance of a *Christian Arab* he had taken, who served him for an interpreter, he learned several agreeable particulars. The *Greek* informed him, that, after the siege was raised, *Youkinna* had exacted large sums of mo-

^b AL WAKED. ubi sup. GOLII. not. ad Alfragan. p. 273.

ney of the citizens, in order to punish them for the treaty they had concluded with the *Arabs*; and that he was one of those who had endeavoured to make their escape from the oppression of such a tyrant, by leaping down from the wall. This man *Dames* took under his protection, by virtue of the submission made by the townsmen to *Abu Obeidah*; but beheaded five or six others, who fell into his hands, and could give no good account of themselves. He then covered his back and shoulders with a goat's skin, with which he had provided himself for that purpose, and took a dry crust in his hand, creeping gradually on the ground till he got close to the foot of the wall. If he heard any noise, or suspected any person to be near, in order to prevent being discovered, he made such a noise with his crust as a dog does when he is gnawing a bone; his companions sometimes walking, and sometimes creeping along after him in the same manner that he did. He had before dispatched two of his men to *Abu Obeidah*, to desire that a detachment of horse might be sent him by break of day, to support his small party, and facilitate the execution of the plan he had formed. At last *Dames* found an opportunity of raising seven men upon his shoulders, who stood upon one another's shoulders in such a manner that the highest of them reached the top of the wall. Here he soon placed himself, seized a watchman he found asleep, and threw him down amongst his companions, who immediately cut him to pieces. Two others in the same condition he stabbed with his dagger, and sent them after the former. Then he laid down his turban, and drew up the second of his brethren, as they two did the third. By this method, at last, *Dames* himself, and the remainder of his men, were enabled to mount the wall. The commander having enjoined silence, went himself to see what posture the governor was in; and at last met with an opportunity of observing him, and that without being discovered himself, engaged in discourse with his officers, for whom he had prepared an entertainment, probably on account of *Abu Obeidah's* raising the siege of the castle, and not in the least apprehensive of any impending danger. Then *Dames* privately stabbed the centry posted at every gate, and, by favour of the night, put his men in possession of them all, without opposition. However, the soldiers of the garrison were at last alarmed, and surrounded the *Arabs*. The latter defended themselves for some time with great bravery; but being bore down by the multitude of the former, they were upon the point of perishing; when *Kbâled*, with a detachment of cavalry advanced to their relief. As soon as that general, who was grown terrible to the *Christians*, appeared, the besieged threw down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. *Koukinna*, and some of the principal

cial officers, in order to have their wives, children, and riches, restored to them, turned *Mohammedans*; tho' others chose rather to lose every thing that was dear and valuable to them, than to give their consciences a mortal wound, by preferring to the sublime truths of *Christianity* the crude absurdities and blasphemous effusions of a most infamous impostor. The castle being taken by storm, it was pillaged by the *Moslems*; *Abu Obeidab* reserving a fifth part of the spoil, which was very valuable, in compliance with an injunction in the *Korân*, and dividing the rest amongst his troops. Dames acquired great glory on this occasion; and, out of complaisance to him, the army did not decamp from *Aleppo* before he and his men were perfectly cured of their wounds. From the account of the aforesaid siege inserted here, it plainly appears, that the citadel of *Aleppo* was a place of very great strength; and this it continued to be in the days of *Ismael Abulfeda*, as we learn from the express words of that celebrated historian c.

The Mos-
lems take
Aazâz.

AFTER the reduction of the citadel of *Aleppo*, *Abu Obeidab* intended to have marched with his army to *Antioch*, in order to oblige that city likewise, then the seat of the *Greek* emperor, to submit to the *Khalif*. But he was diverted from carrying that design into execution by *Youkinna*, who was now become a violent enemy of the *Christians*. He told the *Moslem* general, that his conquest of that part of the country would not be complete till he had taken the castle of *Aazâz*, a place of great importance, where *Theodorus*, his cousin-german, was then commandant. This fortress he proposed to make himself master of, by putting himself at the head of 100 *Arab* horse, dressed in the *Greek* habit, who were to attend him to *Aazâz*. Upon his arrival there, he was to assure his cousin *Theodorus*, that he was still in reality a *Christian*, and had taken that opportunity to escape from the *Moslem* camp. But to make this story appear the more probable, *Abu Obeidab* was to send after him a detachment of 1000 horse, who were to pursue him as far as *Morah*, a village in the neighbourhood of *Aazâz*, with orders to post themselves there; from whence, if such a measure should be judged necessary, they might easily advance to *Aazâz*, to facilitate the conquest of that place. *Youkinna* having prevailed upon *Abu Obeidab* to approve of his scheme, marched at the head of 100 *Arab* horse, who appeared like *Greeks*, to *Aazâz*; but was, with all his men, immediately taken prisoner by *Theodorus*, to whom the whole affair had been discovered by an *Arab* of the

c AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL AZIZ. apud ISM. ABULFED. in geograph. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid.

tribe of *Ghassân*, then a spy in the *Moslem* camp, by means of a pigeon that had carried a letter to him from thence, tied under one of its wings, To oppose the *Moslems* on this occasion, *Theodorus* had assembled a body of 3000 *Greeks*, and 10000 *Christian Arabs*, besides some other forces that marched to his assistance out of the neighbouring villages. He also expected a reinforcement of 500 horse from the governor of *Arrawendân*, to whom he had sent an account of the intelligence he had received. With these troops he doubted not, but he should be able to make a stand against the *Moslems*. In the mean time, *Abu Obeidah* sent a detachment of 1000 horse, under the command of *Malec Al Asbtari*, after *Youkinna*, in the manner concerted between him and the *Moslem* general, which advanced to *Morab*. This village *Malec* found the inhabitants had abandoned at his approach; however, he intercepted a *Christian Arab* here, who informed him, that *Theodorus* was apprized of *Youkinna*'s design, and made great preparations to oppose him. Soon after, *Malec* fell in with the five hundred *Arrawendânian* horse, sent to the assistance of the governor of *Aazâz*, and made them all, with *Lucas*, the prefect, at their head, prisoners. Then ordering his men to disguise themselves in their cloaths, and to take the *Christian* colours in their hands, he advanced to *Aazâz*. But before he reached that fortress, he dispatched *Thârik Al Ghassâni*, the *Arab* he had intercepted, who, at his request, had professed himself a *Moslem*, to *Theodorus*, to inform him that the governor of *Arrawendân* was on his march, and would soon join him with a body of 500 horse. This, in all probability, of itself would have produced the desired effect; but *Malec* was introduced into the town by an accident altogether unforeseen, that rendered him master of *Aazâz*, without the least effusion of *Moslem* blood. *Theodorus* had committed *Youkinna*, and the other prisoners, to the care of his son *Leon*; who being desperately in love with *Youkinna*'s daughter, whom he had sometimes visited at *Alexpo*, released them all, restored their arms, and admitted *Malec*'s detachment into the castle. His elder brother *Lucas*, at *Leon*'s instigation, killed his father *Theodorus*, at that time, as *Al Walkedi* relates, asleep and intoxicated with wine. It was no difficult matter for the *Moslems*, after this, to possess themselves of the castle of *Aazâz*. The two pious youths above-mentioned renounced the *Christian* faith, embraced *Mohammedism*, and were received by the *Moslems* with open arms. Nay, *Malec* himself caressed them both in an extraordinary manner, and was pleased to confer upon the parricide his particular benediction. The forces assembled by *Theodorus*, at the approach of the *Arabs*, had taken care to disperse themselves. However, there still remained in the castle

castle 1000 young men, 245 old men and monks, 1000 young women and girls, and 180 old women; all which the *Moslems* probably carried into captivity. Then leaving *Saad Ebn Amer* with a garison of 100 men at *Aazâz*, *Malec* marched with the spoil he had acquired in this expedition to *Aleppo*. Nothing can give a more just portrait of *Islamism*, and the infernal disposition of its professors, at least in the time of *Omar*, than the conduct of *Malec* on this occasion, which was authorized by the example of *Mohammed* himself. That impostor oftener than once, when other means failed, carried his point by assassinations, as has been already observed. The castle of *Aazâz*, mentioned here by *Al Wakedi*, seems to be the *Ezzaza*, or *Azaza*, of *Abulfeda*, a town with a citadel of considerable strength, situated in a very pleasant part of the territory of *Aleppo*, to the N. W. of that place. Another *Arab* author assures us, that in his time the inhabitants of this place breathed a very salubrious air, and had many wells or fountains which supplied them with excellent water. He also pretends, that no scorpions would then live amongst them. Besides this, there is another *Azaza*, not far from *Rakka*, the *Areka*, *Arekka*, or *Nicephorion*, of the antients, in *Mesopotamia*. That city is seated on the *Euphrates*, and supposed by *Goli* to be the same place with *Araçta*, where the famous *Albatâni*, whom we shall probably have occasion hereafter to mention, made his astronomical observations. *Abulfeda* assigns the *Azaza* in the district of *Aleppo*, or the *Aazâz* of *Al Wakedi*, long. 61° 55', lat. 36° 0' d.

Haïm
Ebn Jaba-
lah Ebn
Al Ay-
ham de-
feats a
Moslem
detach-
ment.

WHILST *Malec* was on his march for *Aleppo*, he was joined by a *Moslem* detachment of 1000 horse, under the command of *Al Fadl Ebn Al Abbâs*, whom *Abu Obeidab* had sent to plunder all the villages about *Manbij*. This he had effectually done, and was with the spoil on his route to the *Moslem* camp. There were in *Al Fadl's* detachment about two hundred renegado's, who had formerly served under *Youkinna* in the castle of *Aleppo*, and with him likewise had renounced the *Christian* faith. These *Youkinna* desired *Al Fadl* to permit to march under his orders to *Antioch*, that he might have an opportunity of doing some service to the *Khalif*, by their assistance, there. This being granted, he, with four friends that he could intirely con-

^d AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed, c. xxx. p. 64, & alib. AL JANNAB. p. 102, & alib. AL TABAR. apud Al Makin; ut & ipse AL MAKIN, ibid. JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Ism. Abulfed. de vit. Mohamm. ubi sup. & la vie de Mahom. tom. i. p. 351, 352, & alib. EBN SAID, apud Ism. Abulfed. in geogr. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. BOHADIN EBN SJEDDAD, in vit. Salad. p. 51. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. PTOL. geogr. lib. v. c. 15. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 252, 253, 254, 255.

side in, struck out into a by-way that led to *Antioch*, the other renegado's being commanded to keep the high road to that place. *Youkinna* and his friends soon met with a party of imperial horse, that seized them, and conducted them to *Antioch*. *Youkinna* being brought before his old master *Heraclius*, who then resided at *Antioch*, informed him, that "he was still a *Christian*, tho', in order to be the more capable of serving his imperial majesty, he had pretended to be a *Moslem*; and that he had taken the opportunity of flying to him from *Aazaz*, solely with a view of demonstrating his fidelity to him." This open and explicit declaration made such an impression upon the emperor, that he did not only constitute him the commander of the 200 men; who, as he pretended, had made their escape with him, and who arrived soon after him at *Antioch*, but also sent him with a body of 2200 men, to conduct his youngest daughter, then in a place at a considerable distance from home, to court. *Youkinna*, with the troops under his command, who served the princess for an escorte, being on his return to *Antioch*, received advice from some of his advanced guards, that he would soon come up with a party of *Arabs* asleep, with their horses feeding by them, all of whom he might easily put to the sword. But *Youkinna* taking these to be *Moslems*, whom he had a secret inclination to serve to the utmost of his power, commanded them to be taken prisoners, in order to be exchanged for some *Christians* that *Abu Obeidab* had still in his hands. However, they happened to be not *Moslems*, but *Christian Arabs*, of the tribe of *Ghassan*, under the conduct of *Haim Ebn Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham*, who had surprized a *Moslem* detachment, commanded by *Derar*, that had been foraging in the northern parts of *Syria*. *Derar* himself was taken prisoner, with 200 of his men, and many of the *Moslems* likewise were killed in the action. *Youkinna* paid his respects to *Haim* in a very complaisant, tho' at the same time hypocritical, manner, and congratulated him upon his good success. We are told by *Al Wakedi*, that when the prisoners were brought into the emperor's presence, they refused to approach him with those marks of homage and submission that his subjects did, which they termed adoration; and that *Derar* being asked the reason of this, replied, that their prophet had forbidden them to pay adoration to any creature. The emperor then proposed several questions to *Kais Ebn Amer*, an old man, one of them, concerning *Mohammed*. Amongst others, he asked him, "By what signs or tokens their prophet perceived himself inspired, when he first set up for a reformer?" To which *Kais*, almost in *Mohammed's* own words, made answer, "Sometimes he heard a sound resembling that of a bell, but

“stronger and sharper; sometimes an angel in a human
 “shape appeared to him, and discoursed with him upon va-
 “rious subjects, and once, according to *Ayesha*, the spirit
 “of prophecy descended upon him on a very cold day, and,
 “after its departure, he was in a violent sweat. The first
 “message,” continued he, “that he received, was in a
 “dream; others were imparted to him in visions, which
 “resembled the morning brightness. At such times he con-
 “fined himself in some solitary place, till the TRUTH ap-
 “peared. Once an angel approaching him, said READ; to
 “which he replied he could not read, as being perfectly illi-
 “terate: upon which the command was repeated, and at-
 “tended with a promise, that GOD, who had inspired man
 “with the art of writing, would graciously remedy this de-
 “fect in him. At another time, being on mount *Harâ*, and
 “hearing himself called, he looked upwards, and saw the
 “angel *Gabriel* on a throne, between heaven and earth; at
 “which sight being greatly terrified, he returned to his wife
 “*Khadjah*, and said to her, *Zammilouni, zammilouni*;
 “*Wrap me up, wrap me up*: after which, the angel descend-
 “ed, and revealed to the prophet the words that form
 “part of the seventy-third, and seventy-fourth, chapter
 “of the *Korân*.” Then the emperor demanded of *Kais*,
 “Whether he had ever been an eye-witness of any of *Mo-*
 “*hammed*’s miracles?” To which question *Kais* replied,
 “that he was once with *Mohammed*, when he pressed an ido-
 “latrous *Arab* to acknowledge that there was only one GOD,
 “and that he was his prophet. This the *Arab* refused to do,
 “unless *Mohammed* could produce some witness to attest the
 “reality of his mission: upon which, the prophet calling a
 “tree to him, that stood at some distance, it instantly obeyed
 “him, came erect to him, plowing up the ground with its
 “roots, and said three times aloud, *Thou art the apostle of*
 “*GOD*. After which, it returned to its former place.” Then
Kais, in answer to several other questions, assured the emperor,
 “that every virtuous action, according to the principles of
 “the *Moslems*, would be intitled to a tenfold reward; but
 “every evil one would be punished precisely according to the
 “degree of its demerit; that their prophet was the witness
 “in this world, and would be that in the world to come;
 “that he really performed a night-journey to heaven, actu-
 “ally conversed there with GOD himself, and received several
 “institutions immediately from him; and that they were all
 “of them obliged to fast the month of *Ramadân*, in which, on
 “the night *Al Kadr*, the *Korân* was sent down from heaven.”
 All which he endeavoured to support by passages taken out
 of the *Korân*. This impious deduction of falsehoods so in-

censed a venerable bishop, who was present at the conference, that he could not forbear uttering some things that seemed to reflect upon *Mohammed*; which so exasperated *Derâr Ebn Al Azwar*, one of the prisoners, that he gave him the most opprobrious language, affirming, that *Mohammed* was a prophet divinely inspired, but that the knowledge of such an excellent truth was intercepted from him by the veil of infidelity. This language, says *Al Wakedi*, so provoked some of the *Christians* who heard it, that they drew their swords, to chastise his insolence, and made fourteen pushes at him; but he was delivered from them in a most wonderful and surprizing manner. However, he would have been immediately executed, by the emperor's command, had not *Toukinna* procured a respite for him. These circumstances we could not omit inserting here, as they are a clear and incontestable proof of the enthusiastic genius and disposition of the *Arabs* in the days of *Omar*. The *Moslem* general treated with uncommon marks of distinction both *Malec*, who had acquired such reputation at *Axâz*, and *Al Fadl*, who had so effectually pillaged the villages in the neighbourhood of *Manbij*, after their return to *Aleppo*. It may not be improper to observe, that *Manbij* was a city of the province of *Kinnisrin*, situated in a plain, about two days journey from *Aleppo*, and one from the *Euphrates*. It seems to have derived its name from a *Magian* temple called *Manba*, erected on a spot at a small distance from it, by one of the *Persian* kings, surnamed *Khostrâ*, who subjugated *Syria*. It has been proved by *Goli*us to answer to the *Hierapolis* of *Ælian*, *Appian*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. It was famous for the worship of the goddess *Atargatis*, *Derceto*, *Athara*, *Astbara*, or *Astarte*; by all which names that deity went. There stood a little fortified town on the *Euphrates*, the fields adjacent to which were irrigated and fertilized by the water of that river, called the *Bridge of Manbij*; which is supposed by *Goli*us to have been the *Zeugma* of the antients. The temple of the *Dea Syria*, or the *Dea Hierapolitana*, who was the *Syrian* or *Phœnician Astarte*, was immensely rich when it was plundered by *Crassus*, as we learn from *Appian*. Some think, that the *Magian* temple above-mentioned was the temple of the *Syrian* goddess taken notice of by the antients; and that it was converted into a FIRE-TEMPLE by one of the latter *Persian* kings, surnamed *Khostrâ*. Be that as it will, our learned readers will find a very large and curious description of *Manbij* drawn up by *Goli*us, to whom, for their farther satisfaction in this particular, we shall beg leave to refer them*.

AFTER

* AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xcvi, lxxiii, lxxiv, vi, xl, xlviii, xxxiii, &c. SALE'S notes on the KOR. f. xcvi, lxxiii, lxxiv.

Abu
Obeidah
advances
to the Iron
Bridge
near An-
tioch ;

AETER *Abu Obeidah* had been rejoined by all his detachments, which he had sent out on different occasions, he begun his march to *Antioch*, which he proposed to reduce to the obedience of the *Khalif*. He made himself master of several fortified places, that surrendered to him on his march, and then advanced to the bridge called the *Iron bridge*, at a very small distance from *Antioch*. In the mean time, the emperor appointed the treacherous *Youkinna* governor of that city, constituting him at the same time commander of all his forces on that side, and delivered to him a crucifix that was never exposed to public view, but upon very extraordinary occasions. The emperor then, being informed of the approach of the *Moslem* army, discovered an inclination to put all the prisoners taken by *Haïm Ebn Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham* to death ; but was diverted from that design by *Youkinna*, who represented to him, that it would be better to exchange them for an equal number of *Christian* captives, that either had or might fall into the hands of the *Arabs*. *Amer Ebn Refâa*, one of them, embraced the *Christian* religion, and was baptized in the great church of *Antioch*. His conversion, says *Al Wakedi*, in this point possibly not quite an impartial writer, was effected more by the dress and beauty of the *Greek* ladies, of whom he was a vast admirer, than any conviction of conscience. Be that, however, as it will, this event gave his father *Refâa* infinite uneasiness and concern ; who, upon hearing the first news of it, broke out into a very passionate exclamation, too large to be described here. After his baptism, he was received with great kindness both by the bishops and the emperor. The latter of whom made him a present of a young woman and a horse ; and then ordered him to be incorporated in the body of *Arab* troops commanded by *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham*. The patriarch asked the other prisoners, what hindered them from following his example ? To which they answered, " The truth of our religion." The patriarch then represented to them the danger to which they exposed themselves, by displeasing *JESUS CHRIST*. To which they replied, that " it would one day be seen which party was rejected, and which in the favour of God." The emperor desired to know what could induce the *Khalif* to appear in such mean and sordid attire, so different from that of other princes, when he had taken so much wealth from the *Christians* ? *Refâa* told

lxxiv. ISM. ABULFED. in geogr. YACUT, ALIAN. hist. animal. lib. xii. cap. 11. APPIAN. in Pautic, p. 223. PLIN. lib. v. cap. 23, 24. STRAB. lib. xvi. STEPH. BYZANT. THEOPHAN. chronograph. Vide etiam GOLLU not. ad Alfragan. p. 260, 261, 262. & CHRIST. CELLAR. geograph. antiq. lib. iii. c. 12. p. 428. Lipsiæ, 1706.

him,

him, "The consideration of the other world, and the fear of
 "GOD." The emperor asked them farther, what sort of a
 palace the *Khalif* had? They answered, "One of mud."
 "Who," said he, "are his attendants?" "Beggars," re-
 plied they, "and poor people." "What tapestry does he sit
 "upon?" "Justice and equity." "What is his throne?"
 "Abstinence and certain knowledge." "What is his treasure?"
 "Trust in GOD." "Who are his guards?" "The stoutest
 "of the UNITARIANS." To which they added, "Knowest
 "thou not, O king! that some have said to him, O *Omar*!
 "thou possessest the treasures of the *Cæsars*; kings and great
 "men are also subdued unto thee; why, therefore, puttest
 "thou not on rich garments? To whom he made answer,
 "Ye seek the outward world, but I the favour of him who
 "is Lord both of that and the other. A sort of enthusiastic
 and fanatical cant this, extremely similar to that which pre-
 vailed in our own nation about a century ago, and even not
 at present grown into absolute disuse amongst us; which,
 whatever disposition it may be intended to exhibit, in reality
 points out nothing, for the most part, to the sober, rational,
 and we may add, the virtuous part of mankind, but SATANICAL
 HYPOCRISY, to adopt the very terms made use of by
Theophanes and *Cedrenus* on the present occasion ^f.

ABU OBEIDAH being arrived at the *Iron Bridge*, in the ^{and takes} neighbourhood of *Antioch*, with all his forces, made the pro- ^{the two} per dispositions for attacking that important post. The two ^{towers} towers erected there were places of considerable strength, and ^{there.} furnished with numerous garisons, that were commanded by 300 officers. But they surrendered to the *Moslem* general, without making any defence. A certain great man coming one day from court to visit these towers, and see what condition they were in, as he generally did once a day at this dangerous conjuncture, observed a total neglect of duty; the soldiers being engaged in drinking and riotous living, and having deserted all their posts. Incensed at such an intolerable relaxation of discipline as this, he ordered them fifty lashes a-piece; which inspired them with vindictive sentiments. As soon, therefore, as *Abu Obeidah* with his army appeared, they proposed to him a capitulation, which he immediately signed; and they, in consequence of this, delivered the towers into his hands. This is a full and incontestable proof of the great degeneracy of the *Greeks*, and of the irrecoverable loss of discipline amongst their troops, at this fatal period; which will of itself, even without the additional considerations that have

^f AL WAKED. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 281.
 GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 426, 427.

already been offered, enable us to account for the rapid progress, made at this time by the *Moslems*, in the conquest of Syria *.

An attempt to assassinate the Khalif WHEN the emperor received advice of the surrender of the Iron Bridge, and that it had submitted to the *Arabs* in so ignominious a manner, he could not forbear giving *Antioch* to the Khalif self up for lost, nor bewailing the unhappy fate of Syria. This being observed by *Jabalab Ebn Al Aybam*, king of *Ghassân*, he told him, that however embroiled his affairs might then appear, they would be perfectly re-established by an assassination of the *Khalif*. He, therefore, undertook to perform this piece of service for the emperor; and dispatched one *Watbek Ebn Mosâfer*, an Arab of his tribe, and a resolute young man, to *Medina* for that purpose. *Watbek*, some time after his arrival there, observing *Omar* to fall asleep under a tree on which he had placed himself, so as not to be discovered by any person whatsoever, drew his dagger, and was upon the point of stabbing him, when, lifting up his eyes, he saw a lion walking round about him, and licking his feet. Nor did the lion cease to guard the *Khalif* till he awoke; but then instantly went away. This struck *Watbek* with a most profound reverence for *Omar*, whom he now looked upon as the peculiar care of heaven. He, therefore, came down from the tree, on which the lion had forced him to remain, kissed the *Khalif's* hand, confessed his crime, and embraced the *Mohammedan* religion; being so strongly affected with the wonderful deliverance he had been an eye-witness of. In the mean time, the *Moslem* and *Christian* armies before *Antioch* were drawn up in order of battle. *Nestorius*, one of *Heraclius's* commanders, challenged any man in the *Moslem* army to fight him in single combat, before the beginning of the action. This challenge was accepted by *Dames*, who had distinguished himself on a former occasion, and a combat was accordingly fought. But *Dames's* horse stumbling in the engagement, he was seized before he could recover himself, and carried bound to *Nestorius's* tent. This affair being over, *Nestorius* engaged, in a second combat, one *Debâc*, who behaved with great bravery and resolution. The multitude of soldiers on both sides that assembled to see the combatants, was so great and tumultuous, that they overturned *Nestorius's* tent; and, in the hurry and confusion which this occasioned, *Dames*, who was there confined, found means to make his escape. Nothing decisive happened between *Nestorius* and *Debâc*, who were so equally matched that they found them-

* AL WAKED. ubi sup. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 19. SALE's prelim. discours. sect. iii. p. 36, &c.

selves obliged to part by consent. Whilst these things happened, *Youkinna* remained within the city, and turned all the power he enjoyed against his natural sovereign, who had intrusted him with it. He not only released all the prisoners taken by *Haim Ebn Jabalah* above-mentioned, and restored them their arms, but likewise assured them, that many persons of quality engaged in the emperor's service were disposed to a revolt. This coming to that prince's ears, he began absolutely to despond; and being at the same time greatly terrified by his crown's falling from his head, and a bad dream, in which a person seemed to thrust him out of his throne, both of which he interpreted as ill omens, he left his troops in and about *Antioch* to themselves, and embarked for *Constantinople* with some of his domestics, that had attended him privately to the sea-shore. In fine, tho' *Heraclius* was a prince of admirable courage and conduct, had done what possibly could be done to restore the discipline of the army, and had had great success against the *Persians*; yet the very vitals of the empire seemed then to have been mortally wounded; so that the *Arabs*, by reason of the extreme degeneracy of the *Greeks*, who were at this time become even the very scum of mankind, found it no difficult matter to carry the vast designs they had formed into execution ^a.

AFTER the two combats above-mentioned, which had no Abu great effect either upon the *Christian* or the *Moslem* affairs, Obeidah the two armies came to a general action. The *Christians* at over-first behaved with a good degree of bravery and resolution; ^{throws} but, through the treachery of *Youkinna* and several other persons of note, as well as the activity of *Derâr* and his companions, who were intermixed with *Youkinna's* men, they were ^{the Christians, and} at last overthrown with very great slaughter. This defeat, ^{takes An-} which rendered the *Greeks* incapable of making any farther resistance, occasioned the loss of *Antioch*. The people of the town perceiving the battle lost, surrendered immediately to *Abu Obeidah*, and paid him down the sum demanded of them, which amounted to 300,000 *dinârs*. After which, the *Moslem* general triumphantly entered the town. This, according to *Al Wakedî*, happened on Tuesday, August 21st, in the year of our Lord 638, and the 17th year of the *Hejra*. *Antioch*, or *Antiochia*, called by the *Arabs* *Antakiyah*, or *Anthakia*, was seated upon the *Orontes*, and stiled the head, or metropolis, of *Syria* by *Strabo*. It was a city of a very large extent, stood in a fertile pleasant province, abounding with wells or fountains, and about a day's journey from the *Mediterranean*.

^a AL WAKED. ubi sup. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 19, 20. THEOPHAN. in vit. Heracl. SALE, ubi sup.

The walls were built of stone, being extremely strong and thick; and, besides them, the place was fortified with a very considerable number of towers, which rendered it capable of sustaining a long siege. It was founded by *Seleucus Nicator*, who, from his father *Antiochus*, denominated it *Antioch*, or *Antiochia*. The same prince also built another city, that, from himself, he called *Seleucia*; a third, to which, from his wife *Apama*, he gave the name of *Apamea*; and a fourth, that, from his mother, he named *Laodicea*. *Antioch* consisted of four cities, and for that reason was stiled *Tetrapolis* by *Strabo*. It may now be considered as a large village, if not a collection of villages; many fields, pastures, and gardens, as well as houses, being contained within the remains of the antient walls, which are still to be seen. The houses are inhabited chiefly by *Christians* and *Jews*; not many of the *Turks* being settled there. The patriarchal see, which formerly rendered this city so famous, was long since translated to *Damascus*; so that the person who now supplies the place of the patriarch can scarce be looked upon as equal to an acolyte. Some traces of *Christian* antiquity are still visible in the northern part of the place, which have been touched upon by several authors. The lake of *Antioch*, about three miles distant from the remains of the town, is about twenty miles long, and seven broad. The tract to which this belongs is called *Alamk*. Into this lake three rivers disembogue themselves; the *Ifrin*, which moves in an eastern direction; the *Aswad*, or black river, which comes from the west; and the *Yagra*, that derives its name from a *Christian* village thro' which it passes. Within the circumference of the walls there are five mountains, and the place was fortified in *Abulfeda's* days by a citadel. The walls were likewise, in the *Moslem* times, both strengthened and adorned with 360 towers. The city had then also five gates. *Ebn Howkel* assigned it the next place to *Damascus*, in point of dignity and pleasantness of situation. *Al Azizi* relates, that the walls were twelve miles in compass. The tomb of the *Moslem* martyr *Habib Alnajar*, held in the highest veneration by the *Mohammedans*, was to be seen here in the time of *Saladin*. *Abulfeda* places *Antioch* in long. 60° 00', and lat. 35° 00'. In fine, the inhabitants of this city, when it was reduced by *Abu Obeidab*, enjoyed such a profusion of delights, that he would not permit his troops to stay there above three days. He imagined that a longer continuance in so charming a place would enervate his men, and render them unfit for action, as well as absolutely incapable of sustaining the fatigues of war.

AEU

! AL WAKED. ubi sup. STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 516. PLIN. lib. v. c. 21. PTOL. lib. v. cap. 15. THEOD. hist. eccles. lib. v. cap. 11.

CIC.

ABU OBEIDAH having thus made himself master of *Antioch*, dispatched an express to the *Khalif* with an account of Obeidah the success that still attended his arms. He informed him, ^{sends the} that *Heraclius* had taken his flight to *Constantinople*; and that, ^{Khalif} by abandoning his subjects in *Syria*, he had thrown *Antioch* ^{advice of} into the hands of the *Moslems*. To which he added, that the *Moslems* had discovered a strong inclination to marry the *Greek* women; which, as a thing not at all conformable to the spirit of the *Korân*, he had forbidden them to do. *Zeid Ebn Wahab*, *Omar Ebn Auf*'s slave, who was employed as an express on this occasion, did not only obtain his master's consent to go to *Medina*, but was likewise manumitted by him, for the alacrity he discovered when *Abu Obeidah* first made choice of him for that service. *Omar*, in answer to his lieutenant in *Syria*, expressed great satisfaction at the reduction of *Antioch*, permitted his subjects who had no families in *Arabia* to marry the *Greek* women, and allowed them the liberty of purchasing as many female slaves as they pleased. In the conclusion of his letter, he commanded *Abu Obeidah* to pursue the enemy into the mountainous part of the country, and to take the most effectual measures to secure the conquests he had made. We are told by *Al Makin*, that *Abu Obeidah* was so much pressed this year, that he was obliged to demand assistance of *Saad Ebn Abu Wakkâs*, who commanded the *Moslem* forces in *Persia*, who sent him a reinforcement of 40,000 men. He also relates, that *Omar* himself came this year to *Damascus*; and that this was the fourth expedition he in person made. But we find neither of the two last particulars mentioned by any other *Arab* historian^k.

SOON after the surrender of *Antioch*, *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, *Khâled* one of the most active of the *Moslem* generals, advanced with ^{takes se-} a body of troops as far as the *Euphrates*, took *Manbij*, *Be-veral* *râa*, *Bales*, or *Balis*, and several other towns. He also ex- ^{towns not} acted of the inhabitants 100,000 *dinârs*, for their present se- ^{far from} curity, and obliged them to submit to an annual tribute, ^{the Eu-} which he imposed upon them, for the time to come. This ^{phrates.} happened in the month of *Al Mobarram*, and the 18th year of the *Héjra*; which answers to *January*, in the year of our Lord 638. To what has been already observed of *Manbij*, we must beg leave to add, that it was sometimes called by

CIC. pro Arch. cap. iii. PROCOP. lib. ii. cap. 10. & lib. v. cap. 5. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. 15M. ABULFED. in geogr. EBN HAWKEL & AL AZIZI, apud 15M. Abulfed. ubi sup. BOHAD. vit. & res gest. Salad. p. 86. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 278—282. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geograph. in vit. Salad. &c. ^k AL WAKEDI, ubi sup. AL MAKIN, hist. Saracen. lib. i. cap. 3. p. 23.

the antients *Bambyce*, as well as *Hierapolis*, as we learn from *Pliny*; and that *Manba*, or *Menba*, from whence *Manbij* is apparently derived, seems to be a corruption of the former name. The word *Manba*, or *Menba*, was first used by the *Persians*, after they had made themselves masters of *Bambyce*, or *Hierapolis*; so that the aforesaid corruption, if it be really one, must be imputed to them. This place was famous not only for the worship of *Astarte*, or *Derceto*, as she is called by *Ctesias*, but likewise on account of the sacred fishes, at the head of which that goddess was supposed to have been; a most curious description of which we meet with in *Ælian*. According to *Ebn Hawkel*, it is situated in a plain, whose fields are frequently refreshed with rain, and produce nothing noxious or bitter. All the adjacent territory was formerly covered with a face of plenty, contained many aqueducts, and abounded with mulberry-trees, which supported a vast number of silk-worms, from whence proceeded very considerable quantities of down, or silk-yarn, that was spun by those animals. Hence probably came the *Persic* name *Pambe*, or *Pembe*, pronounced by the *Arabs* *Bambe*, which denoted that kind of down, or yarn. From the *Persic* *Pambe*, or *Pembe*, in all likelihood the *Greek* and *Latin* word *Bombyx*, signifying the same thing, and consequently *Bambyce*, the antient name of *Hierapolis*, taken notice of by *Pliny*, is to be deduced. *Pambe*, *Pembe*, or *Bambe*, some of the orientals might naturally convert into *Mambe*, as *Baalbec* into *Malbec*, *Becca* into *Mecca*, &c. from whence might come the *Arabic* *Menbij*, or *Manbij*, and the *Syriac* *Mabog*. For the *Syrians* frequently expunged *Nun*, as from a great number of instances might easily be evinced. These observations will enable us to emend a passage in *Pliny*, wherein, according to the present reading, that author informs us, that the *Syrians* called *Hierapolis*, or *Bambyce*, *Magog*. For, from what has been advanced, we may infer, that *Magog* there was originally *Mabog*. *Manbij*, according to an oriental geographer, was about ten parasangs distant from *Aleppo*, and three from the *Euphrates*. The longitude assigned *Manbij* by *Abulfeda* is $62^{\circ} 50'$, and the latitude $36^{\circ} 35'$.

BESIDES *Manbij*, *Berâa*, or rather *Bira*, and *Balis*, the *Arabs*, about this time, if not the preceding year, possessed themselves of *Raabân*, *Dulouc*, *Korus*, the *Cyrus*, or *Cyrrbus*,

¹ AL WAKED. ubi sup. PLIN. lib. v. c. 23. STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 517. ÆLIAN. hist. animal. lib. xii. cap. 2. CTESIAS, apud Strabon. ubi sup. LUCIAN. de Dea Syr. ISM. ABULFED. in geogr. EBN HAWKEL, apud Abulfed. ibid. YACUT, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 98, 99, 260, 261, 262, 279. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographi. in vit. Salad. pass.

of the antients, *Tezin*, and several other fortified towns in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates*; nothing now being able to stand before them. *Balis* is a small fortress of *Kinnisrin*, on the western bank of the *Euphrates*. It faces *Arrakka*, or *Arrakka*, on the opposite bank, and stands upon the confines of the deserts of *Shâm* and *Irâk*. It is also, according to *Abulfeda*, about thirteen parasangs of *Arrakka*, and fifteen of *Aleppo*. *Raabân*, or *Rababa*, is likewise seated on the western bank of the *Euphrates*, at no very great distance from *Tadmor*, which stands in a south-western direction from it. *Rababa* has a castle of some strength, and was overturned by an earthquake; but rebuilt by *Saïfo'ddawla*. *Bira* was a little fortified town, with a citadel of considerable strength, on the eastern bank of the *Euphrates*, above the city of *Manbij*, tho' in the district belonging to that place. The longitude assigned it by *Abulfeda* is $62^{\circ} 30'$, and the latitude $36^{\circ} 50'$. As for *Dulouc*, *Korus*, *Tezin*, and other small fortresses, taken about this time by the *Moslems*, and situated in this part of *Syria*, we must refer our curious readers, for a description of them, to *Golius*, and the eastern geographers, who, in this point, will give them full and ample satisfaction ^m.

UPON *Zeid's* arrival from *Medina* at the *Moslem* camp, *Zeid in-Abu Obeidah* perused with great attention the letter he brought wades the to him from the *Khalif*; and finding an order therein to in-mountain-vade the mountainous part of *Syria*, he demanded of the ge-ous parts neral officers, which of them would command the body of of *Syria*. troops destined for that invasion. For some time they were all silent, tho' from what motive their silence proceeded no one could pretend to say. But, at last, *Meisarah Ebn Mesrouk* offered his service, and received from the general a black standard, with the following inscription upon it in white letters: THERE IS BUT ONE GOD; MOHAMMED IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD. The body assigned him for this expedition consisted of 300 *Arabs*, besides 1000 black slaves commanded by *Dames*. *Meisarah*, at the head of his troops, with some difficulty, ascended the mountains, and, with much more, advanced to that part of the tract where the emperor's forces were posted. The cold was so intense on the summits of these mountains, that the *Arabs*, who had always been inured to a hot climate, could scarce sustain the severity of it. For some time, they could not meet with a single person to give them intelligence of the enemy's mo-

^m ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 249, 259, 279, &c. ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup. See also SALE's map of Arabia, prefixed to his preliminary discourse.

tions; but at last they took a *Greek* prisoner, who informed them, that the imperial army, which consisted of 30,000 men, lay incamped upon a spot not above three leagues from them. The prisoner refusing to profess *Islamism*, the *Moslems* cut off his head, and then moved towards the imperial camp. The *Greeks*, having received advice of this invasion of the *Moslems*, advanced to meet them, and quickly appeared in sight. Then the action soon began, and *Meisarah* was hemmed in on all sides, tho' for some time he defended himself with extraordinary bravery. However, being overpowered at last, he was obliged to dispatch a courier to *Abu Obeidah*, to let him know the danger he was in, and to desire a speedy reinforcement. Upon the arrival of the courier at the *Moslem* camp, *Abu Obeidah* instantly detached *Khâled Ebn Al Walid* with a body of 3000 horse, to support *Meisarah*; and, after him, *Ayyad Ebn Ganem*, with 2000 more, for the same purpose. In the mean time, *Abd'allah Ebn Hodâfa*, an *Arab* of distinction, and one of *Omar's* particular favourites, was taken prisoner by the enemy, and sent directly to *Constantinople*. But notwithstanding the advantage gained by the *Greeks*, they thought fit to retire at the approach of the *Moslem* horse, under the conduct of *Khâled*, who was extremely dreaded by the *Christians*, and abandoned in the night all their tents, together with all the rich furniture and most valuable effects in them, to the *Arabs*. However, as *Meisarah* and his men had little knowledge of the country they were in, he did not judge it proper to pursue them, but returned with his detachment to *Abu Obeidah*, and gave him an account of what had happened. This the *Moslem* general took care to notify to *Omar*, who was greatly concerned at the captivity of *Abd'allah Ebn Hodâfa*; and, in order to procure his liberty, wrote to the *Greek* emperor the following letter: "In the
 " name of the most merciful God. Praise be to God, the
 " LORD of all creatures; who hath taken no wife, nor hath
 " he begotten any issue. And the blessing of God be upon
 " *Mohammed*, his prophet and apostle, divinely assisted.
 " From the servant of God, *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, to *He-*
 " *raclius*, king of *Greece*. As soon as this letter shall reach
 " thee, send me the prisoner that is with thee, whose name
 " is *Abd'allah Ebn Hodâfa*. This if thou shalt think proper
 " to do, I shall hope that God will direct and lead thee into
 " the right way. But if thou refusest, I shall send thee men,
 " whom trade and merchandize shall not divert from the re-
 " membrance of God. Health and happiness be upon every
 " one that follows the right way." *Heraclius* having received
 this letter, not only dismissed *Abd'allah Ebn Hodâfa*, but like-
 wise made both him and the courier dispatched to *Constantinople*

tinople by Omar several very valuable presents, and allowed them a sufficient guard to conduct them safe through that part of his territories they were to traverse. He also sent a jewel of very great value as a present to the *Khalif*, who offered it to the jewellers at *Medina*; but they were ignorant of the worth of it. The *Moslems* begged him to keep it for his own use; but that he said he could not answer to the public. Being, therefore, sold, the money paid for it was put into the treasury; of which the *Khalif*, in these early times of *Islamism*, looked upon themselves only as the stewards and managers. They seldom, notwithstanding it was all at their disposal, applied any part of it to their own private use, much less to gratify a luxurious and extravagant taste; but expended it in such a manner as rendered it the most serviceable to the public. We are told by *Al Wakedi*, that several attempts were made at the imperial court to prevail upon *Abdallah Ebn Hodâfa* to drink wine, eat hogs-flesh, and, in fine, to become a *Christian*; but without effect. He was not only tempted by advantageous offers, but likewise menaced, and confined in a room three days together without any sustenance, in order either to induce him by pleasing considerations, or force him by motives of terror, to pay adoration to a crucifix, as well as to eat and drink what was prohibited by the *Koran*; but all the means made use of to draw him out of the paths of *Islamism* proved ineffectual. We are told by *Al Makin*, that *Heraclius* besieged *Hems* with a numerous army in the seventeenth year of the *Hajra*, and was forced by *Abu Obeidah*, after he had received a reinforcement from the *Khalif*, to raise the siege. But from what has been already related here, this seems highly improbable; nor has it been taken notice of by any other, either *Arab* or *Greek*, historian^a.

It has been already observed, that, after the reduction of *Amru Jerusalem*, Omar sent an army, under the command of *Amru Ebn Al As Ebn Al As*, to invade *Egypt*. That general did not march directly into *Egypt*, but remained some time in *Palestine*, in order to take some places that still defended themselves there. As he was advancing to *Cæsarea*, he found the weather extremely cold. It happened during this march, that *Saib Ebn Hamzah*, by eating some grapes, was so chilled that he could scarce keep pace with the army; which being perceived by an old man, that was a *Christian*, he persuaded him and his companions, who had suffered likewise by eating grapes, to drink some wine that he set before them, which he assured them would infallibly cure the disorder they laboured under. In consequence of this advice, they drank so freely of that

^a AL WAKED, ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 23.

liquor, that *Amru* plainly discovered them to be disguised, and even inebriated, upon their arrival in the camp. This so provoked him, that he informed *Abu Obeidah* of the crime they had been guilty of, who immediately ordered them to receive the number of stripes usual on such occasions upon the soles of their feet; which punishment was accordingly inflicted upon them. This so irritated *Sobeih*, that he would have killed the poor man that supplied him with wine, as a remedy for his disorder, had he not before been taken under the protection of the *Moslems*. So strict were the *Arabs* at this time in their observance of that negative precept of the *Koran*, relating to inebriating liquors; tho' some of the commentators on that book have since approved of the moderate use of them. The more received opinion, however, is, that the *Moslems* are not only commanded to abstain from all intoxicating liquors, but likewise never to maintain themselves with the money arising from the sale of them; of which we have given our readers a more particular account in a former part of this work ^o.

And has a
conference
with the
emperor's
son Con-
stantine.

UPON *Amru's* arrival in *Palestine*, he was informed, that *Constantine*, the emperor's son, lay incamped with a body of troops not far from *Cæsarea*, and was very attentive to his motions. That prince frequently sent some of the *Christian Arabs*, whom he employed as spies, into the *Moslem* camp; where one of them, swearing by *CHRIST*, was discovered, and instantly cut to pieces. This rash action gave great offence to *Amru*, who ordered his men for the future to bring all the spies they should detect to him, in order to their examination, before they proceeded to such extremities; especially as it was probable that such spies, in case of conviction, would rather embrace *Islamism* than suffer death. About this time, *Constantine* dispatched a priest to *Amru*, to beg, that he would send an *Emir*, or principal officer, to the *Christian* camp, that he might have a conference with him. This coming to the ears of *Belâl*, a black, or *Ethiopian*, who had formerly been the *Muedhdhin*, or crier, that is, the person who calls the people together to prayers, of the prophet, and valued himself not a little on that account, he desired to be employed on this occasion; which, though not without great difficulty, was at last granted by *Amru*. But *Belâl* having more the appearance of a slave than a principal officer, he was denied

^o AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii. & f. v. JALALO'DDIN, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 696. HADR. RELAND. de relig. Mohammed. lib. i. cap. viii. p. 78, 79. SALE's notes on the Kor. c. ii. p. 25. c. v. p. 94. & c. xvi. p. 219. See also his preliminary discourse, sect. v. p. 122, 123, 124.

admission; which determined *Amru* himself to go in person. Upon his being introduced to *Constantine*, he refused to make use of a seat that was offered him, and took his place cross-legged on the ground, after the *Arab* manner, with his sword upon his thigh, and his lance laid across before him. *Constantine* then told him, that, "as the *Greeks* and *Arabs* were relations, they ought not to make war upon one another." To which *Amru* answered, that "their being of a different persuasion would justify that, however nearly related they might be; but that, for his part, he could discover no consanguinity between the *Koreish* and the *Greeks*." To this *Constantine* replied, "*Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Esau*, were the progenitors both of the *Greeks* and the *Arabs*, who must therefore be related, and consequently they ought not to quarrel about the division of territories, which was made for them by their forefathers." True," said *Amru*, "but that division at present does not subsist. This land was not originally yours, but belonged to the *Amalekites*, who had it before you. *Noah* divided the world amongst his three sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*; to the first of whom he gave *Syria*, and what lies round it, from *Yaman* and *Hadramaut* to *Ammân*. Now all the *Arabs* are the descendants of *Shem*, *Kabtan*, *Tasm*, *Jadis*, and *Amalek*, who was the father of the *Amalekites*. To his son *Ham* *Noah* gave the west and sea-shore, and *Japhet* he left in possession of the tract between the east and the west. We, therefore," continued he, "only desire to have this ancient division restored; to take possession of your fertile territories, rich pastures, pleasant rivers, and stately buildings, and relinquish to you our rocky and barren habitations." The present division," returned *Constantine*, "having been already made, it would be injustice in you not to be content with what has fallen to your share." To which *Amru* made answer, "We are so much better pleased with your manner of living in *Syria* than our own, that we cannot think of leaving so delightful a country till we have made ourselves masters of it. However," continued he, "you may still remain secure in the enjoyment of your large possessions, provided you will either change your religion, or pay the tribute exacted by us of unbelievers." But neither of those conditions pleasing *Constantine*, *Amru* told him, that "he had pointed out to him the means by which he might have saved both himself and his people; but that he was rebellious, like his father *Esau*, who refused to obey his mother. You pretend to be related to us," added he; "but we shall disclaim all manner of consanguinity with you, as long as you persist in your infidelity."

“ lity. Besides, you are descended from *Eſau*, we from *Iſh-*
 “ *mael*. God likewise choſe *Mohammed* to be his laſt great
 “ prophet, and had him in view from the creation of *Adam*
 “ to the time that he came out of his father’s loins. This
 “ ſame great prophet *Mohammed* God made the nobleſt of
 “ the ſons of *Iſhmael*, who was the firſt that ſpoke *Arabic*.
 “ He alſo rendered the tribe of *Kenānah* the moſt illuſtrious
 “ of the *Arabs*; the family of *Koreiſh* the beſt of any belong-
 “ ing to that tribe; the offspring of *Hāſhem* the moſt worthy
 “ of the *Koreiſh*; and *Abd’almotaleb*, the prophet’s grand-
 “ father, the moſt excellent of the ſons of *Hāſhem*. To
 “ *Mohammed* likewise he ſent the angel *Gabriel* with inſpira-
 “ tion.” Hence it appears, as has been obſerved by Mr.
Ockley, that the *Arabs*, at this juncture, whatever may be in-
 ſinuated to the contrary by ſome *Chriſtian* writers, were ſo far
 from being aſhamed of *Iſhmael*, and his mother *Hagar*, who
 was *Abraham*’s ſlave, that they gloried in being deſcended
 from them. Which notion is not only ſupported by *Al Wa-*
kedi’s authority here, but likewise confirmed by the concur-
 rent teſtimony of other *Arabian* authors &c.

The Chri- THE conference between *Conſtantine* and *Amru* producing
ſtian and no good effect, all hopes of an accommodation vaniſhed into
Moslem ſmoke; ſo that the generals on both ſides prepared to enter
 armies pre-upon action. As there was now no room for pacific mea-
 ſures, the quarrel between the *Chriſtians* and the *Moslems*,
 the latter of which were undoubtedly the aggreſſors, was left
 intirely to the deciſion of the ſword. In the mean time an
 officer came out of the *Chriſtian* camp, in very rich apparel,
 who challenged to fight the ſtoutest man in the *Moslem* army.
 This challenge was accepted by a young *Arab* officer of *Ya-*
man, who being animated by a notion derived from the pro-
 phet himſelf, that the ſpirits of the martyrs ſhould reſt in the
 crops of green birds, which eat of the fruits and drink of the
 rivers of paradife, diſcovered an uncommon eagernels to en-
 gage his antagoniſt. But the *Chriſtian* officer not only killed
 this youth, but two or three more of the *Moslems*, who had the
 courage to enter the liſts againſt him. Nay, he would finally
 have diſpatched *Serjabil Ebn Hoſanah*, a perſon ſo weakened
 and emaciated by faſting, that he was not able to ſtand before
 him, tho’ he could not be diverted from encountering this
 champion, had not a horſeman of the *Greek* army very op-
 portunely interpoſed, and with one blow of his ſcymitar cut

† *AL WAKED*. ubi ſup. *AL JAWHAR*. in voc. *Agara*. *Ock-*
LEY’s hiſt. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 331. *AL BAIHEKI* & *AL*
JARRA, ‘apud *Iſm. Abulſed*. de vit. *Mohammed*. cap. ii. p. 7.
Oxon. 1723. *Poc*. not. in ſpec. hiſt. *Arab*. p. 45, 46.

off the *Christian's* head. This unexpected deliverance greatly surprizing *Serjabil*, he asked the supposed *Greek* who he was, and from whence he came? Who replied in the following terms: "I am the unfortunate *Toleiba Ebn Khawailid*, who "set up for a prophet; and, lying against GOD, pretended "to inspiration." "Brother," answered *Serjabil*, "knowest thou not, that GOD said to our prophet, MY MERCY IS "EXTENDED TO EVERY CREATURE THAT DESIRES IT; "and that the prophet himself has declared, THAT REPENTANCE TAKES AWAY WHAT WAS DONE BEFORE "IT." To which he added many other considerations, in order to comfort his dejected deliverer. The truth of the matter was; *Toleiba* was afraid of *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, who had defeated both him and *Mosailama*, and was the scourge of false prophets. But *Serjabil* introducing him to *Amru*, to whom he gave an account of what had happened, that general engaged to bring about between him and *Khâled* a reconciliation, and even to procure him, notwithstanding his former defection, a favourable reception at the *Khalif's* court. Writing, therefore, a recommendatory letter to *Omar*, he acquainted him with the signal proof *Toleiba* had given of his unfeigned repentance, and the sincerity of his conversion. *Toleiba* found the *Khalif* at *Mecca*, where he delivered him the letter, and told him who he was, expressing at the same time a most hearty sorrow for the enormous crime he had been guilty of. *Omar* no sooner heard his name mentioned, than he made off as fast as he could, saying, "Alas for thee! "If I forgive thee, how shall I answer to GOD the murder "of *Ocâjah*?" "Ocâjah," answered *Toleiba*, "suffered "martyrdom by my hand; which I am very sorry for, and "hope that GOD will forgive me what I have done." *Omar* then having perused the letter sent him by *Amru*, immediately pardoned him, took him with him to *Medina*, and employed him afterwards in his wars against the *Persians*. When *Khâled* defeated him, he was at the head of the tribe of *Asad*, which had adhered to him, together with great numbers of the tribes of *Ghutsân* and *Tay*. His shattered troops, after the overthrow they had received, were obliged to retire into *Syria*. Here he lived for some time privately with a *Mohammedan*, who entertained him in a very hospitable manner, till the false prophet discovered himself to him. But then being dismissed by his benefactor, he proposed to withdraw into some island, where he might the more easily keep himself concealed. This design the *Christian* army hindered him from carrying into execution, by marching at that very juncture into the part of *Syria* where he had been forced to seek for refuge; so that he found himself obliged to take on in the

emperor's service. Nor was he greatly averse to this, as he flattered himself it would supply him with an opportunity of ingratiating himself again with his countrymen the *Arabs*. After he had been pardoned by *Omar*, he took the oath of fidelity to him, embraced *Mohammedism* in his presence, and, as we are informed by *Al Beidawi* and *Al Makin*, being of the tribe of *Asad*, returned to his own country and people.

Youkinna takes Tripoli from the Christians by perfidy and surprise.

THO' the two armies, which lay incamped very near one another, did not come to a general action; yet frequent skirmishes and rencounters happened between their parties and detachments, wherein the *Arabs* always had the advantage; and in some of these the *Greeks* sustained a very considerable loss. This, together with the severity of the season, which was then extremely cold, so dejected the *Greek* soldiery, that they began to desert in great numbers. *Constantine* finding his forces to diminish daily, and the *Arabs* to grow stronger and stronger, he began to be in pain for *Cæsarea*; and therefore, in order to animate the inhabitants by his presence, he resolved to retire into that city. A proper opportunity, therefore, offering itself, he made his escape thither in a tempestuous night, and abandoned his camp to the *Moslems*. *Anru* considered this as a victory obtained without any effusion of blood, and immediately dispatched a courier to *Abu Obeidah*, with advice of the precipitate retreat, or rather shameful flight, of the *Greeks*, and received express orders from him to march directly to *Cæsarea*, where he promised speedily to join him, in order to form the sieges of *Tripoli*, *Acca*, and *Tyre*. Soon after, *Tripoli* was taken by *Youkinna*, who made himself master of it by perfidy and surprise. He had scarce entered the town, when fifty ships from *Cyprus* and *Crete*, with a supply of arms and provisions for *Constantine's* troops, entered the port. These he seized, together with a considerable number of officers, who were not apprized that *Tripoli* was possessed by the *Arabs*, on board them; all which he put into the hands of *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, who came in a short time after this seizure happened, with a *Moslem* detachment, to take possession of the town. *Tripoli*, called by the *Arabs* *Tarabolis*, *Tarabeles*, *Trablous*, *Itrabolis*, and *Attrabolis*, is a maritime city of *Phœnicia*, seated on the *Mediterranean*, in the district of *Hems*, and about two days journey to the west of that town. It stands under mount *Libanus*, or *Lebanon*, between the mountain called by the *Italians* the mountain *Della Croce*, and the promontory styled

9 AL WAKED, ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 16. AL BEIDAWI, in *Al Kor. Moham.* l. v. See also SALE's notes on the *Kor.* c v. p. 90.

formerly by the *Greeks* the *Face of God*; from the latter of which it is about a parasang distant. This city derived the name of *Tripolis*, by which it was known amongst the *Greeks*, either from the three parts, or cities, of which it was composed, or from the colonies detached from three cities that built it. The first of these seems to be assigned as the reason of the name by *Diodorus Siculus*, who informs us, that *Tripoli* consisted of three towns, or cities, which were about a stadium distant from one another; and the latter by *Strabo*. The last author, in support of his opinion, observes, that this city was founded by the *Sidonians*, the *Tyrians*, and the *Aradians*; from which circumstance it may very naturally be supposed to have been denominated *Tripolis*. And these are the very people by which it is said to have been inhabited by *Diodorus Siculus*; as well as by *Scylax*, *Stephanus* of *Byzantium*, *Pliny*, and *Mela*. It was antiently situated near a plain, and fortified with a wall and several towers. It had likewise a commodious haven, and was plentifully supplied with water by aqueducts and fountains. The present town, according to *Abulfeda*, stands about a mile from the spot occupied by the ancient city, which was demolished by the *Moslems* about the year of the *Héjra* 688, when it was taken by *Al Malec Al Mansûr*, the king, or *Soltân*, of *Egypt*. Several trees and sugar-canes have since been planted about the place, which at present extends itself on one side towards the declivity of a hill, having on the right hand a plain covered with mulberry-trees, which sustain a vast number of silk-worms, very considerable quantities of silk being produced here; and on the left an olive-yard, which supplies the neighbouring parts with abundance of oil. The town itself, which consists of above 2000 houses, is without walls or fortifications; but the area which lies between the port and the city is fortified with six or seven square towers, for the greater security of the place. There is a fine plain before the city, at a small distance from the sea. *Tripoli* is said to stand about 20 *German* miles from *Damascus* to the north, and a little farther from *Famagusta* to the south; and to have been lately the seat of a *Turkish Sangiâk*. The plain in the neighbourhood of the town, covered with olives, some authors make to be twelve leagues long; and further assure us, that the city is defended by a very strong castle, built upon a rock, at some distance from the town, supposed to have been first erected by the *Franks*. Some modern writers place *Tripoli* in long. $62^{\circ} 30'$, and lat. $34^{\circ} 20'$; though the longitude assigned it by *Abulfeda* is only $59^{\circ} 40'$, and the latitude $34^{\circ} 00'$. It abounds with gardens, trees, shrubs, plants, &c. of various kinds. *Yakût*, an *Arab* author, cited by *Abulfeda*, says it was founded by the *Greeks*.

but this must be a mistake. Dr. Pococke, who seems to have given us a tolerable good description of the present state of *Tripoli*, tells us, that this city is now governed by a *Pasha*, and situated at the entrance of a narrow valley between the hills, and to the east of a low promontory, that extends itself about a mile into the sea, but is not above half a mile broad. He also relates, that the town is about two miles in circumference, and stands low, tho' there are some buildings belonging to it on the side of the hills. A river likewise, according to him, runs through it, which, after great rains, overflows, and does much damage to the city. The valley through which this river passes, he says, is extremely delightful. The harbour, which is used at this time, is sheltered by some islands and rocks towards the west. The square towers above-mentioned are about a quarter of a mile distant from each other on the north side of the cape, and at present serve to protect the place against corsairs and privateers; tho' at first probably they might have been joined by a wall erected for defence along the shore. On this side, where the wall might have crossed the promontory, is a little town, called the *Marine*, inhabited chiefly by *Greeks*. The custom-house is there, and all goods are landed in small boats from the ships, which lie at a distance. Notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Al Wakedî*, we are assured by *Goliüs*, who, however, does not cite any oriental historian in proof of what he asserts, that *Tripoli*, called by the *Arabs* *Trablous Al Shâm*, and by the *Italians* *Tripoli di Soria*, was taken by *Amru Ebn Al As*, with the *Moslem* forces under his command, after two months siege.

Yezid Ebn Abu Sofhân reduces Tyre. THE ships *Youkinna* made himself master of in the port of *Tripoli*, enabled him to undertake an expedition against *Tyre*, after the reduction of the former city. Having, therefore, put a body of land-forces on board, he set sail for *Tyre*; and, upon his arrival there, told the citizens, that he had brought with him a supply of arms and provisions for *Constantine's* army; and therefore desired that he might be admitted into the town. This being granted, he landed about 900 of his men, and met with a kind reception from the *Tyrians*; but being soon discovered by one of his own soldiers, they were all seized, and immediately put under arrest. In the mean

AL WAKED, ubi sup. DIOD. SIC. lib. xvi. c. 41. STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 519. SCYL. in peripl. p. 99. POMPON. MEL. lib. i. cap. 12. PLIN. lib. v. cap. 20. STEPH. BYZANT. in voc. ΤΡΙΠΟΛΙ. IGM. ABULFED. in gen. hist. & geograph. YAKUT, apud Abulfed. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Afragan. p. 282—285. BORD. ubi sup. p. 70. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. POCOCKE's description of the East, vol. iii. par. i. p. 100, 101, 102.

time,

time, *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofian* having not been able to take *Cæsarea*, as has been already observed, left that place to be besieged by *Amru Ebn Al As*, who had a larger body of troops under his command, and advanced with his detachment, which did not amount to above 2000 men, to *Tyre*. At his approach, the governor of the castle ordered *Youkinna* and his men to be carried prisoners thither, and made a vigorous sally upon the *Arabs*. In the heat of the action, which was very sharp, one *Basil*, a *Greek* officer belonging to the garrison of the citadel, who had long had a secret inclination to favour the *Moslems*, having been intimately acquainted with *Boheira*, the monk, and with him when he had first an interview with *Mohammed* at *Bosra*, released *Youkinna* and his men; who finding means to inform the other land-forces on board the ships, as well as those commanded by *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofian*, of what had happened, the place was carried by storm. For, as soon as *Youkinna* and his troops found themselves at liberty, they opened the gates, and introduced all their countrymen, whom they had before apprized of what had happened, into the place; so that all the *Moslem* troops now joining in a body, the people and garrison found it impossible to make head against them. Some of them, therefore, fled one way, and some another; but the *Arabs* pursuing them very closely, great numbers of them were put to the sword. However, *Yezid* at last told them, that tho' by staying till the town was carried by assault, they had forfeited their lives, or at least their liberty, yet if they would become converts to *Islamism*, they should meet with the same treatment as did the *Moslems*. The greatest part of them, therefore, in order to secure their liberty, privileges, and possessions, embraced *Mahammedism*. *Constantine*, receiving advice of the surrender of *Tripoli* and *Tyre*, set sail with his family, and the greatest part of his wealth, for *Constantinople*, on board a ship he had prepared for that purpose; so that the war in *Syria* now seemed to be drawing towards a conclusion. The city of *Tyre*, at this time reduced by the *Moslems*, was called by the orientals *Sur*, or *Tzur*, from whence the *Romans* seem to have derived the name *Sarra*, which they sometimes applied to that place; as the word *Sur*, or *Tzur*, the original name, may, with equal propriety, be converted into *Tyr*, or *Tyrus*, and *Sar*, or *Sarra*. It was formerly the principal city of *Phœnicia*, mistress of the sea, and extremely well fortified both by nature and art. It was all, except about a fourth part of it, surrounded by the sea; which rendered it almost inaccessible, especially as the spot joining it to the continent had an exceeding strong citadel erected upon it. *Tyre* sustained a five months siege, in the year of the *Heira* 518, or of CHRIST

1124; when the *Franks*, or *Christians*, starved it to a surrender. From them the *Moslems* took it in the year of the *Hegira* 690, or of our LORD 1291. After which, it fell to decay, and became at last buried in its own ruins; so that it has, for several ages, been little better than a mere solitude, in exact completion of some of *Ezekiel's* prophecies concerning it. *Tyre* was anciently seated in an island, which remained after the days of *Alexander the Great* connected with the neighbouring continent. It was a town of great antiquity, but not so antient as *Sidon*; the people of that city having been the founders of it. We find it nowhere mentioned in Scripture before the reign of *David*; and that it has never been taken the least notice of by *Homer*, tho' that this celebrated poet mentions both *Sidon* and the *Sidonians*, is observed by *Strabo*. The old city, however, called, after the erection of that which succeeded it, *Palætyrus*, was built on the continent. The *Tyrians*, as well as the *Sidonians* and other *Phœnicians*, in the remoter periods of antiquity, planted colonies in many parts of the then known world, as we learn from a great number of authors, both antient and modern, and particularly from the learned *Buchart*. It had a very commodious harbour, mentioned and described by *Sharif Al Edrisi*, an *Arabian* writer cited by the famous *Abulfeda*. *Palætyrus* stood within thirty stadia of the new city, and was to the south of it. *Takût* determines its latitude to be $33^{\circ} 40'$; but *Abulfeda* places it in lat. $32^{\circ} 40'$, and long. $58^{\circ} 35'$. Some remains of the old haven, which with its wall was formerly surrounded by the walls of the town, as well as those of a most remarkable antient aqueduct, and of certain temples, and other superb edifices, were not long since to be seen. This we learn from *Goliüs*, who had himself been a great traveller in the east, and had undoubtedly visited this place. But for a full and most accurate account of the ruins and remains of the city and aqueduct, or rather aqueducts, of *Tyre*, we must refer our readers to the description given us of them by the learned *Dr. Pococke*, who was himself very lately upon the spot; which is much more curious and particular than any thing relating to the present state of *Tyre*, or, as it is still called by the orientals, *Sar*, that has hitherto, besides it, been communicated to the world.

AT

* AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. cap. iv. p. 10, 11. AHMED BEN YUSEF, sect. i. p. 39. ABUL HASAN AL BECRI, AL MASUDI, ABU NAZAR, AL BOKHAR. LUDOVIC. MARRACC. in prodrom. par. i. p. 42. GAGN. not. ad ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 10, 11, 12. SALE'S notes on the Kor. p. 224. JUSTIN. lib. xviii. cap. 3. CYRT. lib. iv. c. 4. STRAB. ubi

At the time that *Yezid Ibn Abu Sofian*, by means of *Basila* and *Koukinnah's* treachery, made himself master of *Tyre*, *Amru Ibn Al-As*, with the *Arab* forces under his command, was carrying on the siege of *Cæsarea*; which, all the surrender of *Tyre*, and the departure of *Constantine*, continued to make a vigorous defence. But the citizens, having received advice of those two fatal events, thought it high time now to shift for themselves, and to procure the best terms they could, both for themselves and their families, of the *Muslem* general. They, therefore, surrendered the city to *Amru*, and paid him down 200,000 *dirhems*; in consideration of which, and an annual tribute imposed upon them, they were secured in the free exercise of their religion, as well as the possession of their properties and effects, and taken under the *Khalif's* protection. As *Constantine*, with his family, and the best part of his wealth, abandoned *Cæsarea*, upon the first news of the loss of *Tripoli* and *Tyre*, the inhabitants considered themselves as deserted by him, and therefore delivered into *Amru's* hands all the effects of that prince which he could not carry off with him. Thus was *Cæsarea* taken by the *Arabs*, towards the close of the seventeenth, or the beginning of the eighteenth, year of the *Hejra*, and the fifth of the *Khalifat* of *Omar*; which answered to the year of our Lord 638, or 639, and the twenty-ninth of *Heraclius's* reign. *Cæsarea* was called at first the *Tower of Strato*; but *Harod*, after he had repaired, beautified, and enlarged it, gave it the name, in honour of *Augustus*, of *Cæsarea*. It is about twelve parasangs S. W. of *Acca*; and was taken from the *Franks*, or *Christians*, by the *Moslems*, in the year of the *Hejra* 663. *Al Azizi* makes it to be thirty-two miles distant from *Ramla*, and is herein followed by *Abulfeda*. *Yakut* affirms it to have been antiently a very considerable place, but tells us it lay waste in his days. *Strato*, from whom *Cæsarea* received its first name, was a *Greek*, and the founder of it. We are told by *Dr. Pococke*, who gives us an accurate account of the present state of it, that *Cæsarea* is sixty-two miles distant from *Jerusalem* thirty from *Joppa*, and thirty-six from *Acca*, or *Acca*. This city was named *Cæsarea of Palestine*, to distinguish it from *Cæsarea Philippi*, or *Panias*, which stood near the

ubi sup. p. 520. *PLIN.* lib. v. cap. 19. *MET.* lib. i. cap. 12. *VIRO. GEORG.* lib. ii. v. 506. *SIL. ITAL.* lib. xv. v. 205. *JUV.* sat. x. v. 138. *GELL.* lib. xii. cap. 6. *SERV.* in *Virg.* ubi sup. *JOSEPH.* lib. ix. *ERR.* xxvi. 14, 21, xxviii. 19. *DION. SIC.* lib. xvii. c. 40, & lib. *BOHMART.* in *Phal.* & *Chan.* pass. *YAKUT.* *SHARIF AL ENGISI* apud *Abulfed.* in *geogr.* *GOLII* not. ad *Alfragan.* p. 130, 131. *ALB. SCHULT.* ubi sup. *BOHAD.* ubi sup. p. 72, 75, 76, 224, &c. *Poc.* ubi sup. chap. xx. p. 80—84.

source of the river *Jordan*. It was made a *Roman* colony by *Vespasian*, and denominated the first *Flavian* colony from him and his family. The ancient city extended further to the north than the present walls, as appears from a wall on the shore running about half a mile to the north, near some aqueducts. We find a particular description of the extraordinary port made here by *Herod*, in *Josephus*, the *Jewish* historian. There was another *Cæsarea*, besides those above-mentioned, which was a city of *Cilicia*, and not far from *Anazarbus*. *Al Biruni* places *Cæsarea* of *Palestine* in long. $55^{\circ} 20'$, lat. $32^{\circ} 30'$. *Al Faras* in long. $57^{\circ} 30'$, lat. $32^{\circ} 30'$. *Ptolemy* in long. $57^{\circ} 30'$, lat. $33^{\circ} 15'$; and *Kiyas* in long. $56^{\circ} 15'$, lat. $32^{\circ} 40'$.

Upon
which, all
the other
fortresses
of Syria
surrender
to him.

THE surrender of *Cæsarea*, which immediately followed the reduction of *Tripoli* and *Tyre*, struck the remaining imperial garisons of *Syria* with such terror, that *Ramla*, *Acca*, *Joppa*, *Joppe*, *Jafa*, or *Jassa*, *Ascalon*, *Gaza*, *Sichem*, *Nabolas*, or *Naplasa*, and *Tiberias*, *Tabarria*, or *Tabariyah*, opened their gates to the *Arabs*, upon the first summons; and soon after, *Beirút*, *Bayreut*, or *Berytus*, *Saida*, *Seida*, or *Sidon*, *Jabalab*, and *Ladikia*, *Latikia*, or *Ladicea*, followed their example. As the knowledge of the situation of these towns, most of which were places of great note and antiquity, will give us a better idea of the theatre of this war, and render more intelligible that part of the *Arab* history we are now upon; the following short description of them, however it may for a moment interrupt the thread of our historical narration, cannot prove unacceptable to our learned and curious readers.

Ramla.

RAMLA, or *Rama*, the first of the aforesaid fortresses, is situated in a fertile plain, about a day's journey distant from *Jerusalem*, and half a day's from *Joppa*. This place, according to the *Arab* annals, was not of very high antiquity; it having been built by *Soliman*, the son of *Abd'almalec*, the fourteenth *Khalif*, of the house of *Ommiyah*. *Lydda*, about three parasangs to the east of *Ramla*, a more ancient city, was demolished by the said *Soliman*, the son of *Abd'almalec* *Ebn*

AL WAKED. ubi sup. STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 522. PROL. in *Palestin*. JOSEPH. de bell. Judaic. lib. i. cap. 16. TACIT. histor. lib. ii. c. 79. PLIN. lib. v. c. 13. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 296, 297. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 282. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 426, 427. JOSEPH. antiq. lib. xv. AL AZIS. apud Abulfed. in geograph. ut & ipse ASULVED. ibid. YAKUT, apud Abulfed. ibid. GAZI not. ad Alfragan. p. 136. PODOCKE's descript. of the East, vol. ii. par. i. p. 58, 59, 60. AL BIRUNI, AL FARAS, & KIYAS, apud Abulfed. ubi sup. AL WAKED. THEOPHAN. & CEDREN. ubi sup.

Merwân, after he had founded *Ramla*. But whatever may have been advanced to the contrary by some of the *Moslem* writers, who have been followed herein by *Schultens* and *Golius*, *Rama*, or *Ramla*, must have been not only a considerable town, but even a fortress, before the time of the *Khalif Solimán*, of the family of *Ommiyah*; since it was one of those fortified places of *Syria*, or *Palestine*, that surrendered to the forces of *Omar* near eighty years before the *Khalif Abd'almalec* entered upon his reign. Nor is there any room to doubt, but the *Ramla* mentioned here by *Al Wakedi* is the antient *Rama* belonging to the tribe of *Ephraim*, called by the *Arabs* at this day *Rameli*, seated in a rich plain, and supposed to be the *Arimathea* of *Joseph*, according to the learned *Dr. Pococke*. There were formerly two *Christian* churches in this place, which were afterwards converted into mosques. In one of these it is said, that some of the bodies of the martyrs of *Sebaste* in *Armenia* were deposited. There are great ruins of houses in this town; so that it seems to have been formerly a much more considerable place than it is at present. And, indeed, this is sufficiently implied by what we find related of it by *Abulfeda*. That author, amongst other things, which he takes from *Al Azizi*, relates, that *Abd'almalec* himself had a palace in *Ramla*; which is a sufficient proof that his son *Solimán* did not found this city; tho' that had been just before absurdly asserted, at least if we admit of no corruption of the text there, by the same author. *Al Faras* assigns *Ramla* long. 56° 50', lat. 32° 10'. *Kiyas*, long. 56° 20'. *Al Biruni*, long. 56° 20', lat. 32° 40'.

ACCA, or, as 'tis now called, especially by the *Franks*, *Acra*, *Acca*, stands in a very large and fertile plain, bounded on the north, at about twelve miles distance, by the mountains antiently called *Antilibanus*, or *Antilebanon*, and to the east by the fine and fruitful hills of *Galilee*, about ten miles from this city. The antient name of this place was *Ace*, or *Accho*. It was one of the towns out of which *Asher* did not drive the antient inhabitants, and seems always to have retained this name among the natives of the country; the *Arabs* still calling it *Acca*, or *Akka*. The *Greeks* gave it the name of *Ptolemais*, from one of the *Ptolemies*, kings of *Egypt*. And when it was in the possession of the knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*, it was called

* *YAKUT*, apud *Abulfed.* ubi sup. ut & ipse *ABULFED.* ibid. *AL AZIZ.* ibid. *BORAB.* ubi sup. *AL MAKIN*, hist. *Saracen.* lib. i. c. 14. p. 73—75. *AL WAKED.* ubi sup. *POCOCK.* ubi sup. p. 3, 4. *JOSEPH.* antiq. *Jud.* lib. viii. c. 6. *CHRIST. CELLAR.* geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. 13. *GOLII* not. ad *Alfragan.* p. 140, 141. *ALB. SCHULT.* ubi sup. *AL FARAS,* *AL BIRUNI,* & *KIYAS*, apud *Abulfed.* ubi sup.

St. John d'Acre. The present town seems to be on the spot occupied by the old city, being at the S. W. corner, and is washed by the sea on the S. and W. sides. It has a small bay to the E. which seems to have been the ancient port, and a very considerable one in the days of *Sharif Al Edrisi*; when it insinuated itself into the middle of the city, and had two towers erected upon it. There are great remains of the old port, within which small ships come to anchor in the summer, and take in their loading. The present town is near a mile in circumference, and has no walls. *Abulfeda* makes it to be twenty-four miles from *Tiberias*, and half that number from *Tyrs*. *Said* assigns it long. $53^{\circ} 8'$, lat. $33^{\circ} 20'$. *Al Biruni* long. $53^{\circ} 20'$. *Al Farisi* long. $53^{\circ} 15'$, lat. $32^{\circ} 30'$. *Ptolemy* long. $56^{\circ} 25'$, lat. $33^{\circ} 20'$; and *Kiyas*, long. $54^{\circ} 30'$, lat. $33^{\circ} 00'$.

Joppa.

JOPPA, at present denominated by the natives *Jassa*, or *Jafa*, and in the Holy Scriptures of the *Old Testament*, *Japho*, or *Jaso*, stands six miles to the W. of *Ramla*, in the champaign country of *Sidon*, which extended from this place northward as far as *Cæsarea*. It is situated on the side of a low hill over the sea. There seems to have been an ancient port, which formerly might have contained large vessels; but now large boats only can go into it. The ships ride in the open road, and are often obliged to go to sea in stormy weather. The people of *Joppa* have a great trade in soap, and also export large quantities of cotton in small boats to *Acre*, to be shipped off for other parts. They have a constant supply of good water, by digging wells close to the sea-shore. The town belongs to the *Kisser Aga*, or head of the *Grand Signior's* black eunuchs, who sends a governor to this place, that resides in a small castle at the S. end of the town, and has a soldiery under him. *Richard I.* king of *England*, with a small body of troops, forced *Saladin* to raise the siege of the citadel of *Joppa*, after he had made himself master of the town, and even obliged that conqueror to cede them both to him by treaty; which heroic actions, so our very great surprise, have not been taken notice of by any of the *Christian* writers. The longitude of *Joppa*, or *Jassa*, has been determined by *Al Farisi* to be $56^{\circ} 40'$, by *Al Biruni* $56^{\circ} 20'$, and by *Kiyas* $56^{\circ} 00'$. Its latitude is settled by the first of these at $32^{\circ} 20'$, by the second at $33^{\circ} 8'$, and by the last

* STRAB. lib. vii. p. 521. JUBA. lib. v. c. 19. DIOD. SIC. lib. xix. cap. 93. SHARIF AL EDRISEI, & AL AZIZ. apud Abulfed. in descript. Syr. ut scriptis ABERED. ibid. GOZLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 131—133. POC. ubi sup. p. 51—54. SAID, AL BIRUNI, & AL FARISI, apud Abulfed. ubi sup. PROL. in Syr. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup.

at 32° 40'. *Joppa* was not a town of any great note in *Abulfeda's* days; but it made a very good figure in the time of *Saladin*, and is mentioned as a fortress of considerable strength by *Bebadin*, in his life of that prince.

Ascalon was a maritime town of *Palestine*, about eighteen miles from *Ramla*, and in ancient times one of the strongest places of *Syria*. It was a town of great antiquity; three parasangs from *Gaza*, and enjoyed for a certain period a very extensive commerce. It was taken by the *Franks* in the year of the *Hijra* 548; but retaken by *Saladin* thirty-five years after, who dismantled it in the year of the *Hijra* 587. We are told by *Abulfeda*, that, in his days, it was little better than a heap of ruins. *Al Faras* makes its longitude to have been 56° 30', and lat. 32° 55'; but, according to *Kiyas*, the former was 56° 10', and the latter 32° 10'.

Gaza was one of the last towns of *Palestine*, on the side of *Egypt*, and about three parasangs S. of *Ascalon*. The *Arabs*, in their pronunciation of this word, double the middle letter, calling it *Gazza*; as did likewise the *Hebrews* themselves, according to *Golius*. But this must not be understood of the earlier *Hebrews*, notwithstanding the great authority of *Golius*; as very clearly appears from the *Septuagint*. The word *Gaza* signifies *strong*, or *powerful*, and might possibly allude to the strength of the fortress, as it was one of the frontiers of the *Philistines* on the side of *Egypt*. Be that as it will, we can by no means allow, that it derived the name of *Gaza* from the treasure of *Cambyses* deposited there; the word *Gaza*, in ancient *Persia*, signifying a *treasure*, as is affirmed by *Mela*; and, after him, insinuated by *Golius*; since it was called *Gaza* in the time of *Samson*, who lived many ages before *Cambyses* was born. It was taken by *Alexander the Great*, who was obliged to sap its walls, before he could make himself master of it; which is a plain proof of the strength of the place, and, therefore, not a little countenances what has been here advanced concerning the origin of the name. After this, it lay waste till *Constantine the Great* rebuilt it. *Omar Ebn Al Khat-*

7. 2. CHRON. ii. 16. EZR. iii. 7. JER. i. 3. POC. ubi sup. p. 2, 3. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. BOHAD. in vit. & reb. gest. Salad. pass. AL FARAS, AL BRAUNI, KIYAS, apud Abulfed. ubi sup. STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 52. JOSEPH. de bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. 29. POMPON. MEL. lib. i. c. 11. PLIN. lib. v. c. 13. Vide etiam COW. apud Photium, cod. clxxxvii. SALMAS. in Solin. cap. xxxiv. et ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. STRAB. ubi sup. PROL. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 13. JOSEPH. de bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. 1. PAUSAN. in Attic. c. 14. ABULFED. ubi sup. BOHAD. ubi sup. pass. AL FARAS & KIYAS, apud Abulfed. ubi sup. GOLIUS not. ad Alfragan. p. 141. ALP. SCHULT. ubi sup.

tib, the present *Khalif*, was taken prisoner in a war between the people of *Gaza* and the *Arabs* of *Hejaz*, that happened before the commencement of *Mohammedism*. The famous *Mohammed Ebn Edris Al Shâfi*, author of one of the most noted orthodox sects of the *Mohammedans*, was born here, if not, as some say, at *Ascalon*, in the year of the *Hejra* 150. *Gaza* was taken from the *Franks* by the *Egyptian Moslems*, in the year of the *Hejra* 552, and afterwards dismantled by *Saladin*. Some time after which, the *Franks* restored the fortifications; but were finally obliged to demolish them by treaty. We must not forget to observe, that both *Ascalon* and *Gaza* belonged, in the earliest ages, to the *Philistines*. *Al Faras* assigns to *Gaza* long. 56° 10', lat. 32° 00'; but *Ebn Said*, long. 57° 00', lat. 32° 00'. *Reland* has committed a small error in the numbers he has transcribed from *Abulfeda*, who prefers those of *Al Faras*, relating to the longitude and latitude of *Gaza*, to the other. This place, as appears from the relations of the most authentic modern travellers, is at present quite obscure.

Saida.

SAIDA, *Seida*, or *Tzaida*, called by the *Hebrews* *Sidon*, or rather *Tzidon*, and by the *Greek* and *Roman* writers *Sidon*, was a most celebrated city and sea-port of *Phœnicia*, about three days journey S. of *Tripoli*. It was the boundary of *Judea*, or rather *Palestine*, on that side, and one of the most ancient cities in the world, being supposed to have derived its name from *Sidon*, or *Tzidon*, the eldest son of *Canaan*. Before it was taken by the *Persians*, it was looked upon to be the largest city of *Phœnicia*, according to *Mela*. The *Itinerary* of *Antoninus* makes it to be twenty-four miles distant from *Tyre*; which pretty nearly corresponds, or rather is the same, with the 200 stadia, or furlongs, assigned for the distance between those two cities by *Strabo*. And this is likewise apparent from the present distance between the remains of those two cities. For, *Tyre* is about six hours journey from *Serphant*, or *Sarphenida*, the antient *Sarepta*, which is two hours from *Sidon*, to the district of which city it formerly belonged. But, according to Dr. *Pococke*, the distance between *Tyre* and *Sidon* is not quite so large as it has been defined by the antients. The plain of *Sidon* is not above two miles wide; whereas that of *Tyre* is four or five miles broad. To the E.

* JOSH. xv. 47. JUD. i. 18. POMPON. MÆL. lib. i. c. 11. GEN. x. 19. STRAB. lib. xvi. ARRIAN. lib. ii. p. 150. PO-
LYB. in excerptis Valésii, p. 86. JOSEPH. lib. 13. c. 21. STEPH.
BYZANT. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. BOHAD. ubi sup. pass. GO-
LII not. ad Alfragan. p. 142. HADJ. RELAND. Palest. illustr.
p. 510, 511. EBN KHALECAN, AL FARAS, & EBN SAID, apud
Abulfed. ubi sup. ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup.

of

of the former there are some fine fruitful hills. *Sidon* was in the territory belonging to the tribe of *Asher*, or *Asber*, but the *Israelites* could not drive out the antient inhabitants of it. It always underwent much the same fate as *Tyre*, is said to have produced the inventors of arithmetic and astronomy, and was in remote times a place of very great trade. It was likewise famous for a manufacture of glass, as we learn from *Pliny*. *Dr. Paoche* tells us, that it is computed to be 66 miles W. S. W. of *Damascus*, and a day's journey from the source of the river *Jordan*. It was situated on a rising ground, defended by the sea on the N. and W. The present city is mostly on the N. side of the hill; tho' the old one seems to have extended farther E. as may be judged from the foundations of a thick wall that extends from the sea to the E. On the S. it was probably bounded by a rivulet, and on the N. by another, both of which are now to be seen. Some think, that the antient city stretched to the E. as far as a high hill that is about three quarters of a mile from the present town. The space between that hill and the town is now all laid out in gardens, or orchards, which appear very beautiful at a distance. On the N. side of the town there are great ruins of a fine port, the walls of which were built with very large stones, twelve feet in length, which is the thickness of the wall, and some are eleven feet broad, and five deep. The harbour, which is now choaked up, seems to be the inner port mentioned by *Strabo*, for the winter; the outer one probably being to the N. in the open sea between *Sidon* and *Tyre*, where the shipping ride in safety during the summer-season. *Sidon* is at present the residence of a *Pasha*, and there are in it a great number of new-built houses. The trade here is carried on intirely by the *French*, the export being chiefly raw silk, cotton, and corn. The distance between *Sidon* and *Damascus* is computed in the following manner. From *Sidon* to *Mashgara* 24 miles, from *Mashgara* to *Kamad* six miles, from *Kamad* to *Ain Sher* 18 miles, and from *Ain Sher* to *Damascus* 18 miles: the sum of which is 66 miles. Though it appears from *Moses*, that *Sidon*, the eldest son of *Canaan*, was probably the founder of *Sidon*, as many of the most antient cities derived their names from their founders; yet some think it might have been denominated *Sidon* from the great plenty of fish found by the *Phœnicians* there. But as the former opinion seems more agreeable to the sentiments of the sacred historian, and is supported also by *Josephus*, we are inclined to adhere to it. One of the oriental writers makes *Sidon* to be six parasangs distant from *Tyre*; which, as a parasang consists of 30 stades, or furlongs, falls something short of the distance between those two cities, as defined by *Strabo*.

Strabo. The longitude of *Sidon*, or *Taida*, as ascertained by *Al Faras*, is $58^{\circ} 15'$, and its latitude $33^{\circ} 8'$; but, according to the determination of *Al Biruni*, the former is $59^{\circ} 20'$, and the latter $33^{\circ} 55'$ *.

Nabolas. *NABOLAS*, or *Naplofa*, supposed by some to have been the ancient *Sichem*, or *Shechem*, so famous in holy writ; by others, to have been erected near the ruins of that place; was seated at the foot of mount *Gerizim*, about thirteen parasangs from *Jerusalem*. The word *Nabolas*, or *Naplofa*, is a corruption of *Neapolis*; by which name, as well as that of *Flavia Neapolis*, it went in the time of *Pliny*. The cognomen *Flavia* points out nearly the time when, and the person in honour of whom, the city of *Sichem* received the name of *Neapolis*; that is, either in the reign of *Vespasian*, or his son *Titus*, and in honour of one of those princes, who were of the *Flavian* family. This city has been, for many ages, as it probably is still, the chief seat of the *Samaritans*, who admit only for canonical the *Pentateuch*, or five books of *Moses*, and were lately reduced to a very small number. *Al Faras* asserts the longitude of *Nabolas*, in his time, to have been settled at $57^{\circ} 35'$, and its latitude at $32^{\circ} 10'$; but *Kiyas* fixes the former at $56^{\circ} 25'$, and the latter at $32^{\circ} 8'$ b.

Tiberias. THE town of *Tiberias*, or *Tabariyah*, was situated on the sea, or lake, of that name, at the N. end of a narrow plain, which runs along by that sea, and extends farther south by the river *Jordan*, being about half a mile broad. The town at present has indifferent walls on three sides, on the fourth is open to the lake, and seems to be about three quarters of a mile in circumference. There are the remains of a very large castle here: and the *Sheikh*, by whom this town, or rather village, is governed, has built one on a hill to the N. of it. Some

* *JOSEPH. antiq. lib. i. c. 7. JUSTIN. lib. xviii. c. 3. DION. SIC. lib. xvi. cap. 41. POMFON. MEX. lib. i. cap. 12. STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 756, 757, 758. PLIN. nat. hist. lib. v. c. 19. GEN. x. 15. xlix. 13. JOSH. xi. 8. xix. 28. JUD. i. 31. PERS. lib. v. c. 69. VIRG. ÆN. i. v. 619. ÆN. iv. v. 75, 683, &c. DIONYS. PERIEG. v. 913. HIERON. in onomast. AL AZIZ. apud Abulfed. ubi sup. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. BOHAD. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 287, 288, 289. AL FARAS, & AL BIRUNI, apud Abulfed. ubi sup. POC. ubi sup. p. 85, 86, 87. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. b GEN. xii. 6. xxxvii. 12. JOSH. xxiv. 1, 33. JUD. viii. 31. ix. 1, 7, 45. 1 KINO. xii. 25. JON. iv. 5. JOSEPH. antiq. lib. iv. c. 8. PROCOR. de edific. lib. v. c. 7. PLIN. lib. v. c. 13. AL AZIZ. apud Abulfed. ubi sup. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. BOHAD. ubi sup. CHRIST. CELLAR. in hist. Samaritan. collectan. cap. i. sect. 15, 16, &c. AL FARAS & Kiyas, apud Abulfed. ubi sup. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup.*

think, that the town of *Kenereth* stood on the spot that was afterwards occupied by *Tiberias*, so named in honour of *Tiberius*, and said by *Josephus* to have been founded by *Herod*; though others maintain that it was built by *Tiberius* himself. But *Reland* takes this to be a mistake. After the destruction of *Jerusalem*, the Jewish rabbins settled here, and remained in the place till after the beginning of the tenth century. The province in which *Tiberias* stands, was called by *Josephus* *Auranitis*, as has been already observed. The lake, or sea, of *Tiberias*, which, according to *Abulfeda*, is about twelve miles long, and six broad, empties itself into the *Jordan*, and is about 75 miles N. of the *Dead Sea*. The water of this lake is good, and it abounds with fish. There are hot baths a quarter of a mile S. of the walls of old *Tiberias*, which extended about half a mile farther to the S. than the present inclosure, that have been taken notice of by *Pliny*, *Josephus*, *Al Azizi*, *Abulfeda*, and others of the oriental writers. We must not omit observing, that *Dr. Pococke* asserts the Jewish rabbins to have lived at *Tiberias* till the eleventh century; and yet in the same breath affirms the Jews to have left that place before the year of our Lord 945. So that, in this point, he seems not perfectly consistent with himself. The citadel of this place surrendered to *Saladin*, after the fatal battle that put a period to the kingdom of *Jerusalem*. After which, it was recovered by the *Franks*; but finally taken from them by *Ayub*, in the year of the *Hejra* 642. *Tiberias*, *Taherria*, *Taberya*, or *Tabariyah*, according to *Al Faras*, is in long. 58° 15', and lat. 30° 31'; but, according to *Ebn Said*, in long. 56° 35', and lat. 32° 10'.

THE city of *Beirut*, *Bayreut*, or *Bayrût*, the ancient *Beirûs*, was about a day's journey N. of *Tzaida*, or *Sidon*. It was made a colony by *Augustus*, who denominated it from his daughter *Colonia Felix Julia*. It is at present situated over the sea, on a gentle rising ground, on the N. side of a broad promontory. The gardens appear very beautiful on the hanging ground over it. The old port is a little bay, and was formerly well secured by strong piers, which were destroyed by *Federline*, prince of the *Druses*, who had possession of this city. To the E. of the port is a castle built on two rocks in the sea, with a bridge to it. E. of this, over the sea cliffs, is another castle; and to

• JOSEPH. ubi sup. lib. xliii. c. 31. & alibi. JOH. vi. 23. xxi. 1. PLIN. lib. v. c. 15. STEPH. BYZANTI de urbib. Hieronym. in Ezech. cap. xlviii. 21. TALMUD. cod. Megill. fol. v. col. 2. PROL. geogr. lib. v. c. 16. AL AZIZ. apud Abulfed. ubi sup. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibidem. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 133, 134. EZEK. xlviii. BONAUBI ubi sup. ALS. SCHULT. ubi sup. POC. ubi sup. p. 68—71. AL FARAS & EBN SATI, apud Abulfed. ubi sup.

the

the E. of that are remains of a very large one, defended with a fossé, where Dr. *Pococke* saw some broken pillars. About a furlong to the E. of this place, he came to the old city-walls on that side. The town, according to him, may be about two miles in circumference. At a small distance to the W. is a little bay, which opens to the N. where he saw some signs of ruins, but could not judge what they were. *Beirût* is under the influence of the *Maronites* and *Druses*, as many other places are under the *Arabs*, and the inhabitants of *Lebanon*, or *Antilebanon*, dare not go to any other town. It was taken from the *Moslems* by *Baldwin*, king of *Jerusalem*, after a vigorous siege, in the year of our LORD 1111; but retaken by *Saladin* in 1187. *Ebn Said* calls it the port of *Damascus*. According to *Al Azizi*, it was 18 miles from *Gobeila*, or *Sjobeila*, 24 of *Argiomousum*, and 36 of *Baalbec*. We are told by the very learned and curious Dr. *Shaw*, that, upon the *Castravan* mountains, above *Bayrût*, there is a curious bed of whitish stone, of the slate kind, which unfolds, in every fleak of it, a great number and variety of petrified fishes. These, for the most part, according to that ingenious naturalist, lie exceeding flat and compressed, like fossil fern plants, yet are, at the same time, so well preserved, that the smallest strokes and lineaments of their fins, scales, and other specific distinctions, are easily discovered. For a very considerable period, *Beirût* was a most eminent seat of literature. It is placed by *Abulfeda* in long. $59^{\circ} 30'$, and lat. $34^{\circ} 00'$ ^d.

Jabalab.

JABALAH, *Jibla*, *Jablah*, *Jibala*, or *Jabala*, for it went by all those names, was formerly a pretty celebrated maritime town of *Syria*. *Al Azizi* tells us, that, in his days, it was but a small town, but that it had a territory annexed to it of a very considerable extent. It was, according to the same author, about twelve miles from *Laodicea*; and is mentioned, as in the vicinity of that city, by the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*. It was taken, after a short siege, by *Saladin*. *Bohadin* says, that it had two strong towers, which resembled citadels; and *Ismael Abulfeda* gives us a tolerable good description of it. Dr. *Pococke* calls it *Jebilee*, which probably is the name it goes by amongst the natives and the neighbouring *Arabs*. It is governed by an *Aga*, who resides in the place, and undoubtedly answers to the *Gabale*, or *Gabala*, of *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Strabo*. This was antiently a small city, and is at present a

^d STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 520. PLIN. lib. v. c. 20. EBN SAID & AL AZIZ. apud Abulfed. ubi sup. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. GOEII not. ad Alfragan. p. 289. BOHAD. ubi sup. ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup. POC. ubi sup. p. 90, 91. SHAW's physical observat. &c. in Syria, Phœnice, &c. p. 372.

poor miserable town, thinly inhabited. There are still some traces of the antient walls. It was once a considerable seaport, but has not now above four or five boats, and is intirely destitute of trade. The chief remains of antiquity here are several sepulchral grotts cut in the cliffs on the sea-shore. The town is supplied with water by a channel on the ground, which winds round to the N. and seems to come from the river of *Jebilee*, half a league S. of the town. The mosque here is famous amongst the *Turks* for being the place where the body of *Sultan Ibrahim* is deposited. Dr. *Pococke* is undoubtedly mistaken in his conjecture relating to that *Sultan*, when he supposes him to have been *Ibrahim Ben Valid*, *Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid* he should have said, the sixteenth *Khalif* of the house of *Ommiyah*. Nor is there the least foundation in history for such a conjecture. On the contrary, had he consulted *Abulfeda*, he would have found, that this *Ibrahim* was the son of one *Adham*, who bore no manner of relation to that *Khalif*. As greatly is this learned author mistaken, when he asserts *Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid* to have been the sixteenth *Khalif* of the family of *Ommiyah*; since both M. *D'Herbelot*, the very author he cites in support of his assertion, and *Al Makin* expressly declare, that he was the thirteenth *Khalif* of that family. The longitude assigned this place by *Abulfeda* is 60° 20', and the latitude 35° 55'.

LAODICEA, *Ladikia*, or *Latikia*, called also *Laodicea ad mare* by the antients, in order to distinguish it from other cities of the same name, was built by *Seleucus I.* king of *Syria*, who founded also *Antioch*, *Seleucia*, and *Apamea*, as has been already remarked. It is situated on the sea, and the plain in which it stands is exceeding fruitful, as it also was in the earliest times. The country about it was famous for wine, with which it supplied the inhabitants of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*; the hills to the E. having been well cultivated with vineyards. To the S. of the present town there are some low hills, on the top of which the antient city-walls were probably erected. It had a very commodious haven. Towards the S. E. corner of the town there is a remarkable triumphal arch, which is still almost intire. It is conjectured that this arch was raised in honour of *Lucius Verus*, or *Septimius Severus*. The present town is about a mile and a half in circumference, and has many gardens inclosed within the walls. It is but very lately that an *English* consul has been established here; this port being formerly de-

* AL AZIZ. apud Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. BOHAD. ubi sup. ANTONIN. itinerar. Poc. ubi sup. p. 198, 199. PLIN. PTOL. STRAB. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 480. AL MAKIN, hist. Sarac. lib. i. cap. xx. p. 87, 88.

pendent on *Aleppo*. It abounded with cisterns, and had a monastery, that was looked upon as an elegant structure, in the days of *Abulfeda*. *Al Azizi* says it was a splendid city, when he wrote, and situated in the prefecture of *Hems*. He also relates, that it was 12 miles distant from *Jabalab*, and 48 from *Antioch*. To which he adds, that, both with respect to the number of its inhabitants, and the strength of its fortifications, it was one of the most considerable maritime cities of *Syria*. Its citadel has been taken notice of both by *Abulfeda* and *Yacút*, and seems to be, according to *Goliush*, the *Platanus* of *Antoninus*. We meet with a short and slight description of it in *Bohadin's* life of *Saladin*. *Abulfeda* asserts its longitude to be $60^{\circ} 40'$, and its latitude $35^{\circ} 15'$ ^f.

The Arabs
complete
the conquest of
Syria.

AFTER the *Arabs* had possessed themselves of these towns, which were the only places of strength the emperor had left in *Syria*, all the other fortified posts of lesser note of course submitted to them. So that the *Khalif* was now master of the whole country of *Syria*; his forces having driven the *Greeks* out of every part of the tract extending from the *Mediterranean* to the *Euphrates*; which comprehended all the provinces of that wealthy and populous region denominated *Syria* by the antients. Nay, we are told by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, that, two years before the reduction of the fortresses last-mentioned, that is, in the 27th year of the emperor *Heraclius*, *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofián* advanced with a body of *Arab* troops to the frontiers of *Mesopotamia*, and had actually made an irruption into the province of *Osroëne*, had not *John Cateas*, the imperial procurator of that province, prevailed upon him not to pass the *Euphrates*, by submitting to pay a very large annual tribute, amounting to 100,000 pieces of gold, or *dinárs*, that was imposed upon him. The same author adds, that, in consequence of this treaty, the imperial procurator paid the money when it became due, by way of tribute, exacted of him, and then returned to *Edessa*, a city near mount *Taurus*, on the *Mesopotamian* bank of the *Euphrates*, where at that time he resided. However, *Theophanes* likewise observes, that as soon as the emperor was informed of the ignominious treaty concluded with *Yezid*, (for this, it seems, was kept a secret as long as it could possibly be concealed from him) he sent *Cateas* into exile, and disannulled all

^f STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 751, 752. CIC. epist. lib. xii. ep. 14. VAILL. Seleucidar. imper. p. 262. DIONYS. perieg. v. 915. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. xiv. c. 8. edit. Vales. AL AZIZ. apud Abulfed. ubi sup. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 298, 299. POC. ubi sup. p. 196, 197, 198. YACUT. ANTONIN. itinerar. SHARIF AL EDRISI, BOHAD. ubi sup. p. 81. ALE. SCHULT. ubi sup.

his clandestine negotiations. That writer calls *Yezid Jafsus*, and *Cedrenus* denominates him *Jadus*; tho' neither of them take the least notice of *Amru Ebn Al As*. *Cedrenus* gives the prefect above-mentioned, who was banished by *Heradius*, the name, or rather surname, of *Catzas*. We are told by *Theophanes*, that *Cateas* came to *Chakedon*, ΕΙΣ ΧΑΛΚΗΔΟΝΑ, in order to have an interview with *Yezid* there, and settle with him the articles of the aforesaid treaty. But the text of *Theophanes* must undoubtedly have been corrupted here, and that even before the time of *Cedrenus*, who has copied the depravation; since *Chalcedon* was a city of *Bithynia*, seated on the *Bosphorus*, at an immense distance from *Mesopotamia*, and a place that *Yezid* never saw. In the room of ΕΙΣ ΧΑΛΚΗΔΟΝΑ, therefore, we must substitute either ΕΙΣ ΧΑΛΚΙΔΑ, or ΕΙΣ ΧΑΛΥΒΟΝΑ; *Chalcis* being the capital of *Chalcidene*, a province of *Syria*, at no great distance from the *Euphrates*, that separated *Syria* from *Mesopotamia*, and *Chalybon*, the principal city of *Chalybonitis*, another province of *Syria*, terminated by that river. But the first of these two readings, in our opinion, is preferable to the latter; since *Chalcis* was a city of much greater note than *Chalybon*, and mentioned by some of the *Arab* historians, who have wrote the life of *Omar*; whereas *Chalybon* has been passed over in silence by every one of them. The *Moslems* completed the conquest of *Syria* in six years; that term elapsing between the first expedition against *Syria*, which was undertaken in *Abu Becr's* reign, and the final expulsion of the *Greeks* out of that region by *Omar*, in the 18th year of the *Hejra* 8.

THERE happened this very year such violent storms of hail *A great* in the peninsula of the *Arabs*, that a considerable extent of *mortality* territory was laid waste by them, and a great number of animals of various kinds destroyed. An epidemical distemper *in Syria* likewise raged at *Medina*, which spread itself over all the adjacent territory, and swept away abundance of people. *Omar* himself and *Abbás* were visited by the common calamity; but, by the application of proper remedies, they recovered. Nor did *Syria* escape the fatal effects of such a terrible malady, the plague this very year making dreadful ravages in that country. The *Moslems* there lost 25,000 men, who were carried off by the pestilence; and amongst them *Abu Obeidah* himself, who was about 58 years old, *Serjabil Ebn Hasanah*, who had been *Mohammed's* secretary, *Maad Ebn Hamil*, *Al Fadl Ebn Al* *and Arabia.*

‡ AL WAKED. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 282. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 429. PLIN. STRAB. TACIT. JOSEPH. PTOL. STEPH. BYZANT. &c. ARULFED. in hist. gen. EUTYCH. AL MAKIN, ABU'L-FARAJ, &c.

Abbās, an Arab commander, who had been sent by *Abu Obeidab* to plunder *Manbij*, *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiān*, and other persons of distinction. In fine, the mortality occasioned by the plague, both in *Arabia* and *Syria*, was so frightful, that the *Arabs* filled the 18th year of the *Hejra*, notwithstanding the beginning of it had proved so favourable to them, *the year of destruction*. As for *Khāled Ebn Al Walid*, he survived *Abu Obeidab* only three years. Some of the *Arab* writers say, that *Hems* was the place both of his death and interment, others *Medina*; so that in this point the *Moslem* historians are not agreed ^h.

Amru Ebn Al As having executed the *Khalif's* orders in *Syria*, and settled every thing there to the satisfaction of the *Arabian* pontiff, begun his march for *Egypt*, at the head of the forces assigned him for the invasion of that country. In the mean time, *Amru* having had some ill offices done him at court by *Othmān Ebn Affān*, as was supposed, the *Khalif* dispatched a courier to him with a letter couched in the following terms: "If this letter reaches you before you enter *Egypt*, return; if not, continue your march, and the blessing of God attend you. The supplies you may at any time stand in need of shall be sent you with all possible expedition." The courier overtook *Amru* before his troops were out of *Syria*, tho' they were all then in motion for *Egypt*, and delivered him the *Khalif's* letter. But he either suspecting, or having received some secret intelligence of what had happened, ordered him to follow the army till he should be at leisure to read it; and then, by forced marches, he advanced from *Rafakh*, where the courier found him, to a village not far from *Arish*, a place within the territories of *Egypt*, where he ordered his army to halt. Here he opened the letter before the messenger, and all the officers assembled in his tent, with the same gravity and formality as if he had been altogether ignorant of the contents. Having then read it in the presence of them all, he asked whether they were in *Syria* or in *Egypt*? To which they replied, in *Egypt*. "Then," said he, "we are to pursue our march, and make ourselves masters of that country." *Rafakh*, or *Rafabb*, is said to have been the first town, or village, of *Egypt*, on the side of *Syria*, by *Abulfeda*, who calls the tract betwixt it and *Furma Al Jafār*. From whence it appears probable, that *Amru* was within the territories of *Egypt*, when he received this letter from the *Khalif*; though

^h AL MAKIN, hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. iii. p. 24. AL WAKED. ubi sup. Auth. of the hist. of Jerusalem, MS. Arab. POCOCK. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 362.

Mr. Ockley seems to have been of a different opinion. We are told by *Eutychius*, that *Othmân Ebn Affân* prejudiced *Omar* against *Amru Ebn Al As*, of whom he had always entertained a very good opinion, by representing him as an officer that was too rash and precipitate, as well as too imperious, and consequently as one who would in all probability expose his troops to very great dangers, to the *Khalif*. Be that as it will, *Amru* suspected, if he did not know, that the contents of *Omar's* letter were not favourable to him. Some say, that the *Khalif* himself had informed him, when he was engaged in the siege of *Cæsarea*, privately, what measures he was to pursue. But the *Arab* writers themselves, as sufficiently appears from *Eutychius*, were not perfectly agreed as to the circumstances of this affair ⁱ.

It being determined to penetrate farther into *Egypt*, *Amru* He takes refused his march, and advanced to *Farma*, or, as it is called *Farma*. by some authors, *Farama* and *Faramia*, a town of *Egypt*, on the *Mediterranean*, known amongst the *Copts*, or *Coptis*, by the name of *Baremân*, where he immediately ordered his tents to be pitched. With what sort of a garison that place was then provided, we are no-where told; but the troops of which it was composed made a pretty vigorous defence, since *Amru* found himself obliged to carry on in form the siege of it a month before he could force it to surrender. *Farma* was seated on the isthmus that separates the *Arabian* gulf from the *Mediterranean*, or rather connects *Egypt* with *Syria* and *Arabia*, not far from *Tina*, or *Pelusium*, on the first mouth of the *Nile*. After *Amru* had made himself master of this place, he narrowly viewed its situation; and, according to *Ebn Said*, formed a design to cut a channel through the isthmus on which it stood, and thereby open a communication between the *Arabian* gulf and the *Mediterranean*. But this project by no means met with the approbation of the *Khalif*, as he imagined that the execution of it would facilitate the entrance of the *Christians* into *Arabia*. The name *Farma*, or *Faramia*, seems to be *Egyptian*, and may possibly have been originally deduced from the *Egyptian* word *Pharmuthis*, or *Pharmutosis*; either of which, by contraction, might have become *Farma*, or *Faramia*. We are told by *Abulfeda*, that the isthmus between the seas *Al Rûm* and *Al Kolzom*, as he termed the *Mediterranean* and the *Arabian* gulf, was about 70 miles over; and that the canal projected by *Amru* was to have been made in a part of that isthmus called, in his time, by the *Arabs*, *Dhanab Al*

ⁱ EUTYCH. annal. tom. ii. p. 296—303. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 29. ISM. ABULFED. in descript. Ægypt. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 345.

Tamšābb. That author gives the town we are now speaking of the name of *Al Farama*. *Ebn Hawkel* relates, that the sepulchre of *Galen*, or, as he calls him, *Jalinus*, was to be seen here in his time, who died at *Farma* on his return home. It was taken in the 18th year of the *Hejra* by *Amru Ebn Al As*, and likewise by *Baldwin*, king of *Jerusalem*, in the year of our LORD 1117. Afterwards it went to ruin, and has for a considerable period been so completely buried in the sands on which it stood, that at present scarce any remains of it are to be seen. It has been remarked by *Goliuz*, that a species of palm-trees flourish here, which in size, fecundity, and the excellency of their fruit, are superior to those to be met with in any other part of the world^k.

He marches to AMRU having made himself master of *Farma*, or, as it is called by *Abulfeda*, *Al Farama*, marched directly to *Mesr*, *Misr*, or *Misra*, the *Memphis* of the old geographers, and the residence of the antient *Egyptian* kings. *Mesr*, or *Misr*, was the first and original name of *Egypt*, being the same as the *Mizraim*, or *Misraim*, of Scripture, and is applied to the whole region, as well as the antient capital of it, by the *Arabian* writers. The city of *Mesr* was situated on the western, or *Libyan*, bank of the *Nile*, and occupied the spot on which the village of *Geeza* at present stands. This we learn from *Dr. Shaw*, whose geographical observations relating to *Egypt* and *Arabia Petraea* are more curious, and superior in point of truth, at least probability, learning, accuracy, and judgment, to those of any other modern traveller. This we think ourselves obliged to own, though, in our ANTIEN T UNIVERSAL HISTORY, we have sometimes taken the liberty to differ from him. 'Tis true, he has not, by any lukewarmness or indifference to revealed religion, or rather an apparent inclination not to oppose the bare-faced infidelity of the present age, endeavoured to accommodate his observations to the vicious and depraved taste of our modern unbelievers; but then he has not, by any tedious and jejune descriptions of things meriting not the least regard, by citing authors in support of facts they never mention, and by many inaccuracies, as well as some gross blunders and misrepresentations, rendered them unworthy of the perusal of the learned. In fine, his book will stand its ground, when all the efforts of envy and malice have been spent; when some of those, either written in imitation of it, or with a design to depreciate it, will be buried in oblivion, or at least meet with that contempt which they so justly deserve^l. MISR

^k EUTYCH. AL MAKIN, & ABULFED. ubi sup. EBN SAID, apud Abulfed. ubi sup. EBN HAWKEL, ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 145—147.

^l EUTYCH. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. SHARIF AL EDRISI, in clim. iii. c. 3. ABULFED. in descript. Egypt.

MESR being the most considerable and strongest fortress of and *be- Egypt*, except *Alexandria*, in the time of *Omar*, the *Greeks* *siege* it. had taken care to fortify it, as expecting a visit from the *Arabs*, in the best manner they were able. They had surrounded the castle, of itself a place of considerable strength, with a foss, or ditch, into which they had thrown great quantities of nails, iron spikes, &c. in order to render the place inaccessible to the *Arabs*. However, *Amru*, tho' with great difficulty, first invested the town, and then besieged it in form. The siege he continued seven months, without being able to make any impression upon the citadel; from which, indeed, the greatest resistance was apprehended by the *Moslems*. Nor was he much surprized at this, since his troops at first did not amount to above 4000 men, and many of these he had lost since the commencement of the siege. This he apprized the *Khalif* of by a courier, dispatched to him for that purpose; who, immediately after the intelligence came to hand, sent him a reinforcement of 4000 men. But neither would this additional force, that marched instantly under the command of *Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm* into *Egypt*, have been sufficient to enable him to carry his point, had not *Mokawkas*, a *Copt*, the governor of *Mesr*, by treachery, delivered up both the city and the castle into his hands^m.

MOKAWKAS, who had for some time been the emperor's *Misr deli-* lieutenant, or prefect, of *Mesr*, was of the *Jacobite* sect, and *vered into* a mortal enemy to the *Greeks*. When *Khosrû*, the king, or *the hands* *Shâh*, of *Persia*, besieged *Constantinople*, he considered the *of the* emperor as upon the brink of destruction; and, therefore, *Arabs*. thought he had then a fair opportunity of setting up for himself in *Mesr*, or *Egypt*. Instead, therefore, of affording his master any assistance at that perilous conjuncture, as in duty he was obliged to do, he hoarded up the public revenues of *Mesr* for his own use. Conscious of his guilt, and apprehensive of the punishment he deserved, he ever after did his utmost to prejudice and embarrass the emperor's affairs. His intention now, of consequence, was not to defend the citadel, but to surrender it to the *Arabs*, upon as good terms as he could procure for himself, and, above all, to secure to himself the possession of the immense treasure he had so villainously acquired; not being at all solicitous for the welfare of the *Greeks*, to whom he bore the most implacable hatred that could be conceived. In order, therefore, to facilitate the

Egypt. OZJOT, in *Al Kahir.* & *Ægypt. chronic.* GOLII not. ad *Altragan.* p. 151—157. SHAW's geographic. observat. in *Egypt*, *Arabia* *Petræa*, &c. p. 341. ^m EUTYCH. AL MAKIN, ABULFED. SHARIF AL EDRISI, OZJOT & GOL. ubi sup.

execution of the scheme he had formed, he prevailed upon the *Greeks* to abandon the castle, and retire into a little island of the *Nile*, between the citadel and the opposite bank, where he told them they would not be exposed to any attacks of the besiegers, who had lately received a strong reinforcement, and must of course soon possess themselves both of the town and citadel of *Mesr*. The *Copts* withdrew with *Mokawkas*, when he deserted his post, and accompanied the body of the *Greeks* to the island whither he had decoyed them; so that a very small number of men were left to defend the castle. He had no sooner taken this step, than the *Nile* began to overflow. Then he sent messengers to *Amru*, to know the reason of his invasion of *Mesr*, and what he proposed to himself by such an unexpected irruption into that country. In answer to which, *Amru* informed him, by an *Ethiopian*, named *Abadah Ebn Al Samet*, whom he immediately dispatched to *Mokawkas*, that the *Khalif*'s orders to him were, to oblige the people of *Mesr* either to embrace *Mohammedism*, or to pay an annual tribute, or, lastly, to leave the dispute between them and his subjects to the decision of the sword. *Mokawkas* and the *Copts*, without any farther delay, submitted to become tributaries to the *Khalif*, and concluded a treaty of peace with *Amru*; but the *Greeks* taking the terms of it to be too dishonourable, refused to accede to that treaty. But they were too weak in the castle to hold out long; so that, upon intelligence given the enemy of the weakness of the garrison by *Mokawkas*, *Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm* stormed it, after a faint resistance, and either killed or took prisoners all the *Greeks* they found therein. The body of *Greek* troops that had taken post on the aforesaid island, who were joined by some that had made their escape out of the citadel, finding themselves deceived by *Mokawkas*, reached the opposite bank of the *Nile*, and marched to *Keram Al Shoraik*, between *Kairo*, or *Al Kabirah*, and *Alexandria*, where they endeavoured to put themselves into a posture of defence, and resolved to wait for the *Arabs*. The articles of the treaty concluded between *Amru* and *Mokawkas*, which included the whole nation of the *Copts*, were to the following effect.

I. The *Coptic* boys, not arrived at the years of puberty, the men worn out with old age, and all the women, shall be exempted from the payment of the annual tribute to be imposed upon all the other individuals of the *Coptic* nation.

II. ALL the *Copts*, except those above-mentioned, that live both above and below *Al Mesr*, shall pay yearly two *dînârs* each, without any difference or distinction; no regard being had to the circumstances of the persons of whom the money is to be exacted.

III. THE *Copts* shall entertain all the *Moslems* that shall occasionally pass through the country, for three days together, if required, at their own expence.

IV. THE *Copts* shall supply, for ready money, with provisions, the *Moslem* camp; repair two bridges, that have been broken down; build others, that are necessary for the more expeditious march of the army; and render more practicable the roads between the city of *Al Meſr* and *Al Eſcandariah*, or *Alexandria*, which the *Moslem* general has an intention soon to besiege.

V. THE *Moslems* shall be at liberty to continue the war against the *Greeks*, who deserve the most rigorous treatment, till they have either reduced them to a state of slavery, or pursued them to utter destruction.

VI. *MOKAWKAS* himself shall always be considered as a *Copt* by the *Moslems*; and, after his death, his body shall be interred, by the *Khalif's* permission, in the *Coptic* church of *St. John* in *Alexandria*.

VII. IN consideration of the foregoing concessions, the *Khalif* shall also secure to *Mokawkas*, and the *Copts*, the free exercise of their religion, as well as the possession of their properties and effects, and take all of them under his immediate protection^a.

THESE articles being signed by *Amru* and *Mokawkas*, who had acted such a perfidious part, the *Copts* remained in quiet possession of all their properties and effects. The traitor *Mokawkas*, therefore, enjoyed the fruits of his iniquitous conduct, as his immense treasures so villainously amassed were not touched by the *Moslems*, and escaped being brought to that condign punishment he so richly deserved. The reduction of *Al Meſr*, in the manner here related, happened in the 18th, according to some, or, as others will have it, in the 19th year of the *Hejra* °.

AL ZOBEIR EBN AL AWAM, in order to facilitate the attack he made upon the citadel, stormed, by the assistance of ^{beir Ebn} his military engines, the weakest part of it, on the side called ^{Al Awam} *Sukol Hamam*, that is, *the market-place of the bagnio*; and, ^{takes the} by the help of a scaling-ladder, mounted the walls, before ^{citadel by} the besieged had any notice of his design. We are told by ^{storm.} *Al Makin*, that the *Copts*, of whom the tribute was collected, were at least 6,000,000 souls, and consequently, that the sum now advanced, as well as that paid afterwards to the *Khalif* yearly, by the *Coptic* nation, amounted to 12,000,000

^a EUTYCHIUS & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. & in hist. general. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, in hist. dynast. p. 178. ° AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 21, 30

dinars. We must not forget to inform our readers, that the city of *Al Meſr*, notwithstanding the treaty concluded with *Mokawkas* and the *Copts*, was afterwards destroyed by *Amru Ebn Al As*, and the city of *Al Foſſât* built on the opposite bank of the *Nile*, by the command of the *Khalif Omar*. Very considerable remains of the ruins of *Al Meſr* were to be ſeen in the days of *Abulfeda*; but theſe remains are now ſo intirely buried in the ſoil, that no traces of them are to be diſcovered. This we learn from the moſt ingenious and accurate Dr. *Shaw*, who, in his deſcription of *Egypt*, does not only agree with the antients, but likewise with the *Arabian* geographers; which, notwithstanding what has been inſinuated to the contrary by ſome who envied his ſuperior merit, is a ſtrong preſumption of the truth of what he has there advanced. The *Copts*, after the retreat of the *Greeks* to *Keram Al Shoraik*, did not only give the *Arabs* a particular account of their ſituation, but likewise animated *Amru* to purſue them, without giving them time to breathe, and (ſo inveterate was their enmity to their fellow *Chriſtians*!) even, if poſſible, to complete their utter exciſion ^p.

The Arabs drive the Greeks into Alexandria. IN compliance with the reiterated ſolicitations of *Mokawkas* and the *Copts*, *Amru*, after he had ſettled matters to his ſatisfaction at *Meſr*, advanced at the head of his troops to *Keram Al Shoraik*, where the *Greeks* had taken poſt, after their departure from the iſland in the *Nile*. Both armies being animated by reſentment, an action immediately began. The *Greeks*, for ſome time, behaved with great bravery, but were at laſt forced to give way. The *Arabs*, ſuſhed with their late ſucceſs, bore down all before them, diſlodged the enemy from *Keram Al Shoraik*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that poſt. Several other actions happened before the *Greeks* arrived at *Alexandria*; to which place they were purſued by the *Arabs*. According to *Eutychius*, the battle of *Keram Al Shoraik* laſted three days; after which, the *Greeks* retired to *S. Salſtam*, and maintained themſelves in that poſt nineteen days; but were at laſt forced to abandon it to the *Arabs*. They made another ſtand againſt *Amru*, if we will believe the ſame author, at *Karyun*; but, after a ſharp diſpute, they were likewise driven from thence, and obliged to ſhut themſelves up within the walls of *Alexandria*. We find it intimated by *Al Makin*, or *Elmacinus*, that the *Khalif* himſelf headed his troops in this expedition; but this from any other *Arab* writer does by no means appear ^q.

THE

^p EUTYCH. & AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. ABULFED. in deſcript. Ægypt. GOLIUS not. ad Alfragan. p. 152. SHAW, ubi ſup. SHARIF AL EDRISI, ALB. SCHULT. ubi ſup. ^q EUTYCH. ubi ſup.

THE Greeks had not long entered *Alexandria*, before *Amru*, *Amru* at the head of the *Moslem* forces, presented himself before the *besieges* town. He first summoned the garison to surrender the place *Alexan-* to the *Khalif*, offering the *Christians* the usual alternative, ei- *dria*; ther to profess *Mohammedism*, or to pay tribute. But neither of those proposals pleasing them, he caused the city to be immediately invested; and, as soon as every thing could be got ready for that purpose, laid close siege to it. The garison, however, made a brave defence, frequently sallying out upon the besiegers, and killing them abundance of men. *Amru* observing his troops to be greatly annoyed by the besieged from the castle, resolved, if possible, to make himself master of that place. He, therefore, attacked it with so much courage, that he carried it sword in hand; but, after a very warm dispute, the *Arabs* were fairly beat out of it again by the *Greeks*, who, on this occasion, behaved with extraordinary bravery. The *Arabs* lost a great number of men in this vigorous action, and, amongst the rest, several persons of distinction; which rendered not a little more sensible the loss they had sustained. *Amru Ebn Al As*, the general, *Moslemah Ebn Al Mokhalled*, and *Werdân*, *Amru's* slave, were taken prisoners, and carried into the town. Being brought before the governor, he asked them why they committed such ravages and depredations in the *Christian* territories. To which *Amru* resolutely answered, "We are come hither to oblige you either to profess *Islamism*, or pay an annual tribute to the *Khalif*; to one of which conditions you must submit, or all be put to the sword." A *Greek* that stood by, hearing this, said to the governor, "This man is certainly the enemy's general; therefore take off his head." *Werdân* understanding *Greek*, and seeing the danger his master was in, took him by the collar, and gave him a box on the ear; saying, "Hold thy tongue, and suffer thy betters to speak. Sure! this is unparalleled impudence! Shall one of the lowest wretches in the army give himself such airs!" Upon this, *Moslema Ebn Al Mokhalled* addressed himself to the governor in the following terms: "Our general has been for some time disposed to raise the siege of *Alexandria*. *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, the emperor of the faithful, has also wrote to him on that subject. In that letter he has signified his intention of sending to you an honourable embassy, consisting of ten persons of the first distinction, in order to confer with you about what is proper to be done on this occasion, and to settle such preliminaries as may serve for

sup. p. 310—313. AL MAXIN, ubi sup. p. 24. ABULFEB. in hist. gen. EBN ABD'ALHAKIM, in Ægypt. expugnat. histor.

“ the basis of a future treaty, and prove agreeable to both
 “ parties. If, therefore, you will be so good as to dismiss
 “ us, we will acquaint our general with the courteous treat-
 “ ment we have received, and employ the utmost of our en-
 “ deavours to facilitate an accommodation. Nor do we
 “ doubt but ten persons of the highest rank will soon be
 “ sent to you, to negotiate that affair; after which, the siege
 “ will be immediately raised.” The credulous governor be-
 ing imposed upon by this idle fiction, and convinced, from
Werdan's behaviour to him, that *Amru* was as mean as his
 slave had represented him, released them without hesitation.
 To which he was likewise farther excited by the desire of dis-
 patching ten *Arabs* of distinction; which he believed the dis-
 mission of the three or four supposed vulgar prisoners then in
 his power, the detention of whom he imagined would be of
 no service to the emperor, might enable him to do. Upon
 their arrival in the *Moslem* camp, they were received with the
 loudest acclamations, and all possible demonstrations of joy;
 which gave the *Greeks* sufficiently to understand, that they had
 lost an opportunity of embarrassing the *Moslem* affairs, which
 could not easily be retrieved. This story is supported by the
 joint authority of *Al Wakedi*, *Al Makin*, and *Eutychius*, tho'
 told by those authors with some variation of circumstances,
 however improbable in several particulars it may at first sight
 appear.

and takes
 it by storm. THE *Moslems*, greatly animated by the safe return of their
 general, resolved to make another assault upon the citadel;
 and either to carry it, or perish all in the attempt. The at-
 tack was so vigorous, that the *Greeks* could not maintain their
 posts, but were obliged to give way to the fury of the *Mos-
 lems*. The castle, therefore, was taken by storm, and all the
 garison either killed, taken prisoners, or absolutely dispersed.
 Some of those that made their escape, fled further up into the
 country, and others, by the assistance of certain vessels that
 were ready to receive them, went off by sea. Thus was
Alexandria taken by the *Arabs*, under the command of *Amru
 Ebn Al As*, on Friday, in the beginning of the month of *Al
 Moharram*, and the 20th year of the *Hejra*, after they had
 besieged it fourteen months, and lost before it 23,000 men.
 With regard to all the circumstances attending this event, the
Arab writers are not perfectly agreed. *Al Makin*, or *Elma-
 cinus*, and *Eutychius*, clearly intimate, that *Alexandria*
 was carried by storm; whereas it was surrendered upon terms, or

* EUTYCH. & AL MAKIN. ubi sup. AL WAKED. ubi sup.
 ABULFED. & EBN ABD'ALHAKIN, ubi sup.

taken by capitulation, if we will give any credit to *Abu'l-Faraj* *.

IN order to secure the repose of the *Copts*, as well as that *Amru* of the *Moslems*, *Amru* thought it proper to pursue the *Greeks*, *drives the* who had escaped from the citadel, and fled farther up into *Greeks a* the country; rightly concluding, that the public tranquillity *second time* might be disturbed, and the possession of his conquests in *out of* *Egypt* rendered precarious, as long as any considerable body *Alexan-* of them should remain in arms. He, therefore, marched out *dria.* of *Alexandria*, at the head of his forces, in quest of those fugitives, leaving but a very slender garison in the place, as not being apprehensive of any immediate danger on that side. The *Greeks*, who had before fled on board their ships, being apprized of this, returned on a sudden, surprized the town, and put all the *Arabs* they found therein to the sword. *Amru*, receiving advice of what had happened, moved back to *Alexandria*, attacked the enemy, whom he found in possession of the castle, as well as of the town, with such bravery, that, after an obstinate dispute, he dislodged them once more from thence, and forced them to fly for shelter a second time on board their ships. Many of the *Greeks* were cut to pieces in this action, and the rest so intimidated, that the *Arabs* had nothing farther to fear from them. Things being in this situation, *Amru* informed the *Khalif*, by an express, of the progress of his arms in *Egypt*; at the same time acquainting him, that his troops were desirous of plundering *Alexandria*, which they had taken by assault. *Omar*, in his answer to *Amru*, expressed a grateful sense of his services, and of the bravery of his troops; but at the same time blamed him for even mentioning the bare inclination of the soldiery to plunder so rich a city, which at that time was one of the most celebrated empories of the East. He commanded him absolutely to restrain the rapacious impetuosity of his men, to suffer no violence of any kind to be committed, to preserve every thing valuable that might contribute towards the enabling him to defray the expence of the war, and, finally, to deposit the money brought into his coffers, by the tribute imposed upon the *Copts*, in some safe place within the precincts of *Alexandria*, that the necessities of the *Moslems* might be therewith fully supplied. Besides the tribute of two *dinârs* a head, already mentioned, there was a tax laid upon lands, vineyards, and farms, proportionable to their annual value; which, exclusive of many other articles, produced of itself a prodigious

* EUTYCH. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GOLLII not. ad Alfragan, p. 160. ABULFED. EBN ABD'ALHAKIM & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

revenue for the *Khalif*. In order to enable our readers to form a more adequate idea of the immense wealth *Omar* acquired by the conquest of *Egypt*; of which that was only one particular city, we shall beg leave to insert a passage of *Amru's* letter to the *Khalif*, handed down to us by *Eutychius*, which is couched in the following terms: "I shall not pretend to give a particular description of the city I have taken, nor send you an account of all the curious and valuable things contained in it. At present it will be sufficient to observe, that I have found in it 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, 40,000 Jews that pay tribute, 400 royal *circi*, or places set apart for public diversions, and 12,000 gardeners, who supply the city with all kinds of herbs in great plenty." To which we shall beg leave to add, from *Abulfeda*, *Ebn Abd'al Hakim*, and others, that *Alexandria*, when taken by *Amru*, consisted of three cities, *viz. Menna*, or the port which included the *Pharos*, and all the neighbouring parts; *Alexandria*, properly so called, where *Scandarea*, or the modern *Alexandria*, at present stands; and *Nekita*, probably the *Necropolis* of *Josephus* and *Strabo*. The *Pharos* was an island extending from E. to W. near to the eastern promontory called *Lochias*, in a bay, about three leagues wide, and, according to the learned Dr. *Pococke*, made the ports of *Alexandria*. That, at present called the *Old Port*, is undoubtedly the *Eunostus* of *Strabo*, and lay to the W. of the *Pharos*. The vessels only from *Turkey* are at present admitted into this port. Here was also the *Cibotus*, which is said to have had a communication with the lake *Mareotis*, that lay behind it to the S. The port, now known by the name of the *New Port*, was the *Great Port* of *Strabo*, and lay to the eastward of the *Pharos*. To this port the vessels of *Europe* at present resort. The island of *Pharos* was joined to the continent by a causeway, and two bridges, 900 paces long, towards the W. end of it, which must have been about the quay of the *Old Port*. The famous light-house, or *Pharos*, as it was likewise called, was erected on a rock at the E. end of this island, that was on every side encompassed with water, and so in a manner a small separate island; which seems to be the spot on which the castle is built, at the entrance of the *New Port*. As for the city of *Alexandria*, it is said to have been washed on two sides by the water; to the N. by the sea, and to the S. by the lake *Mareotis*; and that the other two sides were each a kind of isthmus, or neck of land, between the water, about seven stadia in length; on which account, each of these sides, especially that to the W. was called *Heptastadium*, from which the causeway to the island of *Pharos* is said to have gone. The old walls of the city seem to have been erected on the height,

which

which extends from cape *Lochias* towards the E. the remains of a grand gate-way being visible in the road to *Rosetto*, at this high ground, and the foundations of the walls may from thence be traced to the canal. The outer walls round the old city are very beautifully built of hewn stone, and seem to be ancient; all the arches being true, and the workmanship very good. They are defended by semicircular towers, 20 feet in diameter, and about 130 feet apart: at each of them are stairs to ascend up to the battlements, there being a walk round on the top of the walls built on arches. The *Necropolis* part of the city was terminated on one side by a grand street, that extended from the gate which went under that name to the gate of *Canopus*, which is said to have been an hundred feet wide, and had, doubtless, in it many magnificent buildings, as sufficiently appears from the granite pillars still remaining in two or three parts. These stood in two rows, and several of them are standing at this very day. Among them was the *Gymnasium*, or public schools, to which there were porticos, above a stadium in extent. It is intimated by some of the oriental writers cited here, that the two principal streets of *Alexandria* crossed one another at right angles; and that they were built in so regular a manner, that no stranger could lose his way in this city, tho' it was of so very large an extent. The learned Dr. *Pococke*, to whom we are obliged for several particulars inserted here (tho', in the main, he seems to be rather too prolix in his description of this city, and to intermix too much of history with his geographical, or rather topographical, observations; which hinders his readers from forming a clear and distinct idea of the place he undertakes to describe) supposes the gate of *Necropolis* to be that to the S. W. which is now built up. To the three parts of *Alexandria*, mentioned by the oriental geographers, we may add a fourth, which has been taken notice of by *Strabo*; and that is the palace, with the suburbs belonging to it, within which was the *Museum*, or *Academy*, and the burial-place of the kings. The ingenious Dr. *Shew* has judiciously observed, that, considering the terrible devastations committed in other places by the *Arabs*, it is pretty extraordinary, that the greatest part of the antient walls of this city, together with their proper turrets, should have remained so compact and intire quite down to this time. This, he thinks, is chiefly confirmed by the present condition of the antient cisterns; which were built under the houses, supported by two or three stories of arches on columns, in order to receive the *Nile* water by the canal of *Canopus*, as they continue to do at this day. And the learned Dr. *Pococke* likewise looks upon these cisterns as the most extraordinary remains of antiquity that at *Alexandria* are

are now to be seen. But notwithstanding what has been advanced by both these learned gentlemen, with regard to the antiquity of the walls, we cannot help suspecting, that they must have been erected since the time of Omar. For, we are assured by *Ebn Abd'al Hakim*, an Arab author of good repute, that *Amru Ebn Al As*, being provoked by the Greeks, swore, that he would make Alexandria like the house of a common barlot, that was open on every side; and that, in consequence of this menace, he demolished the walls, and absolutely dismantled the city. It is at present governed by an *Aga*, who constantly resides in the place. The Arabs call *Alexandria Al Efcandaraiah*, and the Turks, as well as the natives, *Scandareea*. *Abulfeda* relates, that the *Pharos*, or light-house, of *Alexandria* was 180 cubits high, and destroyed by the Christians in the *Khalifat* of *Al Walid Ebn Abd'almalec*. He has also preserved a beautiful poetical description of the canal here, extracted from the Arab poet *Thâfer Al Hadâd*. The longitude assigned *Al Efcandaraiah*, or *Alexandria*, by this celebrated geographer, is $51^{\circ} 51'$, and the latitude $30^{\circ} 58'$.

Amru destroys the Alexandrian library.

THE Arabs having been hitherto sufficiently employed in the conquests they had made, had not yet applied themselves to any branch of literature, but poetry in their own language; and even that, for several years, had been in some degree neglected by them. They were at this time altogether ignorant of the sciences, and of every language but their own. However, *Amru* being a man of parts, and blessed with a good capacity, had no dislike to the conversation of learned men. On the contrary, he now and then, when the more important business of his province would permit, took great delight in hearing philosophical points discussed; and discovered a higher regard for those rational entertainments that please learned men, than the generality of the Arabs at that time did. It happened, that one *John*, surnamed *The Grammarian*, a man eminent for his extensive erudition, lived in *Alexandria*, when it was taken by the Arabs. This man finding an opportunity of insinuating himself into the good graces of *Amru*, was resolved to cultivate an acquaintance with him. This he did with such success, that he wonderfully conciliated the affections of that general, who was highly

¹ EUTYCH. & AL MAKIN. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 159, 160, 161. ABULFED. & EBN ABD'ALHAKIM, ubi sup. PTOL. lib. iv. c. 5. PLIN. lib. v.c. 10, 31. JOSEPH. contr. Apion. lib. ii. p. 1063. DIOD. SIC. pass. STRAB. lib. xvii. CURT. PLUTARCH. ARRIAN. ÆL. pass. AL HADAD, apud Abulfed. in descript. Egypt. POCOCKE's observ. on Egypt, p. 1—11. SHAW's geograph. observat. in Egypt, Arab. Petr. &c. p. 338, 339. ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup.

entertained with his philosophical discourses, and, for that reason, treated him with singular marks of respect. *John* finding himself a favourite, one day took the liberty to desire *Amru* to bestow upon him the famous *Alexandrian* library, in the following terms: "You have visited all the repositories of *Alexandria*, and sealed up every thing curious and valuable in them. With regard to those things there that will be of real service or advantage to you, I have no intention to ask for any of them; but since there are other things likewise there, which cannot in any respect be useful to you, these, I hope, I may be allowed to consider as of importance to myself." "What are the things," said *Amru*, "that you seem so desirous of?" "The philosophical books," replied *John*, "deposited in the royal library." "Those," returned *Amru*, "it is not in my power at present to give you. However, I will write to the *Khalif* about them; and if *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, the emperor of the faithful, will permit me to dispose of them, they shall be at your service." This he accordingly did, and received for answer from the *Khalif*, "That if the books he mentioned agreed in all points with the book of GOD, this last would still be perfect without them, and consequently they would be superfluous; but if they contained any thing repugnant to the doctrines and tenets of that book, they ought to be looked upon as pernicious, and of course should be destroyed." As soon as the *Khalif's* letter came to hand, *Amru*, in obedience to his master's command, dispersed the books all over the city amongst those that kept warm baths, amounting to 4000, as has been already observed, to heat the baths with. And notwithstanding the great havock that must have been made of them by this means, their number was so immense that they were not intirely consumed in less than six months time. This was the fatal end of that noble and stupendous *Alexandrian* library in the *Serapæum*, and suburb *Rhacotis*, called the daughter of that founded by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, in the part of the city denominated *Bruchium*; the loss of which can never be sufficiently regretted by the learned world. The latter of these was reduced to ashes, and the books it contained, amounting to 400,000 volumes, intirely consumed, in *Julius Cæsar's* time; and the former, whose number of MSS. when the other perished, was at least five hundred thousand, and afterwards increased to a much larger number, was destroyed in the manner here related by *Amu Ebn Al As*, in pursuance of the order for that purpose he received from *Omar*. Several of the antients, after the destruction of the library of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, mention that in the *Serapæum*, and particularly *Orosius*, who wrote his hi-

story about the year of CHRIST 417. This, therefore, happened about 225 years before *Johannes Grammaticus*, the famous *Aristotelian* philosopher, a *Jacobite* by sect, and afterwards excommunicated by the *Egyptian* bishops, assembled at *Meſſ*, for refusing to renounce his erroneous opinions, would have begged it of the *Moslem* general. Had this invaluable collection of books been still extant, several curious philosophical discoveries, that have since been lost, might possibly to the present time have been preserved, and farther improvements in various branches of science been made. A fuller and more extensive knowledge of antiquity in particular, by the assistance of some of those valuable manuscripts, at this time destroyed by fanatical madness, would undoubtedly have been obtained; as well as a clearer and more perfect discovery of the origin of letters, the basis and foundation of our historical researches, which has of late so much exercised the pens of the learned^u.

The Mos- THE citadel of *Alexandria* having been twice taken by
lems pen- storm, the *Greek* inhabitants of that city, after the second re-
trate far- duction of the castle, were not considered as upon the same
tho into foot with the *Copts*; the governor, or prefect, appointed them
Africa. by the *Khalif*, being left at liberty to impose what tribute he thought fit upon them. This we learn from *Eutychius*, who likewise informs us, that *Amru* detached *Okba Ebn Nafi*^v, with a body of troops, to penetrate into the western part of *Africa*; and that this general made himself master of all the country lying between *Barſa* and *Zaweilah*. The people of that tract punctually sent the tribute exacted of them, of their own accord, to *Amru*, at the time agreed upon. *Tripoli* in *Africa*, according to *Al Makin*, was about this time likewise taken by the *Moslems*. That city, called by the author last-mentioned *Tripoli* of the *Arabs*, is seated on the *Mediterranean*, and denominated by the *Italians* *Tripoli di Barbaria*, as it is by the present *Arabs* *Traublous Ifrikia*. *Eutychius* relates, that this city, to which he gives the appellation of the *Western Tripoli*, was reduced by *Amru Ebn Al As* himself, two years after the taking of *Alexandria*, or the 22d year of the *Hejra*, and the 10th of the *Khalifat* of *Omar*. The same author likewise affirms, that *Amru* built a temple, or mosque,

^u Poc. in orat. præfix. & in calce notar. ad carmen Tograi, p. 10, 233, &c. JALLALO'DDIN AL SOYUTI, apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 159, &c. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, in hist. dynast. p. 180, 181. PLUT. in Jul. Cæs. AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xlii. c. 16. Dio, lib. xlii. p. 202. LIV. apud Senec. de tranquill. OROS. lib. vi. c. 15. TERTULLIAN. CHRYSOST. EPIPHAN. &c. See also PRID. connect. b. i. p. ii. p. 12, 13, 14. Lond. 1718.

at *Al Foslât*. Notwithstanding, therefore, what may have been insinuated to the contrary by *Cellarius*, from the passages of *Al Makin* and *Eutychius* now before us we may infer, that the city at present forming the piratical republic of *Tripoli*, or at least another not far from it, went by that name amongst the *Greeks*, before the time of *Mohammed* *.

SOON after the *Moslems* had made themselves masters of *Agric Alexandria*, a grievous famine raged in *Arabia*, and particularly at *Medina*, then the residence of the *Khalif*. This induced, or rather obliged, *Omar* to write to *Amru*, to send him a supply of corn, with which *Egypt* at that time abounded. *Amru*, in compliance with that order, sent a large train of camels laden with corn, in a continued line from *Egypt* to *Medina*, the first of which were entering *Medina* when the last were within the limits of *Egypt*. But this method of transporting corn proving too tedious and expensive, the *Khalif* ordered *Amru* to open a communication between the *Nile* and the sea *Al Kolzom*, by cutting a canal through the interjacent tract. This, if we will believe *Eutychius* and *Al Makin*, that general effected; and gave to this canal the name of *The river of the emperor of the faithful*. But here we must beg leave to dissent from these writers; since it does not sufficiently appear from history, that there was ever any passage for vessels dug between the towns of *Al Foslât*, on the eastern bank of the *Nile*, and *Al Kolzom*, on the sea of that name, as they have been pleased to assert. The river, or rivulet, denominated by them *The river of the emperor of the faithful*, was undoubtedly no other than the *Annis Trajanus* of *Ptolemy*, or the *Khalis*, which annually supplies the city of *Kairo*, or *Al Kabirah*, with water, running from one end of it to the other, as well as the neighbouring country for several miles. It is, therefore, far more probable, that, on the present occasion, the *Khalif* ordered *Amru* to make the *Khalis* more navigable, by clearing it of the gravel or sand with which it was then choked up; and that, for this reason, it received the name of *The river of the emperor of the faithful*. And that this was really the case, we are certainly informed by *Abd'alhakim*, in his history of the conquest of *Egypt*; whose opinion in this point is supported by the concurrent testimony of *Al Makrizi* and *Abulfeda*. The former of which authors makes the *Khalis* to have been first formed by some of the ancient *Egyptian* kings, in the days of *Abraham*, and afterwards cleaned and enlarged by *Hadrian*; and the latter asserts, that *Al Foslât*

* EUTYCH. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GOLI not. ad Alfragan. p. 283. CHRIST. CELLAR. geograph. antiq. lib. iv. cap. iii. p. 125, 126. Lipsiæ, 1706.

had its situation close to the Nile, and that the vessels navigated on that river received their lading there, and set sail from thence when they departed to any other port. *Al Kabirab* stood a little to the E. of *Al Fostât*; and therefore the latter was not the same city with that capital, as we find intimated by Dr. Pococke. The word *Al Fostât*, or, as *Goliush* calls it, *Fustata*, denotes a tent, tabernacle, street, or city, in Arabic; the town so named having been erected by *Amru Ebn Al As* upon the spot where he pitched his tent, before he undertook his *Alexandrian* expedition. After the foundation of *Al Kabirab* by one of the *Fâtemite Khalifs*, which happened in the year of the *Hejra* 359, the city of *Al Fostât*, according to *Ebn Said*, was soon abandoned, and in a manner forgotten; tho' at first the *Egyptians* were highly pleased with its agreeable situation. Some of the oriental geographers make the antient city of *Menf*, *Minf*, or *Minph*, that is, *Memphis*, to have been a short day's journey distant from *Mesr*, *Misr*, or *Misra*; whilst others of them assert all these names to have been applied to the very same city. We must not forget to observe, that, according to *Al Makin*, *Amru* built *Al Fostât*, and that by the command of *Omar Ebn Al Khat-tâb* himself, if we will believe *Abulfeda*, after the reduction of *Alexandria* *.

The Greek
and Arab
writers do
not in all
points
agree.

IT is intimated by one of the *Greek* writers, that the *Arabs* made an irruption into *Egypt* a little before that country was subjugated by *Amru Ebn Al As*; and that they were prevailed upon to retire from thence by *Cyrus*, an *Egyptian* bishop, who gave them a good round sum of money to induce them to comply with his request. To which 'tis farther added, that the emperor being informed of this, sent for *Cyrus* to *Constantinople*, to give an account of his conduct; and dispatched, in great haste, one *Manuel*, an *Armenian*, to *Egypt*, to command his forces there, who was overthrown by the *Arabs*. The imperial troops were almost all cut to pieces in this action, and *Manuel* himself, with great difficulty, made his escape to *Alexandria*. This threw the emperor into such a consternation, that he immediately dismissed *Cyrus* without inflicting any punishment upon him, and ordered him, if possible, to conclude a treaty, or truce, with the *Moslems*, upon

* EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 320, 321. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 24, 25, 30. ABD'ALHAKIM, in hist. expugnat. Ægypt. AL MAKRIZ. in commentar. Ægypt. ISM. ABULFED. in descript. Ægypt. SHAW, ubi sup. p. 340. PTOL. in Ægypt. POCOCKE, ubi sup. p. 26, 27. EBN SAID, apud Abulfed. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 151—157. SHARIF AL EDRISI, five GEOGR. NUB. clim. iii. c. 3. LEXICOGRAPH. ARAB. apud Schult. ubi sup. ut & ipse SCHULT. ibid.

the same terms as formerly; but this he found it impossible to effect, they being grown more haughty and intractable by their late success. *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, the *Jacobite* patriarch, also pretends, that the *Arabs* conquered part of *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia*, before they reduced *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, and made themselves absolute masters of *Syria*. But as all the particulars here mentioned seem to run counter to what we have already extracted from the *Arab* historians, who ought to have been the best acquainted with the heroic actions of their own countrymen, perhaps they may not altogether merit the attention of our learned and curious readers ^r.

In the 20th, or the 21st, year of the *Hejra*, *Aiyad Ebn Gâ-nem*, by the *Khalif's* order, with a powerful army, invaded *Ebn Mesopotamia*. Having assembled all his forces, he advanced *Gânem* to the *Euphrates*, passed that river, and made the necessary *measures* dispositions for undertaking the siege of *Edeffa*. But the governor, garison, and inhabitants, of that place, being apprehensive that they could not defend it against the *Arabs*, the imperial commandant offered to surrender the town to *Aiyad*, provided he would secure to them all the possession of their properties and effects, and grant them the free exercise of their religion. To which he thought fit to add, that, if this offer was accepted, they would willingly submit to such a tribute as the *Khalif* should impose upon them. These proposals being agreeable to *Aiyad*, he signed the capitulation; upon which his troops were immediately admitted into the town. *Edeffa*, called by the *Arabs* and natives at this day *Roha*, is about a day's journey distant from *Gharraë*, *Carraë*, or *Harrân*, a city famous amongst the antients, and situated on the eastern bank of the *Euphrates*. It was called by *Pliny*, from a fountain in or near it, *Callirhoe*, from whence the *Arabs* have deduced their *Al Roha* and *Roha*. It was formerly governed by its own princes, who had the name, or rather surname, of *Abgar*, as appears not only from some good authors, but likewise from many *Greek* imperial coins that still are extant. These princes either really were, or supposed to have been, of *Arab* extraction, as we learn from *Tacitus*. *Abulfeda* relates, that it had been a very large city, adorned with a noble *Christian* church, and rendered remarkable by 300 monasteries that were in it; tho' in his time, as he says, it lay almost buried in its own ruins. The author of the book *Al Azizi* observes, that many traces and remains of antiquity, in his days, were vi-

^r THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 280, 281. DIONYSIUS TELMARENS. apud Joseph. Simon. Assëman. in biblioth. Orient. tom. ii. p. 103. Romæ, 1721.

sible in it. The longitude assigned it by the former author is $62^{\circ} 50'$, and the latitude $37^{\circ} 00'$ ².

And con-
quers that
country.

FROM *Edeffa* *Aiyad* marched to *Constantia*, or *Constantina*, at the head of the *Moslem* forces. This city was likewise seated on the eastern bank of the *Euphrates*, but in a southern direction from *Edeffa*, and is taken by *Cellarius* for the *Nicephorium* of the antients. The inhabitants of this place, as well as the garison, refusing to surrender it by capitulation, *Aiyad* found himself obliged to lay siege to it. This he for some time carried on, and at last took the town by assault; putting 300 *Greeks* he found there in arms to the sword. From thence he moved to the strong fortress called *Daras*, which he likewise carried by storm, and massacred all the people he met with in the place. This struck the other fortified towns of *Mesopotamia* with such terror, that most of them submitted without making any resistance. *Harrân*, in particular, surrendered to *Amru Ebn Said* upon the same terms as those that had been granted to *Edeffa*. This city is the principal seat of the *Sabians*, whose chief temple was erected upon a pretty high hill, insomuch that the words *Harranite* and *Sabian* have been considered as synonymous by some of the oriental writers. It has produced many learned men, and particularly several that have made a very considerable progress in mathematics and philosophy. Of these we have a fuller account given us by *Ebn Nedim* and *Ebn Kasta*, who take notice of a good number of them, and, amongst the rest, of *Thabet Ebn Korrah*, and *Mohammed Ebn Faber Ebn Snân Al Battâni*, generally called by the *Europeans* *Abatani*, from *Battân*, or *Bittân*, a tract in the district of *Harrân*, who made a very considerable figure. The religion of the *Sabians* is one of those, the practice of which, on paying tribute, is tolerated by the *Mohammedans*; and the professors of it are often included in that expression of the *Korân*, *those to whom the Scriptures have been given*, or literally, *people of the book*. They go on pilgrimage to a place near this city, and have also a great respect for the temple of *Mecca* and the pyramids of *Egypt*; fancying these last to have been the sepulchres of *Seth*, and of *Enoch* and *Sabi*, his two sons, whom they look

² THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 282, 283. GEORG. CEDREN. historiæ compend. p. 429. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 178. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joseph. Simon. Asseman. in biblioth. Orient. tom. ii. p. 103. Romæ, 1721. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 30. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 294, 295. PLIN. lib. v. c. 24. TACIT. annal. lib. xii. c. 12. & JAC. GRONOV. not. in loc. ISM. ABULFED. in tab. Mesopotam. Aut. lib. AL AZIZ. apud Abulfed. ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 244, 249. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup.

on as the first propagators of their religion. At these structures they sacrifice a cock and a black calf, and offer up incense. Besides the book of *Psalms*, the only true Scripture they read, they have other books, which they esteem equally sacred, particularly one in the *Chaldee* tongue, which they call *the book of Seth*, that is full of moral discourses. They derive their name of *Sabians* from the above-mentioned *Sabi*, tho' others deduce it from *צבא Saba*, or *the host of heaven*, which they worship. Travellers commonly call them *Christians* of *St. John the Baptist*, whose disciples also they pretend to be, using a kind of baptism, which is the greatest mark they bear of *Christianity*. *Harrân* is the principal city of that part of *Mesopotamia* called *Diyâr Modar* by the *Arabs*, a day's journey, or six parasangs, to the S. E. of *Edeffa*, according to the oriental geographers; tho' the interjacent tract terminated by those two cities is said to amount to two days journey by *Golius*. We are told by an eastern writer, that *Harrân* was the first city built after the deluge, and that it is about two days journey distant from *Racca*. It was the place where *Terah*, the father of *Abram*, died, according to Scripture; and is famous in profane history for the memorable defeat of *Craffus*. Its longitude, according to *Abulfeda*, is 68° 00, and latitude 37° 50'. After the surrender of *Harrân*, *Aiyad* easily made himself master of *Racca*, or *Rakka*, *Nisibis*, or *Nisibîn*, *Mawfel*, or *Mawfil*, *Beled*, *Beloda*, or *Belath*, *Rasûin*, or *Rasên*, *Amid*, or *Amîda*, and many other towns of considerable strength; all which, without the least opposition, at his first appearance before them, surrendered to him. *Al Makin* relates, that *Amru Ebn Saïd* took *Ainwerda*, about this time; which may possibly be true: but that he was the *Moslem* general who reduced *Harrân* and *Roba*, as that author likewise asserts, we cannot prevail upon ourselves to admit; as such a notion runs counter to all the other writers who have given any account of this irruption of the *Arabs* into *Mesopotamia*, and is absolutely exploded by *Golius*. *Habib Ebn Moslema* also, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, possessed himself of *Karkissa*, or *Kirkissa*, a city of *Diyâr Modar*, seated upon the river *Chabora*, or *Aboras*, together with the district belonging to it, by capitulation. We must beg leave to remind our readers here, that, by the inundation of *Al Arem*, so famous in the *Arabian* history, eight of the *Arab* tribes were forced to abandon their habitations, at which time some of those tribes, or colonies, were probably led into *Mesopotamia* by three chiefs, *Beer*, *Modar*, and *Rabia*, from whom the three provinces of that country are still called by the *Arabs* *Diyâr Beer*, *Diyâr Modar*, and *Diyâr Rabia*. The tract comprehending these three provinces, and limited on every side but the N. where it is

bounded by mount *Taurus*, by the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, and consequently forming a sort of peninsula, is, for that reason, not improperly denominated by some of the eastern writers *Jezîra*, or *Al Jezîra*, that is, the *island*, or *peninsula*; that word being applied by the *Orientalists* to peninsulas as well as islands, as we have already observed in our history of the antient *Arabs*. *Dionysius Telmarenensis* informs us, that *Asus*, the *Aiyas*, or *Aiyad*, of *Eutyebius*, *Al Makin*, and *Abu'l-Faraj*, the *Moslem* commander in chief, came to a general action with the imperial forces in *Mesopotamia*, and gave them an intire defeat; which, as he seems to intimate, happened before his troops possessed themselves of *Edeffa*, and therefore might probably occasion the surrender of that place. *Theophanes*, according to a very learned modern writer, calls this general *Fajdus*, and *Cedrenus Fadus*; which seems to imply, that he was *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofîân*, who is named *Fajdus* by the former, and *Fadus* by the latter, of those authors. But such a notion must be a mistake, as *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofîân* died of the plague in *Syria*, before the commencement of this expedition. In fine, by the reduction of *Amîd*, or *Amîda*, which stood near the foot of mount *Taurus*, at a small distance from the western bank of the *Tigris*, *Aiyad* seems to have completed, in less than a year, the conquest of *Mesopotamia* *.

The Moslems extend their conquests.

NOR did the *Moslems*, about this time, meet with less success in other parts. *Al Mogheirah Libn Shaaba*, one of the *Khalif's* commanders, with a body of troops, made himself master of *Shiz*, a place famous for the birth of *Zerdusht*, situated between *Zenjân*, *Shahrozûr*, *Dainawâr*, and *Marâgab*, and over-ran the whole province of *Aderbijân*. He also took, after a short siege, the city of *Adabin* in *Armenia*, and possessed himself of all that part of this country bordering on mount *Taurus*, and consequently in the neighbourhood of *Mesopotamia*. Nay, he obliged, in a manner, the whole region to

* STEPH BYZANT. SUID. CHRIST. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. xv. p. 713, 714. LIPSIÆ, 1706. THEOPHAN. & CEDREN. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 25. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 726, & alib. HYDE, de rel. vet. Pers. p. 128, & alib. GREAVES'S pyramidograph. p. 6, 7. POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 138, & alib. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 281, 282, 291, 292, &c. GOLLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 232, 233, 249—252. Aut. lib. AL AZIZ. & EBN HAWKEI, apud Abulfed. in Mesopotam. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. GEN. xi. 32. PLIN. lib. v. c. 24. FLOR lib. iii. c. 11. LUCAN. lib. i. v. 104. EUTROP. lib. vi. c. 15. STRAB. lib. xvi. PLUT. in Crass. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. xxiii. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 294, 295. AL KOR MOHAM. f. xxxiv. AL BEIDAWI, DIONYS. TELMARENS. & JOS. SIMON. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 362.

recognize the authority of the *Khalif*, and penetrated into *Cappadocia*. The large town of *Siwās*, the *Sebastia* of *Pliny*, at that time perhaps belonging to *Armenia*, he took by composition, and subjugated all the inhabitants of the neighbouring tract. We are told by *Eutychius*, that *Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba*, who at this time conquered the province of *Aderbijan*, was the first who gave *Omar* the title of *the emperor of the faithful*; which at first disgusted the *Khalif*, tho' he was afterwards reconciled to it. But this runs counter to what we find advanced by *Abu't-Faraj* in that particular, as has been already observed. That general, according to the first of these authors, when this event happened, was governor of *Basra*; the whole district of which place, together with *Obolla*, and other towns, had been reduced by *Uthal Ebn Arkan*, with a body of the *Moslem* forces. *Uthal* afterwards advanced to *Al Madāyen*, overthrew the governor of that place, who commanded a large body of *Persian* troops there, with great slaughter, and cut off his head. After which, he obtained leave of the *Khalif* to perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*; but, before his departure from the army, he made himself master of *Al Madāyen*, and left a garison there. *Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba* succeeded him in the post of governor of *Basra*, as well as that of general of the *Moslem* forces in *Persia*. But he not remaining long in that honourable situation, *Abu Musa Al Ashari* was appointed his successor, and also prefect of the territory of *Misan*, with orders from the *Khalif* to build several towns, or villages, in the neighbourhood of *Basra*, and settle some *Arabian* colonies there. This he did, and finished the buildings of the city of *Basra*, in which he thought proper to erect a *Moslem* temple, or mosque, of a moderate size. The city of *Shiz*, according to *Goliuz*, seems, by way of eminence, to be called the *Pyreum*, or *fire-temple*, by *Abulfeda*, as having given birth to *Zerduشت*, the great prophet and pontiff of the *Magians*, or *fire-worshippers*, if not the author and founder of their religion, and is one of the principal places in the province of *Aderbijan*. That province, which includes part of the ancient *Media* and part of *Armenia*, was, as it were, antiently the center of the *Magians*, having been almost intirely inhabited by them, and received its name from the object of their worship; the word *Azar*, *Adur*, *Adar*, or *Ader*, in old *Persic*, signifying *fire*, or rather the angel presiding over that element. Nay, the word *Zar-adošt*, *Zarades*, *Zar-aduشت*, or *Zer-duشت*, the name of the great *Magian* pontiff himself, according to some, denotes, in the antient *Persic* language, the *friend of fire*. It may not be amiss to remark farther here, that the followers of *Zerduشت* not long since continued to be pretty numerous in the aforesaid province;

vince ; so that it may not improbably be the principal seat of the *Magians*, or *Persees*, at this very day ^b.

The Moslem arms make a considerable progress in Khūzestān.

THE Moslem arms likewise made a very considerable progress in *Khūzestān*, the antient *Susiana*, a little before the 21st year of the *Hejra*, as seems sufficiently to appear from *Ebn Shohnab*, as well as from *Khondemir*, the *Perjian* historian. The general that commanded the *Khalif's* forces on the side of *Persia*, in this expedition, who, from several circumstances in the *Arabian* history, appears to have been *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkās*, some of whose great exploits in that country have already been taken notice of, possessed himself of *Abwāz*, the principal town of that province, with little opposition ; which put the best part of it, if not the whole, intirely into his hands. The city of *Abwāz* is the capital of *Khūzestān*, as well as of a particular district, called from it by the *Persians* the province of *Abwāz*. Sometimes that name is also applied to the whole tract going amongst the *Oriental*s under the name of *Khūzestān*, as may be inferred from some good authors. That city, of which at present little remains, stood near the confluence of two small rivers, and not far from the *Persian* gulf, or bay of *Basra* ^c.

A mistake in some of the Arab writers.

THIS last town, however, seems to have fallen again to the *Persians*, after it had been reduced by *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkās*, according to *Al Makin* ; tho', if we will believe that author, it did not remain long in their hands. For, *Abu Musa Al Asbari*, as he asserts, made himself master of *Alwāz* and *Siwās* in the 21st year of the *Hejra*. With regard to the latter of which places, we cannot prevail upon ourselves to admit, that it was *Siwās*, or *Sebastia*, in *Pontus*, or rather at this time, as it should seem, in *Armenia*, above-mentioned, as some appear to have done. For, *Al Makin*, by mentioning these two cities as taken near the same time, and that by the same general, seems clearly to intimate, that they could not be very far distant from one another ; whereas *Siwās* in *Armenia* stood at an immense distance from *Abwāz* in *Khūzestān*. We would, therefore, emend the text of *Al Makin*, by substituting *Sirāf* in the room of *Siwās* ; which we hope

^b EUTYCH. AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. GOLI not. ad Alfragan. p. 35, 226, 227, 266, 267, & alib. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. PLIN. PTOL. & SHARIF AL EDRIS. apud Gol. ubi sup. p. 266. ut & ipse Gol. ibid. AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in geogr. OCKLEY, ubi sup. ^c EBN SHOHNAB, KHONDEMIR, EUTYCH. AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 687, 688. GOLI not. ad Alfragan. p. 118. See also Mr. SALE's map of Arabia, prefixed to his preliminary discourse, and his translation of the Korān.

will meet with the approbation of our learned and curious readers. For, *Siráf* was at this time a flourishing maritime city, seated on the *Persian* gulf, or bay of *Basra*, in the province of *Fars*, or *Persia* properly so called, which was contiguous to *Khûzestân*, and particularly that district of it called in the strictest sense the province of *Abwâz*. The *Arabic* elements of the word *Siráf* are likewise extremely similar to those forming the name *Siwâs*; so that the depravation here supposed might have been very easily made. *Hormozan*, or *Harmazan*, the *Persian* governor of *Khûzestân*, surrendered the town and territory of *Abwâz* to the *Moslem* troops in the 17th year of the *Hejra*; or at least the following year. *Abu Musa Al Aghari* seems likewise to have almost completed the conquest of *Khûzestân*, by the second reduction of *Abwâz*; and to have possessed himself of a considerable part of *Fars*, or *Farfistân*, by obliging the city of *Siráf* to submit to the *Khalif*. We say, *Abu Musa Al Aghari* seems to have ALMOST completed the conquest of *Khûzestân*, by the second reduction of *Abwâz*; for that he did not ABSOLUTELY subjugate that province, appears from hence, that he was not able to force the strong city of *Tustar*, the *Susa*, or *Shushan*, of the antients, to surrender to him. *M. D'Herbelot* is guilty of a mistake, when he affirms the district of *Abwâz* to have been a part of *Chaldea*, or *Irâk*; since it was one of the principal cities, if not the metropolis, of *Khûzestân*; the tract nearly answering to the *Susiana* of the antients, as has been already observed ^d.

ABOUT the same time, that is, in the 21st year of the *Hejra*, the *Arabs*, under the command of *Al Nooman Ebn Al Makran*, subdued likewise *Khorâsan*, according to *Al Makin*; tho' that large and extensive province was reduced to the obedience of the *Khalif* in the 21st and 22d years of the *Moslem* æra, if we will believe *Khondemir*, the *Persian* historian. *Khorâsan* is bounded on the south by a vast desert, that separates it from the province of *Fars*, *Farfistân*, or *Persia* properly so called; on the north by *Turkestan*, *Mawarâ'nahr*, the *Amu*, and sandy deserts on the side of the kingdom of *Khowarazm*; on the east by *Sijistân*, and the territories of the *Mogul*; and on the west by another solitude contiguous to *Furjân*, *Georgia*, or *Georgiana*, and *Al Jebâl*, or the *Persian Irâk*. From which description of its limits, handed down to us by the *Persian* geographer, it appears to be a region of prodigious extent. *M. D'Herbelot* makes this vast tract to cor-

^d AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 25. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 266, 267. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, in hist. dynast. p. 179. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 688, & alibi. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 216. SALE's map of Arabia, ubi sup.

respond with the *Bactria*, or *Bactriana*, of the antients; as it is terminated by the river *Amu*, supposed by him to answer to the *Oxus*, and the aforesaid deserts, on the side of *Khowarazm*. Nor can it be deemed improbable, that part at least of this province, in some respect, corresponded with the ancient *Bactria*; since that country was separated from *Sogdiana*, part of which was occupied by the *Chorasmii*, by the *Oxus*. For, that the *Chorasmii*, or *Khorazmians*, of *Ptolemy*, *Strian*, *Curtius*, and *Athenæus*, were the progenitors of the people of the kingdom of *Khowarazm*, from the great affinity of their names, as well as their situation, seems clearly enough to appear. Notwithstanding what has been so positively advanced, in relation to the conquest of *Khorasân* by *Omar*'s troops, it must be allowed, that the *Moslems* could not effect the reduction of this province before the *Khalifat* of *Othmân*. They therefore, at this time, probably made themselves masters of only those parts of it terminated by the deserts bordering upon *Farsistân* and the *Persian Irâk*. As there is so little difference between the words *Khorasân* and *Khowarazm*, or *Khowarazm*, and the regions going under those names were separated by the *Oxus*; from thence we may conclude it not improbable, that one of the nations inhabiting those tracts was descended from the other. Be this, however, as it will, we are by no means inclined to believe, that the etymon of the word *Khorasân*, produced by *M. D'Herbelot* will prove satisfactory to our more sagacious and intelligent readers^c.

The Nohawandian war.

BEFORE we conclude our account of the military exploits of the *Arabs* in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*, we must beg leave to give our readers a concise relation of the *Nohawandic*, or *Nohawandian*, war, which happened, according to *Al Makin*, in the 21st year of the *Hejra*. The *Persians* receiving advice of an irruption made by the *Arabs*, under the conduct of *Al Nooman Ebn Al Makrân*, into their territories, assembled all their forces at *Nohawand*, a town of no great note in *Fars*, if we will give credit to *Abulfeda*; tho', according to *Yakût*, it was one of the principal cities of that country, in order to drive them from thence into their own dominions. *Al Nooman* being apprized of the enemy's motions, marched directly against them, came up with them at *Nohawand*, and imme-

^c AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 25, 30. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 687, 688, 995. KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABULFED. UIUGH BEIGH, NASSIR ETTUS. GOLH not. ad Alfragan. pass. PTOL. in geogr. ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 15. CURT. lib. vii. c. 4. lib. viii. c. 1. STRAB. lib. xi. ATHEN. deipnosoph. lib. ii. sub fin. DIONYS. perieg. v. 746. CHRIST. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. xxi. p. 833, 839. An account of the present state of Northern Asia, &c. p. 419. Lond. 1729.

diately engaged them. This action, which was extremely sharp, ended in the defeat of the *Persians*, who could never afterwards make head against the *Arabs*. The latter, however, sustained a very considerable loss by the death of their general, *Al Nooman Ebn Al Makrán*, who was killed in the action. *Al Makín* seems to intimate, that this battle continued several days; by which, as we apprehend, he must mean, that, during the movements of the two armies in the neighbourhood of *Nohawand*, several skirmishes happened, which at last brought on a general action, that put a period to this war. The same author likewise relates, that many of the *Persians* were slain in the battle of *Nohawand*; but of these he has not transmitted down to us the precise number. After the *Persians* had received this overthrow, *Nohawand* surrendered to the victors, and had a tribute imposed upon it. The first sum the people of that town paid the *Arabs* was distributed amongst the citizens of *Basra*, who had supplied *Al Nooman* with a great number of recruits. That general had been intimately acquainted with *Mohammed*, and was therefore styled by the *Moslems* one of the COMPANIONS. *Nohawand* was situated upon a hill, fourteen parasangs S. of *Hamedan*, and abounded with rivers and gardens, that furnished the inhabitants both with plenty of water and excellent fruits; of the latter of which very considerable quantities were carried into *Affyria*. *Hodaisa Ebn Yamân*, who, after the death of *Nooman Ebn Al Makrán*, took upon him the command of the *Moslem* forces, following his blow, reduced the whole kingdom of *Persia* under the dominion of the *Khalif*, except the two dependent provinces of *Kermân* and *Sijistân*, which held out for some time, though they were obliged at last to submit. In fine, *Yazdegerd* being almost intirely stripped of his dominions by the last defeat, fled to *Merû*, a city of *Khorasân*, situated in a remote part of that country, upon the *Oxus*. We are told by a *Christian* writer, that the *Arabs* carried off with them all the rich furniture of *Yazdegerd's* palace, and took his daughters prisoners in this expedition; as also, that, after the *Khalif* had completed his conquests in *Persia*, he caused to be drawn out a list or roll, containing an exact account of the number of all the men, cattle, and other useful animals, in his extensive dominions. It has been already observed, that the *Arabs*, under the command of *Abdallah Ebn Nadil*, immediately before the commencement of the *Nohawandian* war, had made themselves masters of *Isfahan*, or *Asfehân*, the *Aspa* of *Ptolemy*, and at present the metropolis of the kingdom of *Persia*; to which we must beg leave to add, that, about the same time, they likewise reduced the city of *Isachra*, that stood on the spot which had formerly been

been occupied by the antient *Persepolis*. This place made a considerable figure in the days of *Omar*, and has, since that time, been pretty populous for a certain period; but at present it has scarce the appearance of a poor obscure village. *Istachra* is said to have derived its name from that of the son of *Kajomaras*, or rather *Kayomaras*; which, if true, must evince it to have been a town of very high antiquity; tho' it was afterwards called *Persepolis* by the *Greeks*. The remains of the antient capital of *Persia*, visible here in the days of *Abulfeda*, appeared so stupendous and wonderful, that the stately structures to which they belonged were supposed by the vulgar to have been the work of demons. A little before the battle of *Nohawand*, *Jarir Al Bajali*, with the *Arab* forces under his conduct, took *Hamadan*, or *Hamedan*, a very large city of *Fars*, according to *Ebn Hawkel*, and at no great distance from *Nohawand*, or *Nihawand*, as 'tis called by *Yakut*. This must have happened soon after the reduction of that part of the province of *Khorasun*, which was conquered by the *Arabs* in the days of *Omar*. *Al Makin* affirms, that *Khaled Ebn Al Walid* died at *Hems* the year in which the battle of *Nohawand* was fought; with whom, as to the time of that event, another *Arab* author of good repute; as has been already observed, perfectly agrees ^f.

Omar assassinated. ABOUT two years after the conclusion of the *Nohawandian* war, in which the *Arabs* probably still farther extended their conquests, tho' no account of their military operations during that period has reached us, that is, in the 23d year of the *Hejra*, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, the *Khalif Omar Ebn Al Khatib* was assassinated by a *Persian* slave; of which horrid fact the *Arab* writers have handed down to us the following particulars: *Abu Lulua*, a *Persian*, of the *Magian* sect, whose *Persian* name was *Firuz*, one of *Al Mogheira Ebn Al Sbaaba's* slaves, was obliged by his master to pay daily two *dirhams*, in conformity to the *Mohammedan* custom, for the free exercise of his religion. *Firuz* relenting this treatment, complained of it to the *Khalif*, and desired that some part, at least, of the tribute exacted of him might be remitted. But this being refused by *Omar*, the *Persian* threaten'd his destruction; which he soon after effected, by stabbing him thrice in the

^f AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 25. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in hist. gen. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 221, 222. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 296, 297. LEBTARIKH, KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 485. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 429, 430. PTOL. in Parth. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 113, 114, 214, 215, 216, &c. ABULFED. in geogr. AUTHOR of the history of Jerusalem, MS. Arab. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 362.

belly with a dagger, whilst he was in the mosque at *Medina* performing his morning devotions. The *Arabs* then present perceiving that the villain had embred his hands in the blood of their sovereign, immediately rushed upon him; but he made so desperate a defence, that he wounded thirteen of them, and seven of them mortally. But, at last, one of the *Khalif's* attendants threw his vest over him, and seized him; upon which, he stabbed himself, and soon after expired. According to *Theophanes*, this *Firúz* was an apostate, or renegade, and consequently had before embraced the *Mohammedan* religion; but this is by no means probable, because, on his becoming a convert to *Islamism*, he must have been manumitted by his master, and, on his relapsing into *Magism*, he would indubitably have been put to death by the *Khalif's* order; neither of which particulars are consistent with what we find related of him by the *Arab* historians, and even by our *Greek* chronographer himself. As for *Omar*, he languished three days, and then died, in the month of *Dhu'l-hajja*, and the 23d year of the *Hajra*, which began in the year of our LORD 643. With regard to the duration of his *Khalifat*, authors are not agreed. The *Arab* historians, whom we are inclined to follow, say that he reigned between ten and eleven years. *Theophanes* affirms, that he was murdered in the 12th year of his *Khalifat*, and *Dionysius Telmarenis* extends the length of his reign to twelve complete years. Only one of the wounds given him by *Firúz* was mortal, and that he received under his navel. At his death he was sixty-three years old; which, as we are told by an *Arab* author, was the age of *Mohammed* himself, *Abu Becr*, and *Ayesha*, one of the prophet's wives, when they died. When *Omar* fell in the mosque, during the remainder of the service, *Abd'alrahmán Ebn Awf*, one of *Mohammed's* first converts, supplied his place; and the three days preceding his death, *Sahib Ebn Tarfib*, at his command, officiated for him. His body was interred in *Ayesha's* apartment, near that of the prophet *Mohammed*. We are informed by *Eutychius*, that, during his *Khalifat*, he performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca* nine times §.

THE *Khalif Omar*, as to his person, was very tall, bald, *His character* and of a swarthy complexion. One author says, that he was left-handed; and another, that he used his left-hand as well as his right. His head and his beard he tinged with *Al Henna*,

§ EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 320—323. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 25, 26. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 79. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 284. DION. TELMARENS. ubi sup. AUTH. of the history of Jerusalem, MS. Arab. Рогов. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 362.

which gave them a beautiful red colour, in the same manner as did *Mohammed*, and his predecessor *Abu Berr*. With regard to his disposition, the *Moslem* writers pass the highest encomiums upon him; tho' in this, perhaps, they may not have altogether divested themselves of partiality. His singular justice, abstinence, and piety, say they, procured him more reverence from his subjects than his successors could command by their grandeur. His cane, or walking-stick, according to *Al Wakedi*, struck more terror into those that were present, than another man's sword. His food was chiefly barley-bread, and his sauce salt. Sometimes, however, by way of abstinence and mortification, he would eat the former without the latter. His drink was only water. He was a constant observer of religious duties, and extremely regular in the performance of his devotions. His administration of justice was very impartial, his ears being always open to the complaints of the meanest; nor could the greatness of an offender ever screen him from condign punishment. He punctually adhered to the true and genuine sense of the *Korân*, and the traditions of *Mohammed*, in all his decisions; which rendered him extremely agreeable to his people. He was so far from being of a jealous or suspicious temper, that he did not always take the measures and precautions necessary for his own preservation. This sufficiently appears from the following relation, handed down to us by *Abu'l-Faraj*, of some of the principal circumstances attending his death, as well as of the cause and occasion of that fatal event ^b.

The cause of Omar's death. THE reason of *Omar's* assassination was this: *Abu Lulua* complaining to him of the rigorous treatment he met with from his master, who exacted of him every day two *dirhems*, by way of tribute, the *Khalif* said to him, "The money demanded by your master is no such great matter; since, as I am informed, you can construct a wind-mill, if you please." To this *Abu Lulua* replied, "I'll take care to construct a wind-mill for you, that shall not cease grinding till the day of the resurrection." Upon which, *Omar* cried out, "The slave threatens me; if I was disposed to put any person to death, upon bare suspicion, I should immediately take off the varlet's head." Afterwards, when he had been stabbed, whilst at prayers in the mosque, *Omar* sent for a physician, and commanded him to examine the wounds he had received. This being done, the doctor desired the *Khalif* to drink a draught of wine; which he did; but when the

^b AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 26. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 322, 323. AL WAKED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 179, 180. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 179, 180.

liquor came from him, it appeared in such a form, that no one could tell whether it was wine or blood. The *Khalif* then sent for another physician, who, after inspecting his wounds, requested him to take off a draught of milk. This that prince likewise complied with, and when the liquor ran out of one of them, it was of the same colour and consistence as at first, or rather, according to some of the manuscript copies of *Abu'l-Faraj*, stinking milk; which being observed by the doctor, he said to the *Khalif*, "O emperor of the faithful, make your will without delay; your departure is at hand." From which relation we may infer not only that the *Khalif Omar* was void of the least propensity to jealousy or suspicion, but likewise that, in his days, some persons at least not altogether unacquainted with physic were to be met with in *Arabia* ¹.

ONE of the names, or rather surnames, of *Omar Ebn Al Omar sura Khattâb Ebn Nafail* was *Abu Hafs*, according to *Al Kodai*, named *Al Omar* was of the posterity of *Ada Ebn Caab Ebn Lowa*, and *Farûk*. had the surname likewise of *Al Farûk*, that is, the *Divider*, or *Distinguisher*, which he received from the prophet himself on the following occasion. A wicked *Moslem* having a dispute with a *Jew*, appealed from *Mohammed's* decision, which was against him, to *Omar*; whose love of justice and equity at that time, tho' he could be considered in no other light than that of a private person, was most conspicuous amongst the *Arabs*. *Omar*, greatly incensed at the *Moslem's* obstinate presumption, in daring to prefer his judgment to that of the prophet himself, at one blow with his scymitar cut him in two; saying aloud, "This is the reward of him who refuseth to submit to the judgment of God and his apostle." *Mohammed* being informed of the fact, immediately gave *Omar* the surname, or title, of *Al Farûk*; which alluded both to his division of that knave's body, and to his distinction between truth and falsehood. The *Moslem* at first insisted upon referring the matter to *Caab Ebn Al Ashraf*, one of the principal *Arabs* of the *Jewish* religion; but at last agreed to leave it to the determination of *Mohammed*: for which reason the prophet gives *Caab Ebn Al Ashraf* the name of *Tâgbût*, that is, the *devil*, or *seducer*, in the *Korân*. We are told by *Ebn Shehâb*, that *Omar* was first called *Al Farûk* by the *Jews*, and not by *Mohammed*; but *Jallâl'eddin* and *Al Beidawi*, two of the most authentic commentators on the *Korân*, are of a different opinion ².

¹ GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, AHMED BEN MOHAMMED EBN ABDI RABBIHI, MS. Huntingt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 554. Vide etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. c. 21. p. 405—413. A Amsterdam, 1732. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. ubi sup.

² AL KODAI, AL TABARI, EBN SHEHAB, apud Al Kodaium, JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI, MOD. HIST. VOL. I. L 1 D'HER.

Some other
particu-
lars relat-
ing to
Omar.

THIS *Khalif*'s conquests were so considerable and extensive, that, had no future additions been made to the *Moslem* empire, it would have been one of the most powerful and formidable monarchies in the world. He expelled both the *Christians* and *Jews* out of the peninsula of the *Arabs*. He subdued *Syria*, *Egypt*, a considerable part of *Barka*, the western *Tripoli*, with its territory, and almost the whole kingdom of *Persia*. Besides which, his troops possessed themselves of the whole province of *Aderbijan*, a large extent of territory in *Khorâsan*, the greatest part of *Armenia*, and some other neighbouring tracts. He left behind him a numerous army, composed of the best soldiers in the world, such as the forces of no other potentate at that time durst look in the face. And, notwithstanding all this, he persisted to the last in his abstemious way of life; nor could any person ever infer an increase of his riches and power from any increase of his expences and retinue. The truth of the matter is, if we will believe the oriental historians, he was generous, liberal, and munificent, to a surprizing degree; frequently supplying with large sums of money vast numbers of his subjects, and even strangers too, who stood in need of his support. He was extremely punctual in the payment of his creditors, and often paid them more than their due. His equal and impartial distribution of justice is greatly celebrated by the eastern writers, and in some measure appears from several instances already produced in the course of this work; to which many more might be added, would the limits we have here prescribed ourselves permit. He surrounded the city of *Cûsa* with a wall, as has been already observed, and repaired, or rather rebuilt, both the temples at *Jerusalem* and *Medina*. The æra called the *Hejra*, or the supputation of time from the flight of *Mohammed* to *Yathreb*, was introduced first amongst the *Arabs* in his reign, and still prevails amongst the *Moslems* in every part of the world. He was the first who kept an exact list of all the persons who either served in the army or received any stipend from the public. A decree was first issued out in his *Khalifat*, by which the *Moslems* were forbidden to sell any woman that had been delivered of a child for a slave; which afterwards passed into a law. As *Abu Beer* divided the money in his treasury every *Friday* night amongst his subjects, in proportion to the different degrees of merit of which they were possessed; so *Omar* made such a division of his money amongst the *Moslems* weekly on the same night, in proportion to their necessities only. For which he assigned this weighty reason, *viz.* "because the good things of the present life were

D'HERBEL. ubi sup. GAGN. not. ad Abulsed. de vit. Moham. c. x. p. 22. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. iv. See also SALE's translat. and notes on the Kor. p. 31, 69.

" given

“ given us by GOD for the relief of our necessities; whereas
 “ the proper reward of virtue, and real intrinsic merit, be-
 “ longed to another world.” We are told by some of the
 oriental writers, that the tomb of *Sennacherib*, king of *Assyria*,
 was discovered on mount *Lebanon*, in the *Khalifat* of
Omar; and that *Al Khedr*, or *Elias*, or at least one of his dis-
 ciples, named *Bar Elias*, then appeared. Amongst the re-
 markable sayings of *Omar*, the following has been ranked by
 a *Moslem* author. *The Arab empire will fail, when the prince at
 the head of it shall be destitute both of the piety of the Moslems
 and the liberality of the Gentiles.* In fine, *Omar*, who, in his
 disposition, so resembled *Abu Becr*, that the *Arabs* called those
Khalifs Omarân, or the two *Omars*, built the city of *Basra*, at
 the mouth of the *Tigris*, in order to make himself master of
 the *Persian* gulf, and consequently, by means of this, to fa-
 cilitate the importation of all those rich and valuable commo-
 dities that were the produce of *India* into his own dominions¹.

As soon as it was known that one of the wounds *Omar* had received from *Abu Lulua* was mortal, and that the milk he sucked to
 had drunk issued from thence without meeting in its passage ^{name a}
 with the least alteration, the *Moslems* about him pressed him ^{successor.}
 to nominate a successor, without delay. To these he answered,
 that if *Salem* was alive, he should prefer him to any
 other person. Then they asked him what he thought of *Ali
 Ebn Abu Táleb*, whose affinity and near relation to the pro-
 phet, as well as his own personal merit and bravery, seemed
 to render him worthy of so elevated a station. “ He is not
 “ serious enough,” replied the *Khalif*, “ for the discharge of
 “ the duties of so important a post.” This not succeeding,
 they proposed to him *Othmân Ebn Affân*, as a person every
 way qualified for so weighty a charge; but him he rejected,
 as one too much inclined to favour his own friends and rela-
 tions. Then they recommended *Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm*, who
 had been of great service to *Mohammed*, soon after he entered
 upon his prophetic function; but his avarice, in *Omar*’s opi-
 nion, rendered him unworthy of the *Khalifat*. Nor could
 he be prevailed upon to name *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs*, whom
 he judged of too fierce and intractable a disposition for his
 successor. *Talha Ebn Obeid’allah*, one of *Abu Becr*’s relations,
 he esteemed too proud and haughty for so sublime a dignity;
 since, in his opinion, the prophet’s successor ought to be a
 person of the greatest affability and condescension. Nor could
 he be induced to nominate his son, when he was mentioned

¹ AL WAKED. EUTYCH. AL MAKIN, ABU’L-FARAJ, THEO-
 PHAN. CEDREN. ABULFED. DIONYS. TELMARENS. & EBN
 SHOHNAH, ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, D’HERBEL. biblioth. Orient.
 p. 687, 688, 689.

to him; saying, "It was enough for the family of *Al Khat-tâb* to have one to give an account of so arduous a province "as the *Khalifat*." Omar, however, appointed six persons to deliberate about the election of a successor, for three days after his decease; excluding his son at the same time from the right of voting, tho' he commanded him to assist at their deliberations. These were *Othmân Ebn Affân*, *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, *Zubeir Ebn Al Awâm*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf*, *Telha Ebn Obeid'allab*, and *Saad Ebn Abu Wakkâs*; all of which had been intimately acquainted with *Mohammed*, and were therefore stiled, by way of eminence, THE COMPANIONS. *Abu Obeidab* has been inserted in this list, instead of *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf*, by *Abu'l-Faraj*; but as that historian here-in runs counter both to *Eutychius* and *Al Makin*, and as more of the oriental authors than one assert *Abu Obeidab* to have died of the plague in *Syria*, in the 18th year of the *Hejra*, we have thought fit, with the learned Mr. *Ockley*, to reject his authority in the point before us m.

Othmân
elected
Khalif.

THE six commissioners, or rather electors, met after Omar's death, in order to deliberate about the choice of a new *Khalif*. At their first meeting, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf* declared, that he would lay aside all pretensions to the *Khalifat*, provided he might be indulged the liberty of electing out of his five companions an emperor of the faithful. To this they all agreed, except *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, who thought himself injured, because he was not the immediate successor of *Mohammed*. He, therefore, imagined, that, as one of the prophet's nearest relations, and the husband of *Fâtema*, he ought to be called to the succession without any farther deliberations, and even without the formality of an election. However, he at last acquiesced in the proposal, after *Abd'alrahmân* had sworn to him, that he would not favour any of the candidates who should offer himself. *Abd'alrahmân* having now carried his point, consulted with the other commissioners, and the leading men amongst the people, in order to discover the person they had principally in view. Finding, therefore, that they were almost unanimously inclined to favour the elevation of *Othmân Ebn Affân*, he declared him *Khalif*; and his five companions, as well as the people in general, then assembled for that purpose, immediately recognized his authority. With regard to the precise day of *Othman's* inauguration, authors are not perfectly agreed. Some say, that it happened on the last

^m GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 182, 183. AL MAKIN, hist. Saracen. p. 25, 26. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 322, 323. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. lxxii. p. 156, 157. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 344, 69, 370.

day of *Dhu'lhajja*, in the 23d year of the *Hejra*; others the year following, in the month of *Al Moharram*; and others again fix it upon the 20th day of *Al Moharram*, three days after the death of *Omar*. Be that as it will, the new *Khalif* at that time had the hearts and affections of all his subjects, tho' he afterwards unfortunately lost them. We are told by *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Abu Obeidah* came to *Ali*, and demanded of him, "Whether, if he was chosen, he would govern the *Moslems* according to the contents of the *Korân*, the traditions of *Mohammed*, and the decisions of the two seniors?" meaning, we suppose, his two predecessors, *Abu Becr* and *Omar*. To which *Ali* made answer, that "he was very willing to make the two former the basis and standard of his government, but could not prevail upon himself to put the latter upon the same footing." The same terms being offered to *Othmân*, he readily embraced them, without the least limitation or restriction; and was, in consequence thereof, immediately elected *Khalif*. But here, whatever regard in the main we may pay to his authority, we must beg leave to dissent from this historian; since the death of *Abu Obeidah* preceded that of *Omar*, and consequently he could have no share in the election of his successor, as has been already observed. Besides, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf* was a much more considerable person than *Abu Obeidah*, notwithstanding all his conquests, as having been one of the first converts to *Islamism*, and even one of the principal of the first and most intimate companions of the prophet; so that had both he and *Abu Obeidah* been living at the time of *Omar's* decease, the former, in exclusion of the latter, would probably have been appointed one of the six commissioners, or electors, above-mentioned. However, that what has been attributed to *Abu Obeidah* by *Abu'l-Faraj*, ought to be ascribed to *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf*, so that the story in the main may be true, very clearly appears from *Al Makin*. We must not forget to remark, that *Othmân Ebn Affân* is called *Othmân* the son of *Phan*, or *Fan*, by *Theophanes*; that *Ebn Arrabeb*, in his *Chronicon*, asserts *Othmân* to have been inaugurated on the first day of *Al Moharram*; and that *Abi'l Walid* places that event on the third day of the same month, in the 24th year of the *Hejra*; which was nearly coincident with the year of our LORD 645".

" AL MAKIN, ubi sup. c. iv. p. 31. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 182, 183. ABU JAAFAR, apud Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 25. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 320—323. EBN ARRAHEB, in chronic. Oriental. ABU'L WALID, apud Dionys. Telmarenf. in chronic. five annal. ut & ipse DIONYS. TELMARENS. ibid. Vide etiam JOSEPH. SIM. ASSEMAN. in bib. Orient. tom. ii. p. 103. Romæ, 1721. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. OCKLEY, ubi sup. & THEOPH. chronograph. p. 284.

S E C T. III.

The Arabs
extend
their con-
quests.

AS soon as *Othmán* was settled in the government, he sent a body of troops, under the command of *Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba*, to complete the conquest of the territory of *Hamadan*; which he effected without any great difficulty. He also attacked the castle of *Bira* in *Mesopotamia*, seated upon the *Euphrates*, which had either never been reduced by *Omar*, or fallen again to the emperor, after the departure of the *Meslem* troops out of the province to which it belonged; and, with little loss, made himself master of it. With regard to *Hamadan*, or *Hamadsan*, as 'tis pronounced by the *Arabs*, it was, according to *Abulfeda*, one of the largest cities of *Al Jebel*, enjoyed a very salubrious air, and abounded with gardens, fruitful plains, and fountains. There is a very high and famous mountain in its neighbourhood, named *Al Wend*. The kings, or *Sháhs*, of *Persia* retired formerly to this place, for the sake of its delightful situation, and the fine breezes that greatly refreshed them, in the summer time; on which account it is denominated by *Hamdalla* the city of kings, or the royal city. *Golius* seems inclined to think, that it was the *Ecbatana* of the antients. *Darúb*, the son of *Daráb*, erected a citadel in it, which has been for a considerable time demolished. *Hamadan* stands about two days journey from *Derkezín*, another very considerable city, little inferior in any respect to *Hamadan*, except that the inhabitants of the former follow the decisions of the *Sonna*, and consequently pay tribute to the king of *Persia*, for the free exercise of their religion; whereas those of the latter adhere to an observance of the doctrines and tenets of the *Shiites*, looking upon *Ali* as the first lawful *Imám*, or rightful successor of *Mohammed*. We are told by an oriental writer, that *Hamadan* was formerly four parasangs in length, and as many in breadth, and the largest city in *Al Jebel*. He likewise says, that it was destroyed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, but rebuilt and refortified by *Dara*, the son of *Dara*, who brought all his riches thither; and that it has produced a great number of excellent men. The intense cold in the winter-season here has been taken notice of by several authors. One writer makes the longitude of this place to be $75^{\circ} 20'$, and another $76^{\circ} 00'$; it has had likewise different latitudes assigned it by different authors. The situation given by *Pliny* to *Ecbatana* clearly evinces the spot occupied by *Hamadan* to have been at a considerable distance from that town. The fortress of *Bira*, reduced in the twenty-fourth year of the *Heira* by *Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba*, is said to have been founded upon a rock; so that it was undoubtedly a place of exceeding great strength. It had

a valley appertaining to it in the time of *Ebn Said*, that went by the name of the *valley of olives*, and abounded with trees and fountains. It was then one of the most advanced garisons of the *Arabs* against the *Tartars*. It was at that time likewise the head of a prefecture, and the place where travellers passed the *Euphrates* into *Syria*. *Abulfeda* determines its longitude to be $62^{\circ} 30'$, and its latitude $36^{\circ} 50'$. A modern *Orientalist*, of very considerable erudition, takes *Bira* on the *Euphrates*, there being some other places of the same name, to have been the *Zeugma* of the antients. A little before the reduction of *Bira*, *Mah Al Basra*, and the remainder of the tract belonging to *Ispahan* and *Ray*, or *Raya*, one of the most antient cities of *Al Jebel*, were obliged also to submit to the *Khalif*, by a *Moslem* army, that obeyed the orders of *Abu Musa Al Asbari*. There was such a sharp contention between the *Shiites* and *Sonnites* in the city of *Raya*, that it broke out into a civil war, which ended in the extinction of the *Shiites*; after which, the *Shâfeites* and *Hanifites*, the two sects of which the victors were composed, quarrelled amongst themselves, and almost totally ruined the city. What remained of it, according to *Hamdalla*, was soon after destroyed by the *Tartars*. It is about a day's journey distant from *Komes*, and thirty parasangs from *Cazbin*. *Komes* and *Raya*, if we will believe *Abulfeda*, terminate on the W. of the desert of *Khorasân*. *Raya* is famous for the birth of that celebrated philosopher and physician *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Zakaria*, from the place of his nativity surnamed *Rhazis*, *Rhazes*, or rather *Al Razi*, who died at *Raya*, in the year of the *Hejra* 311. He wrote many books; one of the principal of which seems to be that treating of particular diseases, intitled, *Medicina Mansuriana*, as though it had at first been dedicated, or inscribed, to *Al Mansûr Ebn Ishak Ebn Ahmed*, nephew to *Ali Abu Mohammed Al Moktafi Billa*, the 17th *Khalif* of the house of *Abbâs*, to whom it is directed, or addressed. The common title is *Rhazes* to *Al Mansûr*. According to *Ebn Hawkel*, *Raya* stands in the region of *Deylam*, though others make it to belong to *Khorasân*. An oriental author says, that the country in which it was situated was formerly much frequented, or rather traversed, by merchants. The longitude of *Raya*, if we will believe *Abulfeda*, is $76^{\circ} 20'$, and its latitude $35^{\circ} 35'$. This year *Moawiyah Ebn Abu Sofian*, who was then the *Moslem* prefect of *Syria*, made an irruption into the imperial territories, took many towns, and ravaged the country through which he moved in a dreadful manner. Nor did he sustain any considerable loss, notwithstanding the signal advantages he gained in this expedition.

° AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 32. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

The Arabs drive Yazdegerd out of his dominions. In the first year of his reign, *Othmân* likewise sent another body of troops, under the command of *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, to act on the side of *Persia*, with orders to repossess themselves of *Istachbra*, or *Estakbr*, which had found means to revert to its old master *Yazdegerd*. The motive to this expedition seems to have been the seizure of *Yazdegerd*, who then resided in that place. *Abd'allah* first advanced to *Darabajerd*, from whence he detached *Abd'allah Majase' Ebn Mas'ûd*, with a considerable party, in quest of *Yazdegerd*. That prince being hotly pursued, found himself obliged to traverse a solitude, or desert, in order to reach the province of *Kermân*. But not thinking himself safe there, he fled to *Sijistân*, and intirely abandoned *Persia*. What became of him after this precipitate flight, it would be both superfluous and impertinent to give a prolix account of here, as our readers will find a full and circumstantial relation of this in the history of the antient *Persians*, the last of whose kings was the unfortunate *Yazdegerd* P.

Alexandria taken by the Christians, and retaken by the Arabs. THE next year, the *Khalif* dismissed *Amru Ebn Al As* from his government of *Egypt*, and advanced his foster-brother, *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*, to that honourable and lucrative post. This conduct perfectly answered the idea *Omar* had entertained of him, when he judged him unworthy of the *Khalifat*, as being too much inclined to favour his friends and relations. His treatment of *Amru* on this occasion was an instance both of great injustice and ingratitude, and, we may add, of imprudence too; for that general had not a little contributed to the extension of the *Moslem* empire, not only by reducing many strong fortresses in *Syria*, but likewise by annexing *Egypt* to the *Khalif's* dominions. He had also wonderfully ingratiated himself with the *Egyptians*, as being not only of a very affable and obliging temper, but likewise perfectly well acquainted with the genius and disposition of that people, and having a thorough knowledge of the customs and constitution of the country over which he had with so much reputation pre-

p. 183. ISM. ABULFED. in geogr. tab. 19, & alib. EBN HAWKER & HAMDALLA, apud Golium, in not. ad Alfragan. p. 220, 221. ut & ipse GOL. ibid. Lex. geograph. apud Schult. ubi sup. ut & ipse SCHULT. ibid. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 26. SHARIF AL EDRISI, five Geogr. Nubiens. apud Gol. ubi sup. p. 250. ut & ipse GOL. ibid. EBN SAID, apud Schult. ubi sup. ut & ipse SCHULT. ibid. MOHAMMED EBN KATHIR AL FARGANI, & GOL. in not. ad eund. p. 210—214. HAMDALLA PARTHUS, ibid. BOHAD. in vit. & reb. gest. Salad. p. 44, 60, & alib. pass. Vide etiam AL ISTAKHR; apud Schult. ubi sup. ut & ipse SCHULT. ibid. P GREG, ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 183. LEBTARIKH, MIRKHOND, & RONDEMIR, Univ. Hist. vol. xi. c. xiii. p. 204. Lond. 1747.

sided. His dismissal, therefore, was considered as a public loss, and even disposed the *Egyptians* to a revolt. *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id* had scarce entered upon his government, when *Constantine*, the *Greek* emperor, received intelligence of the disaffection of the *Egyptians* to *Othmân*; which induced him to meditate the reduction of *Alexandria*. For this purpose, he sent one *Manuel*, an eunuch, his general, with a powerful army, to retake that place; which, by the assistance of the *Greeks* in the city, who kept a secret correspondence with the imperial forces whilst at sea, and joined them as soon as they had made a descent, he effected without any great effusion of *Christian* blood. The loss of so important a fortress alarming the *Khalif*, who now plainly discovered the cause of it, he immediately restored *Amru* to his former dignity. This step was extremely agreeable to the *Copts*, who having had experience of the military skill and bravery of this renowned general, and apprehending that they should be called to an account by the *Greeks* for their former perfidious conduct, had petitioned *Othmân* to send him once more into *Egypt*, to re-establish his drooping affairs in that country. Upon *Amru's* arrival, therefore, at *Alexandria*, the *Copts*, with the traitor *Al Mokawkas* at their head, did not only join him, but supplied him likewise with all kinds of provisions, and excited him to attack the *Greeks* without delay. This he did, and, after a most obstinate dispute, which continued for several days, at last drove them into the town. However, for some time they defended themselves, and repelled all the efforts of the besiegers, with unparalleled bravery. This so exasperated *Amru*, that he swore, according to *Ebn Abd'albakim*, *If God enabled him to conquer the Greeks, he would throw down the walls of the city, and make it as easy of access as a bawdy-house, which lies open to every body.* Nor did he fail carrying this menace into execution. For, when he had made himself master of the town, which he did after a good defence, he quite dismantled it, intirely demolishing all the walls and fortifications. However, he spared the lives of most of the citizens; tho' some of them, as the place seems to have been taken by storm, were put to the sword. In one part of the town, particularly, *Amru* found his men butchering the *Alexandrians* with unrelenting barbarity; but, by his seasonable interposition, he put a stop to their fury. In commemoration of this happy event, he ordered a mosque to be erected on the spot where it happened; which he called, on that account, the *mosque of mercy*. The *Greeks* having thus a third time lost *Alexandria*, which never afterwards recovered its pristine grandeur, but dwindled away gradually to the state in which it still remains, *Manuel*, the imperial general, re-
turned

turned with shame to *Constantinople*. We must not forget to observe, that this *Manuel*, by the assistance of the *Greeks*, recovered *Alexandria* about five years after it had been taken by *Amru Ebn Al As*, and soon after lost it again, in the manner related here. According to *Theophanes*, *Amru's* successor in *Egypt* invaded the dominions of one *Gregory*, an *African* tyrant, defeated the troops he led against him, cut most of them in pieces, and obliged his subjects to submit to the payment of an annual tribute. *Al Makin* gives the governor, who succeeded *Amru* in *Egypt*, the name of *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*, tho' he is called *Abd'allah Ebn Mas'ud* by *Abu'l-Faraj*. Both of those authors, however, seem to agree, that this *Abd'allah*, during his continuance in the aforesaid post, possessed himself of the territories of a neighbouring *African* prince, not improbably the *Gregory* of *Theophanes*, and carried off with him all his treasures into *Egypt*, after he had put him to death. But neither of them has handed down to us either the name of this prince, and the country he governed, tho' *Al Makin* gives us to understand, that he was a king, or any of the remarkable particulars of this expedition ⁹.

Moâwiyah takes Cyprus; ABOUT the same time, that is, in the 27th year of the *Hejra*, according to the foregoing historians, *Moâwiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân* invaded the island of *Cyprus*. The imperial troops being then very weak there, and the people of that island in no condition to oppose the *Moslems*, the inhabitants agreed to pay the tribute *Moâwiyah* demanded of them, in order to be taken under the *Khalif's* protection. Which tribute, if we will believe *Al Makin*, they paid very punctually for the space of two years. *Theophanes* has handed down to us very few particulars relating to this expedition. He only intimates, that *Moâwiyah* reduced *Constantia*, or *Salamis*, and subdued the whole island; in which he is followed by *Cedrenus*. He also relates, that *Moâwiyah*, upon receiving advice, that *Caecorizus* was in motion with a powerful army to invade *Cyprus*, sailed with his fleet, and a body of land-forces on board, to the island of *Aradus*, which he endeavoured to make himself master of; but without effect. *Abu'l-Faraj* informs us, that *Cyprus* surrendered to *Moâwiyah* by capitulation. Some authors assure us, that the *Moslem* general engaged to secure the people of *Cyprus* in the perpetual possession of their properties and effects, as well as the free exercise of their religion, upon condition that the revenues of the island should be equally di-

⁹ AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 32. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 183. EUTYCH. annal. tom. ii. p. 338, 339, 340, 341. EBN ABD'ALHAKIM, GOLI not. ad Alfragan. p. 159—161. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 285.

vided between the *Khalif* and the *Greek* emperor. In consequence of which treaty, *Moáwiyah* received of them annually 7200 pieces of gold, during the term above-mentioned; at the end of which the *Moslems* were ejected by the *Christians*. *Al Makin* places this expedition in the 27th year of the *Hejra*, or the year of our LORD 647. But it happened two years later, according to *Dionysius Telmarenfis*. Be that as it will, we are assured by one of the *Greek* writers, that the fleet on board of which *Moáwiyah* put the troops employed in this expedition consisted of 1700 sail^r.

AFTER *Moáwiyah* had reduced *Cyprus*, he sailed to *Ara-* as likewise *Aradus*, landed a body of troops in that island, and invested the *Aradus* city, or fortress, erected upon it. This he afterwards besieged in form, and played upon it so furiously with his military engines, that, had not the garison made a very gallant defence, it must have fallen into his hands. But finding, at last, that he could make no impression upon the town, all his efforts having been vigorously repelled by the besieged, he abandoned the island, and made the best of his way to *Damascus*, where he put his troops into winter-quarters. However, he attacked *Aradus* a second time, the following spring, with so formidable power, that the imperial troops in garison there were not able to make a stand against him; so that he drove the natives out of the island, demolished the fortifications, and set fire to the city. This is the account of the reduction of *Aradus* given us by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*; but, according to *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, that island was taken by the *Arabs* the preceding year. About the same time that *Moáwiyah* settled the terms of their submission with the people of *Cyprus*, *Ancyra* likewise surrendered to the *Arabs* upon composition, as we learn from *Abu'l-Faraj*^s.

In order to extend farther still the conquests of the *Arabs*, *The Arabs Othmán* sent this year another body of troops, under the command of *Abd'allah Ebn Amer* and *Said Ebn Al As*, to seize some of those parts of *Khorasán* that had not yet submitted to the *Moslems*. That the *Khalif* might excite a spirit of emulation in those generals, he declared his resolution to make him the governor of *Khorasán*, who first entered that country. Being arrived there, they immediately began the military ope-

^r AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 375, 376. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 285. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 431. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joseph. Simon. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 103. EUTYCH. annal. tom. ii. p. 340, 341. ^s THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 285, 286. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 431. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 183.
rations;

rations; and, in the course of the year, reduced a great number of towns. Amongst the rest, *Nisabûr*, or *Naisabûr*, the metropolis, *Herâ*, or *Herât*, *Busbank*, or *Busbakh*, *Tûs*, or *Tûsa*, *Abrim*, *Merû*, *Sirkbas*, *Sarkbas*, or *Sarakhsa*, and many other places of note, surrendered to them. Nor did *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, who seems to have penetrated farther than *Said Ebn Al As*, leave that region before, to use *Al Makin's* expression, he had drank out of the river *Balkh*. By which that historian seems to give us to understand, that the *Arabs*, at this juncture, penetrated to *Balkh*, and probably made themselves masters of that noble city, which was considered as the metropolis of *Khorasân* by *Abulfeda*; the river of *Balkh* mentioned by *Al Makin* probably answering to the *Dehâsh* of *Ebn Hawkel*, which ran through the suburbs of *Balkh*. We shall at present forbear saying any thing farther of these towns, and beg leave to refer our curious readers to the learned *Golius* for a description of the principal of them; since we shall have an occasion to expatiate more largely upon them hereafter, as well as the country to which they belong, in another part of this work †.

The Arabs
make an
incursion
into Isauria.

THE year after *Moâwiyah* had taken, or rather destroyed, the city of *Aradus*, another of the *Arab* commanders made an incursion into *Isauria*, where he committed dreadful depredations. Several towns and villages in that province he plundered, put a great number of people to the sword, and carried off with him 5000 prisoners into the *Moslem* territories. *Theophanes* relates, that the emperor sent this year a minister to *Moâwiyah*, to assure him of his sincere desire to conclude a peace with the *Khalif*; but the overtures he made on this occasion that author has not handed down to us. *Cedrenus* intimates, that the fortress in *Aradus* sustained a sharp siege, before the garison could be obliged to surrender it to *Moâwiyah*; whereas *Theophanes* only gives us to understand, that the imperial troops there delivered up the place, which was afterwards laid in ashes by the *Moslems*. Be that as it will, *Othmân* hitherto, in all his attempts, seems to have been as successful as his predecessor †.

The death
of Yazde-
gerd.

THE 31st year of the *Hejra*, according to *Al Makin*, was famous for the death of *Yazdegerd*. That unfortunate prince, who had for several years past not been in a condition to meet the *Arabs* in the field, prevailed upon *Tarkân*, the *Turk*, to assist him with a body of auxiliary troops. Soon after the

† AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 32. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 175, 176, 177, 179, 180, 181, 186, 187, 188, &c. EBN HAWKEL, apud Abulfed. in geogr. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 340, 341.

‡ THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 286. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 431.

junction of the *Turkish* and *Persian* forces, the former were dismissed; upon a frivolous pretext, by *Yazdegerd*; which exasperated *Tarkân* to such a degree, that, at the instigation of *Mabwa*, a person of note, and one of the *Persian* monarch's subjects, he returned in a short time, at the head of a powerful army, to chastise *Yazdegerd* for the affront. This brought on a general action between those two princes, wherein the latter was intirely defeated, and had the shattered remains of his army either cut to pieces by *Mabwa*, who had assembled a body of troops for that purpose, or totally dispersed. But for an account of the manner of *Yazdegerd*'s death, and the circumstances attending that tragical event, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the antient history of the *Persians*, to which it more properly belongs.

SOON after the extinction of the antient line of the *Persian* The Arabs kings, denominated the *Sassanian*, who had been distinguished by the surname of *Khosrû*, by the death of *Yazdegerd*, the *Khalif* ordered a body of his forces to advance towards the *Nubia*. *Khalif* ordered a body of his forces to advance towards the frontiers of *Nubia*, in order to penetrate into that remote kingdom, and annex it to his *Egyptian* dominions. Those troops were commanded by *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*, the *Moslem* prefect of *Egypt*, who seems to have been fixed a second time in that post by *Othmân*, if any credit be due in this point to *Al Makin*. That general, therefore, in pursuance of the *Khalif*'s orders, assembled the *Moslem* forces in the country of *Thebais*, or the *Upper Egypt*, called by the *Arabs* *Al Said Mevr* and from thence made several successful incursions into *Nubia*, where he met with little opposition. In fine, *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*, who had distinguished himself in a former *African* expedition, by his repeated courses, so harrassed the king of *Nubia*, who was a *Christian*, that he intreated the *Moslem* commander to grant him a peace almost upon any terms. In order, therefore, to obtain the peace he so earnestly desired, he was obliged by treaty to send the *Arabs* annually, by way of tribute, a vast number of *Nubian*, or *Ethiopian*, slaves into *Egypt*. Such a tribute as this at that time was more agreeable to the *Khalif* than any other, as the *Arabs* then made no small account of those slaves.

IN this very year, that is, the 31st year of the *Hejra*; nearly Notwithstanding to the 651st of the *Christian* æra, *Abudar Al Acâdi*, standing a discontented *Arab*, began first to rail at the *Khalif*, and to de- some sedition cry his administration. Of this *Othmân* at first took no farther notice, than to forbid him his presence; upon which, he retired into *Syria*, where he continued his aspersions with great Arab arms.

* AL MAKIN, ubi sup. LEBTARIKH, MIRKHOND, KHONDEMIR, Univerf. Hist. vol. xi. c. xiii. p. 204, Lond. 1747.

* AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 695, 696.
rancour

are still attended with success. are still attended with success. This obliged *Moâwiyah*, then the prefect of Syria, to send the *Khalif* advice of the seditious practices of that incendiary; who thereupon ordered him to return to *Medina*, and put him under arrest. How he bore his confinement, for it seems *Othmân* had no inclination to release him, we are not told by any *Arab* author; but from the sense given a passage of *Al Makin* by Mr. *Ockley*, it must be allowed probable that he died in prison either this or the following year. About the same time, or rather in this very year, according to *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, *Habib*, one of the *Moslem* commanders, made an irruption into the imperial territories on the side of *Mesopotamia*; and, in conformity to the *Arab* custom, committed dreadful ravages there. *Theophanes* relates, that *Habib* made this irruption into *Armenia*, and defeated a body of imperial troops that offered to oppose him; pursuing them as far as mount *Caucasus*, with great slaughter, and laying waste all the country through which he moved. This seems likewise to be countenanced by *Eutychius*. *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* also inform us, that *Moâwiyah*, just before this invasion, having seized the island of *Rhodes*, caused the famous *Colossus* there to be intirely destroyed, and sold the metal of which it consisted, 1360, or 1365, years after the erection of it, to a few of *Edessa*, who loaded with it 900 camels. This (A) celebrated

(A) We are told by *Pliny*, that this famous statue was overthrown by an earthquake about 56 years after it had been erected; but that even in the condition it was in after that event had happened, it might justly be considered as a stupendous monument of antiquity. As, therefore, according to *Eusebius*, that earthquake happened in the 2d year of the 139th *Olympiad*, or, as has been evinced by *Scaliger*, in the year of *Rome* 530, in the consulate of *C. Flaminius Nepos* and *P. Furius Philus*, about 218 years before the birth of *CHRIST*; and as *Moâwiyah* made himself master of *Rhodes* about four or five years after he had imposed a tribute upon the island of *Cyprus*, that is, about the year of *CHRIST* 651; hence it very clearly appears,

that the *Colossus* remained whole on the ground, after it had been overthrown by the aforesaid earthquake, about 869 or 870 years. *Scaliger*, therefore, was undoubtedly out in his computation, when he made that period to amount to 977 years; since the point relating to the identity of the year of the earthquake in *Rhodes*, and that of the consulate of *C. Flaminius Nepos* and *P. Furius Philus*, which he has established beyond contradiction, will most evidently overturn that computation. Dr. *Pococke* asserts, that the *Colossus* of *Rhodes* was thrown down by an earthquake IN THE YEAR NINE HUNDRED FIFTY-FOUR; which last words must either be, as we apprehend, unintelligible, or false. If by it he means the 954th year of the *Christian* æra, as most of his readers

brated colossal statue of the Sun, which was cast in brass by *Chares*, of the city of *Lindus*, who had learned his art under the famous *Lyfippus*, was 70 cubits high, and the stride thereof 50 fathom wide. This chronographer likewise observes, that the year preceding the death of *Othmân*, *Abu'l Abdâr*, who had been constituted admiral of the *Arab* fleet by *Moâwiyah*, gave the emperor *Constantine* a signal defeat by sea, on the coast of *Lysia*; and that such a vast number of *Christians* were killed in this naval engagement, that all the neighbouring sea was died red with the blood of the slain. With which observation we shall beg leave to conclude our account of the military operations of the *Arabs* during the *Khalifat* of *Othmân*.

NEITHER the detention of *Abudar Al Akâdi* in prison, nor *The Arabs* his death there, had appeased the public discontents and commotions. Sedition was industriously propagated, after both those events had happened, through every province of the empire; and the minds of the people were so alienated from the *Khalif*, in the 35th year of the *Hejra*, that every thing seemed to be tending to a revolt. Those who wished for a revolution, had taken care to inspire, with abhorrence of most of the measures pursued by *Othmân* since his advancement to the *Khalifat*, notwithstanding the success that had every-where attended his arms, all orders and degrees of men; and that, by suggesting to them, amongst others, the following articles of complaint. First, He recalled to *Medina Hakem Ebn Al*

AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 32. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 379, 380. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joseph. Simon. Afieman. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 286, 287. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 431, 432. PLIN. lib. xxxiv. c. 7. SCALIG. animadv. ad Euseb. p. 137. Amstelodami, 1658. EUTYCH. patriarch Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 340, 341.

readers will believe he does, he is altogether mistaken, as sufficiently appears from what has been here advanced; if he has not that æra in view, we take the words here pointed at to be absolutely unintelligible, as no other æra that we can think of will tally with his assertion. Nor is this learned author only mistaken in relation to the period

elapsed between the erection and destruction of the *Rhodian Colossus*, but *Theophanes* likewise and *Cedrenus*; the former of which writers extends that period to 1360, and the latter to 1365 years: at least this must be allowed, if we pay any regard to the authority of *Pliny* and *Suidas*, in the point before us (1).

(1) *Plin. lib. xxxiv. c. 7. Euseb. chronic. ad ann. MDCCXCIV. Polyb. lib. v. Paul. Ores. lib. iv. c. 12. Suid. Jos. Scalig. animadv. in Euseb. chron. p. 137, 138. Amst. 1658. Al Makin, Abu'l Karez, Theophan. Cedren. Eutych. Dionys. Telmaren. D'Herbel. &c. ubi sup. Pet. descript. of the East, vol. iii. par. 1. p. 237. Lond. 1745.*

As, who had been banished by the prophet to *Tāyef*, and detained there in a state of exile ever since. Secondly, he had removed from his prefecture *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkās*, an officer of distinguished bravery, and conferred his post upon *Okba Ebn Abu Mogheid*, one who drank wine, and was in other respects a person of very scandalous conversation. Thirdly, He had squandered away vast sums of the public money amongst his favourites; bestowing no less than 504,000 *dinārs* upon *Merwān Ebn Hakem Ebn Al As*, 400,000 upon *Abd'allah Ebn Khâled*, 100,000 upon *Hakem*, and upon *Sa'id Ebn Al As* 40,000 *dirhems*. Fourthly, He had dismissed *Amru Ebn Al As* from the lieutenancy of *Egypt*, and substituted *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*, his foster-brother, who had been proscribed by *Mohammed*, in his room. Fifthly, Upon his elevation to the *Khalifat*, he had presumed to place himself on the top of the pulpit, where the prophet himself used to sit; whereas *Abu Becr* always sat one step lower, and *Omār* two. These, and other grievances, extremely aggravated by the principal malecontents, so incensed the people, that some of them discovered an inclination to depose the *Khalif*. However, *Othmān* behaved with resolution at this critical juncture. He ascended the pulpit, and, in a speech from thence, told the assembly, that "the money in the treasury was sacred, and appropriated to the service of ALMIGHTY GOD; that he, as the successor of his apostle, had a right to dispose of it as he thought fit; and if any person should presume to take offence at what he had said, he begged that GOD would overthrow him." Which words were no sooner uttered, than *Ammār Ebn Yāser* rose up, and declared, that his speech had given him just offence; upon which, some of the *Banu Ommiyah*, then present, beat him in so merciless a manner, that they left him for dead. As *Ammār* had suffered much for the *Mohammedan* faith from the *Koreish*, in the infancy of *Islamism*, and had been one of the prophet's particular favourites, who is reported to have said of him, that "he was full of faith from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, faith being mixed and incorporated with his very flesh and blood;" this cruel treatment of him made an impression upon the minds of the people greatly to the disadvantage of the *Khalif*. A considerable body, therefore, of the *Arabs* assembled in a tumultuous manner, and incamped within a parasang of *Medina*; from whence they sent an insolent message to *Othmān*, resembling that of the *Janisaries* on similar occasions to the *Turkish* emperors, demanding of him either to act justly, that is, to do what they would have him, or to abdicate the government. This so terrified the poor *Khalif*, that he offered to make the largest con-

concessions to his rebellious subjects, to keep them within the bounds of their duty. In order to soften them, he again ascended the pulpit in the mosque at *Medina*, owned the faults of his administration, and said, he sincerely repented of his former conduct. He also promised to restore to the treasury the money given to his friends and relations, and to do every thing in his power that should be deemed necessary for the re-establishment of the public tranquillity.

BUT the malecontents, or rather rebels, grew more ^{They are} discontented on these concessions. Such a spirit of discontent had ^{appeared by} diffused itself over the whole empire, that it seemed impossible, ^{Ali.} by any means that could be thought of, to stem the torrent of sedition. Many of the provinces had sent a considerable number of men to *Medina*, to join in the common outcry against the *Khalif's* administration, and even in any attempt that should be made to depose him. *Malec Ebn Al Hareth* arrived at the head of 200 men from *Gufa*; 150 more, in support of the rebellious *Arabs*, came from *Busra*; and a body of 600 more, for the same purpose, from *Egypt*. The junction of these forces with the disaffected *Arabs* struck the *Khalif* with such terror, that, for some time, he was incapable of attending to the means of his own preservation. But, at last, recovering a little out of the panic into which he had been thrown, he sent *Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaaba* and *Amru Ebn Al As* to treat with the malecontents, and, if possible, to dispose them to an accommodation. This not succeeding, *Ali*, who had a considerable party amongst the mutineers, drew up a paper, containing a promise to redress all the grievances of the *Moslems*, which was signed both by himself and the *Khalif*. After which, at the request of the *Egyptians*, *Abdullah Ebn Sa'id* was removed from the government of *Egypt*, and *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr* appointed to preside over that province in his room. These salutary steps produced the desired effect; inasmuch that the body of malecontents, which before appeared so formidable, was immediately dissolved, and all the individuals that composed it retired to their respective habitations. Nor could the public repose have failed of being settled upon a lasting foundation, had it not been underhand disturbed by *Ayesha*, whose desire to raise *Telha* to the dignity of *Khalif* rendered her capable of meditating the destruction of *Othman* by any means possible, as well as *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, the new prefect of *Egypt*, and *Mertwan Ebn Al Hakem*, the *Khalif's* secretary of state, whose villainous

* AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 33, 34. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 184. AL BEIDAWI & AL ZAMAKHSARI. in AL KOR. Mohammed. f. xvi.

project contributed more than all the other concurring causes to his master's ruin. Of which execrable scheme, formed by this traitor, for the assistance of those who were endeavouring to bring about a revolution, we shall here beg leave to insert, from *Al Makin*, the following particular and most authentic relation *.

Othmân
sacrificed
by Mer-
wân, his
secretary
of state.

THE *Egyptians*, on their return home, under the conduct of their new lieutenant, *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, met at *Ailah*, a maritime city on the sea *Al Kolzom*, with a courier from the *Khalif*; amongst whose dispatches, which they took care to examine, they found the following letter, drawn up by *Merwân*, the secretary of state, without his master's privacy, to *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*, the then governing prefect of *Egypt*. "*Othmân to Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*. As soon as *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, and *I. B. &c.* shall arrive in *Egypt*, "cut off their hands and feet, and impale them." This letter, having *Othmân's* seal affixed to it, in order to do the greater mischief, *Merwân* had contrived to get conveyed into the hands of the *Egyptians*, who were already but too much prejudiced against the *Khalif*; and it produced the tragical effect the wicked writer of it had in view. For, *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, and his friends, taking this to be a genuine order of the *Khalif*, were incensed to the last degree against him; and took care to publish immediately over all the neighbouring territories the discovery they had made. Not content with this, they marched back to *Medina*, inspiring all the country through which they moved, with an abhorrence of the *Khalif*, whom they represented as a most bloody and perfidious tyrant. Soon after their arrival at *Medina*, they were joined by the *Bafran* and *Cûfan* troops, that returned as soon as they had received advice of what had happened, as well as the disaffected *Arabs*, who amounted to a very considerable number. With this force *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, and the other rebel chiefs, besieged the innocent *Khalif* in his palace; he in the mean time professing a sincere penitence for all the false steps he might have taken, and offering all the satisfaction it was in his power to make them for his preceding errors. But all in vain. Nothing could inspire them with sentiments of moderation, nor introduce into their hearts the least degree of compassion. They loaded him with reproaches, and breathed nothing but vengeance and destruction. In fine, they gave him the most opprobrious language that could be uttered; and resolved to be revenged of him,

* *AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ*, ubi sup. *D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient.* p. 696. *EUTYCH.* ubi sup. p. 340, 341.

with all the circumstances of cruelty they could devise, for an injury which in reality he never intended them to.

OTHMAN finding himself in this deplorable situation, sent *And assass-*
to Ali for assistance, at the same time asking him, "Whe-^{finated by}
ther he desired to see his cousin murdered, and his own^{his rebel-}
kingdom rent in pieces?" Ali answered, "By no means;" ^{lious sub-}
and immediately ordered his two sons, *Hasan* and *Hosein*, to ^{jects.}
defend the gates of the palace. For some time, they executed their orders with fidelity enough; not permitting the rebels to enter, nor offer any violence to the *Khalif*. But at last finding him reduced to great straits for want of water, they abandoned their posts, and left him to the mercy of his enraged rebellious subjects. So that after all, tho' Ali did not directly join the *Khalif's* enemies, yet he did not assist his relation and sovereign with that vigour and activity which might have been naturally expected of him. The rebels now perceiving all the avenues open, and the palace-wall unguarded, easily made themselves masters of the *Khalif's* person. *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, and two others, one of whom was *Ammâr Ebn Yâser*, entering into his apartment, found him there, with a copy of the *Korân* in his bosom. *Mohammed* took him presently by the beard, than which a greater indignity could not have been offered him, and soon after thrust his sword into his breast. By this time, some others of the rebel commanders were entered the apartment; two of whom, *Nabar Ebn Ayad* and *Sowdân Ebn Hamrân*, likewise pierced him with their swords. Then *Omar Ebn Hamak* sat upon his breast, and gave him nine other wounds; which instantly dispatched him. Some authors say, this tragical event happened eighty days after the rebels had shut him up first in his palace; others not above fifty days; and, lastly, others only forty days. Be that as it will, his body remained three days unburied, and was at last thrown into a hole made for it in the bloody cloaths he had on when he was assassinated, without so much as receiving the usual ablution, or the least funeral solemnity. Some, however, pretend, that a prayer was said for the deceased *Khalif* by *Jabir Ebn Motâm*; tho' this seems not to be admitted by the most approved *Arabic* authors. The body was interred by night, in a place called *Has Kowkab*, or the garden of the star. *Othmân* was eighty-two years old at the time of his assassination, which happened on the 18th of *Dhu'l-hajja*, and the 35th year of the *Hijra*. Thus fell *Othmân*, after a reign of near twelve years; whose death was occasioned by the intrigues of *Telha*, *Zobeir*, *Ayesha*, and *Mo-*

^b AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 34, 35. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 184.

hamed Ebn Abu Becr, as well as the villainy of Merwân Ebn Al Hakem, not to say the premeditated indolence and inactivity of Ali, who was prompted to this by a prospect of the supreme dignity, to which he had long aspired. The tragical exit of so great a conqueror, and the indignity with which his body was treated after his death, ought to be considered as a lively instance of the instability of human affairs, of the vanity of worldly grandeur, and of the lubricous situation of those who seem to have arrived even at the summit of temporal felicity.

A description of Othmân's person and character, and some reflections on his tragical fate. OTHMAN, as to his person, was very tall, of a good countenance, and a swarthy complexion. His beard was large, and tinged with *Al Henna* in the same manner as those of his predecessors. With regard to his disposition, he was constant and exact in the performance of religious duties. He fasted often, spent much time in reading the *Korân*, and meditated with the utmost attention upon what he read. His charity was very extensive, tho' he left immense riches behind him; 500,000,000 *dirhems*, and 150,000 *dinars*, being found in the palace after his death, besides 200,000 *dinars* set apart for charitable uses. The source of all his misfortunes was his propensity to favour too much his friends and relations; which was so predominant in him, that he scarce ever paid any regard to merit. The consequence of which was, that few of those he advanced to the most eminent stations were qualified for the discharge of their duty; whence it came to pass, that numbers of errors were committed in the administration, which justly incurred the censure of the public, and occasioned many reflections, that ultimately terminated in the *Khalif* himself. And this will ever be the case in all countries, where princes, however good and virtuous they themselves may be, suffer their subjects to be pillaged and oppressed by rapacious and abandoned ministers; whose profligate disposition, and total contempt of all religion, have rendered them as hateful to God, and all good men, as their long-continued peculations, their exclusion of persons of merit and integrity from all posts in their disposal, have to the public. For, the bulk of mankind not being able to distinguish between the prince himself, by whose abused authority these wretches are enabled to trample upon the rights, privileges, and properties, of their fellow-subjects, and those who act by the power he derived from him, and to whom he himself, in many respects, is as much a slave as the meanest of those he governs, they will be too apt to ascribe the public calamities,

• EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 340—343. AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

the servitude under which they groan, to the source of power itself. Nor can princes in such a melancholy situation as this, by any other means, do either themselves or their subjects justice, than by a vigorous exertion of the power God has given them; which will, with the divine blessing, enable them to banish these monsters of iniquity, these pests and nuisances of civil society, from their presence, and expel them from all their councils. This must of course win the hearts of the people over whom they preside, and conciliate to them their affections. Whereas an indolent acquiescence in the wicked and arbitrary measures of those who only make use of them as tools, to enable them to serve their own vile purposes, to plunder their fellow-subjects, and to sacrifice the interest of their country either to their own avarice and ambition, or to a foreign power, will, to avoid all greater warmth and asperity of expression, produce a quite contrary effect. In short, the tragical fate of *Othmán*, and the means by which this was effected, may prove an instructive lesson to princes who shall live in future ages, and would reign in the affections of their subjects. That unhappy *Khalif* was betrayed, sacrificed, and ruined, by the villain *Merwán Ebn Al Hakem*, his secretary of state, who corresponded with his enemies, imparted to them his councils and designs, and set him at variance with his people. So that had he escaped the violent death that at last overtook him, he would nevertheless have been, in all probability, an unhappy prince; since the perfidious and iniquitous conduct of some of the persons he employed, who secretly fomented the differences and dissensions set on foot by his avowed enemies themselves, with whom they joined as often as they could do it without being discovered, would have fixed the *Arab* nation in an aversion to him and his government ^d.

WE have already given a full account of the conquests *A short de-* made by *Othmán*, and of the extensive territories he annexed *tail of his* to the *Moslem* empire. To which we shall now beg leave to *conquests,* add, that, according to some of the oriental writers, his ge- *and of the* nerals subdued all the western coast of *Africa*, from the city *difference* of *Tripoli*, and its dependencies, to the streights of *Sebtah*; *between* nay, if we will believe *Kbondemir*, the *Persian* historian, they *him and* also penetrated into *Andalusia*: but this will scarce be admitted by any of our more curious and intelligent readers. By the streights of *Sebtah* the eastern geographers understand that narrow sea between *Gibraltar* and *Ceuta*, called for the most part by the *European* geographical writers, the streights of

^d D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 696. EUTYCH, AL MA-
KIN, & ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

Gibraltar; to which, as has been just observed, some of the *Moslem* authors extend the *Arab* dominions on that side in the *Khalifat* of *Othmân*. We are also told by *Eutychius*, that, in the *Khalifat* of *Othmân*, the *Arabs* conquered the remaining part of *Armenia*, that had been left unsubdued in the time of *Omar*. Be that as it will, this *Khalif* was a man of great personal bravery, as well as generosity, liberality, and magnificence. He published a new and correct edition of the *Korân*, as has been already remarked, and was closely attached to all the exercises of religion. The *Persian* poet *Rashid*, or *Rashidi*, who pretended to deduce his origin from *Othmân*, has collected all the sayings, or apophthegms, of this *Khalif*, and put them into verse. The title he has prefixed to this work is *The harmonious concert*. The difference between *Othmân* and his successor *Ali* proved the source of infinite quarrels and disputes amongst the *Moslems*, which are far from being appeased at this very day. The latter could never rightly forgive the elevation of the former to the *Khalifat*; which dignity *Ali* apprehended to belong to him by right of succession, founding his pretensions to it upon proximity of blood. For, he was the cousin-german of *Mohammed*, had married his eldest and best beloved daughter *Fâtema*, and was, in consequence of this marriage and affinity, the head of the house of *Hâshem*, which was dignified with the title of *the family of the PROPHET*. But notwithstanding this circumstance, which seemed to plead so strongly for him, finding the people so strongly and generally prejudiced in favour of his competitor, he was obliged, with the rest, to acquiesce in the election of *Othmân* *.

Some other
particu-
lars re-
lating to
him.

WITH regard to the length of this *Khalif's* reign, authors are not perfectly agreed; tho' there seems to be no very considerable difference between them. *Theophanes* makes him to have governed the *Moslems*, or discharged the duty of *Emir*, as he terms it, ten years; whereas *Al Makin*, *Abu'l-Faraj*, and *Abu'l Walid*, assert him to have presided over the *Arabs* about twelve complete lunar years. The symbol, motto, or inscription, on his seal was, I BELIEVE IN GOD, THE CREATOR AND ADMINISTRATOR. His principal judge was *Caab Ebn Soweid*, and his chamberlain *Hamrân*. *Eutychius* calls his chamberlain *Hamdân*, and the captain of his guards *Abd'allah Ebn Fâhd Al Adowi*. He also tells us, that the body of the *Khalif* was deposited in a place named *Jasar Kowkab*, or

* D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 695. EUTYCH. AL MAKIN & ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, RASHIDI, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 696. AL JANNAB. p. 35. AHMED EBN YUSEF, in hist. gen. sect. 40. LUDOV. MARRACC. in prodr. par. ii. p. 40.

the bridge of the star. According to *Eutychius*, *Kenānah Ebn Basbar* assisted *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr* and *Ammār Ebn Yaser*, in the assassination of *Othmān Ebn Affān*; and *Merwān Ebn Al Hakem*, who occasioned his destruction in the manner already related, had a vast ascendant over him. This additional circumstance may serve farther to evince the truth of the preceding observations, naturally suggested to us by that part of the *Arab* history we are now upon. For, in other nations, besides that of the *Arabs*, it has been found by sad experience, that profligate, corrupt, and abandoned, ministers have frequently been able so far to insinuate themselves into the good graces of their sovereigns, as to gain their intire confidence; and even to prevail upon them to forward, by their power and authority, the execution of the most pernicious, destructive, and illegal, schemes; nay, that they have at last delivered the very princes, whose confidence they so notoriously abused, into the hands of their most implacable enemies, with whom they all along kept an illicit correspondence, and whom, from the beginning, they had an intention to serve, by putting their masters upon the execution of such ruinous schemes. The foregoing reflections, for the sake of the bulk of our readers, we thought ourselves here obliged to make; since, to point out the useful and instructive lessons we are supplied with by the facts recorded in the annals of former ages may prove of infinite service to mankind, and will undoubtedly be considered as a task falling within the verge of his province, by every faithful and just historian^f.

^f THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 287. AL MAKIN, ABU'L-FARAJ, & EUTYCH. ubi sup. ABU'L WALID & DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup.

ERRATA.

Page 482, l. 23, for ten read two.—Page 486, l. 39, for after all the efforts of envy and malice, read after all the efforts of envy and malice against it.—Page 448, l. 2, for the Greeks, read the greatest part of the Greeks.

